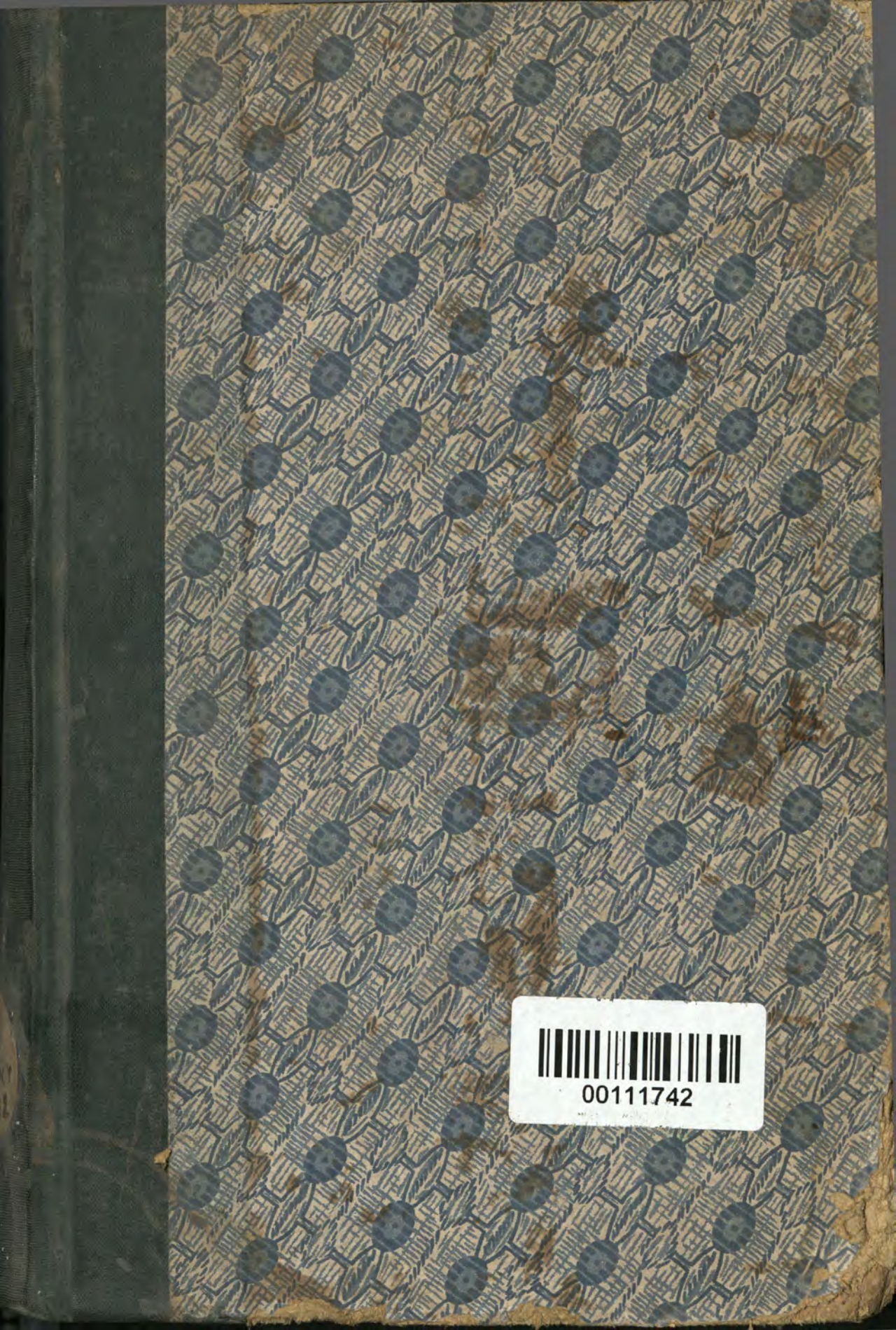
00111742

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-1.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A. D. M.DCCC.XL.

For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

D. d. 13.

THE

WORKS

OF

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE SECOND PORTION,

CONTAINING,

THE REPLY TO HARDING'S ANSWER

OF THE CANOPY.—OF ACCIDENTS WITHOUT SUBJECT.—
OF DIVIDING THE SACRAMENT.—OF FIGURE, SIGN, &c.—OF PLURALITY OF MASSES.—
OF ADORATION OF IMAGES.—OF READING THE SCRIPTURES.—
OF CONSECRATION UNDER SILENCE.—OF THE SACRIFICE.—
OF RECEIVING FOR OTHERS.—OF APPLICATION.—OF OPUS OPERATUM.—
OF LORD AND GOD.—OF REMAINING UNDER THE ACCIDENTS.—
WHETHER A MOUSE, &c.—OF INDIVIDUUM VAGUM.—
WHETHER THE FORMS BE THE SACRAMENT.—OF HIDING AND COVERING.—
OF IGNORANCE.

AN EXPOSITION UPON THE TWO EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

SERMONS.

A TREATISE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

111742
al

BY THE

REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.,
OF CONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MINISTER OF ST JOHN'S CHAPEL, HAMPSTEAD.

Cambridge:
PRINTED AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

M.DCCC.XLVII.

God
252
Jew/wco
111742

CONTENTS.

PAGE

ADVERTISEMENT vii

REPLY TO M. HARDING'S ANSWER.

The Ninth Article:—Of the Canopy 553
..... Tenth ..... Of Accidents without Subject 562
..... Eleventh ..... Of dividing the Sacrament 584
..... Twelfth ..... Of Figure, Sign, &c. 590
..... Thirteenth ..... Of Plurality of Masses 625
..... Fourteenth ..... Of Adoration of Images 644
..... Fifteenth ..... Of reading the Scriptures 669
..... Sixteenth ..... Of Consecration under silence 697
..... Seventeenth ..... Of the Sacrifice 708
..... Eighteenth ..... Of receiving for others 739
..... Nineteenth ..... Of Application 746
..... Twentieth ..... Of Opus Operatum 748
..... Twenty-first ..... Of Lord and God 758
..... Twenty-second ... Of remaining under the Accidents 775
..... Twenty-third ..... Whether a Mouse, &c. 782
..... Twenty-fourth ... Of Individuum Vagum 787
..... Twenty-fifth ..... Whether the Forms be the Sacrament 791
..... Twenty-sixth ..... Of hiding and covering 796
..... Twenty-seventh... Of Ignorance 799

Harding's Conclusion, exhorting M. Jewel to stand to his promise 801

Bishop Jewel's Answer to M. Harding's Conclusion 805

The Corrector (of the second edition of Harding's Answer) to the Reader ... 812

An Exposition upon the two Epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians 813

Dr Garbrand's Dedication 815

The first Epistle 817

The second Epistle 887

Sermons 947

A learned and godly Sermon, Latin and English 950

Certain Sermons 965

Dr Garbrand's Dedication 966

A Treatise of the Sacraments 1098

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE present volume completes the controversy with Dr Harding which arose upon bishop Jewel's challenge sermon. It contains also the Exposition upon the Epistles to the Thessalonians, the bishop's Sermons, and the Treatise of the Sacraments.

The text, as before, is that of the edition of 1611; with which others have been collated: for the "Reply" to Harding, besides Harding's "Answer," Lovaine, 1564, the revised edition of the same, Antwerp, 1565, which the editor had not previously obtained: it supplies some curious variations; for the "Exposition" the editions of 1583, 1584, and 1594; for the "Learned and godly Sermon" the original edition, without date; for the first six of "Certain Sermons" and the "Treatise" the edition of 1583: for the remaining seven Sermons the editor has used only the folios of 1609 and 1611. He is aware of the existence of but one copy (in private hands) of the very rare first edition; and to this, owing to the absence of the proprietor, he has not been able to obtain access. He trusts, however, that he shall hereafter have the opportunity of seeing it. The folio of 1609 has throughout been consulted.

The editor has spared no pains to verify the numerous references which crowd this volume; but he has to acknowledge, as before, that in a few cases the passages intended have eluded his search. Still he would hope that no omission or error of much importance has occurred.

In order to diminish the bulk of the notes, a passage heretofore quoted has not now been reprinted; and the reader is referred back to the place where it may be found. In some cases, however, where it seemed desirable to place an author's words at once before the eye, and occasionally perhaps from inadvertence, this rule has been departed from.

It is proposed to commence the succeeding volume with bishop Jewel's "Apology," and to proceed with the "Defence of the Apology;" and it is confidently expected that the whole works of this eminent prelate, accompanied by a memoir, will be comprised in four volumes.

The editor has again to tender his thanks to the kind friends to whom he before acknowledged his obligations.

DEC. 9, 1847.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I.

PAGE

98 note 1. *For* lxxiii. *read* lxxxiii.

120 note 3. It is probable that the treatise in question was originally written in Latin.

121 note 14. *For* col. 656 *read* col. 956. There is this misprint in the edition consulted.

139 The numbers in the text referring to the notes are confused. Sacramenti should have [6] and priests [8] attached.

150 note 6. *For* Lib. II. *read* Lib. I.

168 note 6. *For* 1654 *read* 1564.

312 The passage quoted from Durandus is the following: In ecclesiis vero ostia ab oriente habentibus, ut Romæ, nulla est in salutatione necessaria conversio: sacerdos in illis celebrans semper ad populum stat conversus.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. v. cap. ii. 57. fol. 219. 2.

341 note 16. *Add* Conf. Marcellin. Condemn. Præm. ad Lect. ibid. p. 187.

400 note 3. *For* 1736 *read* 1706.

451 note 14. *For* Dist. xxxviii. *read* Dist. ii. can. 38.

531 The passage, which Harding has transcribed from the divines of Zurich, may be found in Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. fol. 45.

Vol. II.

568 margin. The hundred. 1565 omits *The*.

574 notes 7, 8, 9, 10. The references should have been made to the Greek text. For that of Samona, Methonensis, and Marcus Ephesius, respectively, see Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. pp. 134, 131, and 141. For the Greek of Cabasilas, see Biblioth. Patr. Græco-Lat. Par. 1624. Tom. II. p. 233.

630 line 25. After "enough," the second edition of Harding's Answer, 1565, adds: "as by good authority of the civil law we learn." The reference given in the margin is: "L. veluti, §. hæc vox, *ff* de edendo." See Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. II. Tit. xiii. 7. §. 1. Tom. I. p. 95.

680 note 8. *For* Cor. *read* Col.

792 note 13. *For* lxxii. *read* lxxxii.

907 note 18. The reference should have been: Lib. xxv. in cap. xxxiv. B. Job. cap. xvi. 34. col. 807; where *nequam*.

OF THE CANOPY.

THE NINTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the sacrament was then, or now ought to be, hanged up under a canopy.

[OF THE REVERENT HANGING UP OF THE SACRAMENT UNDER A CANOPY.—ARTICLE IX. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

If M. Jewel would in plain terms deny the reservation and keeping of the blessed sacrament, for which purpose the pix and canopy served in the churches of England, as of the professors of this new gospel it is both in word and also in deed denied; it were easy to prove the same by no small number of authorities, such as himself cannot but allow for good and sufficient. But he, knowing that right well, guilefully refraineth from mention of that principal matter, and, the better to make up his heap of articles for some shew against the sacrament, by denial reproveth the hanging up of it under the canopy; thereby shewing himself like to Momus, who, espying nothing reprovable in fair Venus, found fault with her slipper.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This article, as it is small of itself, and therefore might the better be dissembled and passed over, were it not accessory to idolatry, so it is warranted of M. Harding's side by very simple and slender proofs, as shall appear. It liketh M. Harding for his entry, to solace himself and his friends withal, to call us new doctors; himself being not able hitherto to allege any one of all the old doctors, without force and fraud, plainly and directly, to serve his purpose. But these new doctors are neither so new nor so much destitute of antiquity as these men would fain have the world to believe. For, touching the abolishing of the reservation of the sacrament, which M. Harding hath here drawn in to help out the matter, being otherwise not necessarily incident unto this article, they have the authorities and examples of good ancient old catholic fathers for their warrant in that behalf. For St Cyprian saith: [*Panis iste*] *recipitur, non includitur*[1]: "The[2] bread is received, and not shut up." Cyprr. de Cœn. Dom. Clemens, Epist. 2. Clemens, who, as M. Harding saith, was the apostles' fellow, writeth thus: *Tanta in altario holocausta offerantur, quanta populo sufficere debeant: quod si remanserint, in crastinum non reserventur*[3]: "Let there be so many hosts, or so much bread, offered at the altar, as may be sufficient for the people. If any thing remain, let it not be kept until the morning." Origen or Cyrillus saith (for one book beareth both their names): *Dominus panem, quem discipulis* [*suis*] *dabat,... non distulit, nec jussit servari in crastinum*[4]: "The bread that our Lord gave to his disciples, he lingered it not, nor bade it to be kept until the morning." Orig. Cyril. in Lev. Hom. 5. His reason is grounded upon the order of Christ's institution; for that Christ said not, Take, and keep, but, "Take, and eat." St Hierome saith: *Post communionem, quæcunque... de sacrificiis* Hieron. 1 Cor. xi.

[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 42.]

[2 This, 1565.]

[3 Clement. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. col. 41.]

[4 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 8. Tom. II. p. 211. See before, page 175, note 11. These homilies on Leviticus have been ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria; but they appear to be really Origen's.]

Reservation.

superfuissent, illic in ecclesia communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant[1]: "After the communion was done, whatsoever portion of the sacrifices remained, they spent it there together in the church eating their common supper." St Augustine likewise seemeth to say the same: "The bread made to this purpose is spent in receiving the sacrament[2]." Hesychius saith that the remanents of the sacrament were burnt immediately in the fire[3]. Nicephorus saith, the same remanents in some places were given to children that went to school to be eaten by them presently in the church[4]. The like whereof is also decreed in the council of Matiscon[5]. So saith Gabriel Biel, a new doctor of M. Harding's company: *Non dedit discipulis, ut ipsum honorifice conservarent; sed dedit in sui usum, dicens, Accipite, et manducate*[6]: "Christ gave not (the sacrament) to his disciples, that they should reverently reserve it; but he gave it for their use, saying, 'Take, and eat.'"

August. de Trin. Lib. iii. cap. x. Hesych. in Levit. Lib. ii. cap. viii. Niceph. Lib. xvii. cap. xxv. Concil. Matisc. ii. cap. 6. Gab. Biel, Lect. 26.

Thus many old doctors, and yet many more we have on our side. Therefore M. Harding was somewhat overseen, for following of them, to call us new doctors.

I know, the sacrament in old times in some places was reserved, as it may appear by Tertullian, St Cyprian, St Hierome, St Basil, Eusebius, and others. St Cyprian saith, women used to keep it at home in their chests[7]. Tertullian saith, the faithful used then to have it in their private houses, and to eat it before other meats[8]. St Hierome saith that Exuperius, the bishop of Tolouse, used to carry it abroad in a basket[9]. St Basil saith that in Egypt, and specially about Alexandria, every man for the most part had the sacrament in his house[10]. Eusebius seemeth to say, the priest had it in his chamber[11]. St Ambrose saith, men used then to carry it about them, not only by land, but also by sea, in their napkins[12]. All these were abuses of the holy mysteries; and therefore afterward were abolished. Thus was then the sacrament reserved, in private houses, in chests, in baskets, and in napkins. Now, if M. Harding be able truly to shew any such-like ancient authority for his canopy, then may he say, he holdeth up[13] the old catholic fathers. But, forasmuch as M. Harding hath leisure, to call to mind his old fable of Momus, Venus, and such-like; indeed they say, Momus was wont to espy faults, and to control all the gods without exception, even the great Jupiter himself, that sat in Rome in the capitol; and therefore his office ofttimes was not so thankful as some others. But one great fault he found with Vulcan, for the making of man, for that he had not set a grate or a window at his breast, that others might peer in and espy some part of his secret thoughts. If M. Harding had such a grate or window at his breast, and men might look in and see his conscience, I doubt not but they should see many more sparks of God's truth than as now outwardly do appear.

Cypr. de Laps. Serm. 5. Tertull. ad Uxor. Hieron. ad Rust. Basil. ad Cæsar. Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xliv. Ambr. de Obit. Satyr.

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. i. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 998.]

[2 ... panis ad hoc factus in accipiendo sacramento consumitur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Trin. Lib. iii. cap. x. 19. Tom. VIII. col. 803.]

[3 Sed hoc quod reliquum est de carnibus, et panibus, in igne incendi præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibiliter in ecclesia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumpta, &c.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. ii. cap. viii. fol. 49. 2.]

[4 Ἔθος κεκράτηκεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐπειδὰν πολύ τι τῶν μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ θείου σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐναπολειφθείη, μεταστέλλεσθαι τοὺς ἱερέας παῖδας ἀφθόρους ἐκ τῶν ἐς χαμαιδιδασκάλου φοιτώντων, καὶ ταύτας νήστεις ἐσθίειν, κ.τ.λ.—Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xvii. cap. xxv. Tom. II. p. 772.]

[5 Quæcunque reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad ecclesiam adducantur, et indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.—Concil. Matisc. ii. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 176.]

[6 Gab. Biel, Sacr. Canon. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxxvi. fol. 83. 2; where *neque* for *non*.]

[7 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 132, 3. See before, page 6, note 4.]

[8 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. ii. 5. p. 190. See before, page 6, note 4.]

[9 Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.—Hieron. Op. Ad Rust. Monach. Epist. xcv. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 778.]

[10 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. pp. 186, 7. See before, page 152.]

[11 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xliv. p. 200. See before, pages 149, &c.]

[12 Qui ... in naufragio constitutus ... ne vacuus mysterii exiret e vita; quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit... Etenim ligari fecit in orario, et orarium involvit collo, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Excess. Fratr. Satyr. Lib. i. 43. Tom. II. col. 1125.]

[13 By, 1565, 1609.]

As for his fair lady Venus, whereby he meaneth his church of Rome, the world seeth, and he himself knoweth, she hath been taken in open advoutry; and Phœbus, the Son of God, with the heavenly beams of his holy word hath revealed it. O would to God we had no cause justly to say with the prophet Esay: *Quomodo facta est meretrix civitas fidelis!* "O how is that faithful city become an harlot!" Verily Momus shall not need now to reprove her slipper. He shall rather have cause to say: *A planta pedis, usque ad verticem capitis, non est in ea sanitas:* "From the sole of the foot to the top of the head there is no whole part in her." For so St Bernard complaineth of her miserable state in his time[14].

Reservation.

Isai. i.

Isai. i.

Bernard. de Conv. Paul.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

[*Diverse manners of keeping the blessed sacrament.* H.A. 1564.] *Whereto we say that, if he, with the rest of the sacramentaries, would agree to the keeping of the sacrament, then would we demand why that manner of keeping were not to be liked. And here, upon proofs made of default in this behalf, and a better way shewed, in so small a matter, conformity to the better would soon be persuaded. In other christian countries, we grant, it is kept otherwise, under lock and key, in some places at the one end or side of the altar, in some places in a chapel builded for that purpose, in some places in the vestry, or in some inward and secret room of the church, as it was in the time of Chrysostom at Constantinople*[15]. *In some other places we read that it was kept in the bishop's palace near to the church, and in the holy-days brought reverently to the church, and set upon the altar, which, for abuses committed, was by order of councils abrogated*[16].

In Epist. ad Innocentium.

In Concil. Bracaren. iii. can. 5.

Thus in divers places diversely it hath been kept, every where reverently and surely, so as it might be safe from injury and villany of miscreants and despisers of it. The hanging up of it on high hath been the manner of England, as Lindwood noteth upon the Constitutions Provincial[17]*; on high, that wicked despite might not reach to it; under a canopy, for shew of reverence and honour.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding sheweth that this reservation of the sacrament in divers countries hath been diversely used, under lock and key, at the altar's end, in a chapel, in the vestry, in the bishop's palace. And all this of the usage of late years; for of antiquity, saving only the epistle of Chrysostom to Innocentius, which also, as it shall appear, maketh much against him, he toucheth nothing. But amongst all these diversities of keeping, he hath not yet found out his canopy. And touching that he allegeth of the reservation of the sacrament in the bishop's palace, it seemeth very little to further his purpose. For, whereas the sacrament was reserved only in the bishop's custody, it followeth necessarily that there in other parish churches and chapels was no such reservation. Chrysostom's epistle to Innocentius is good witness that the sacrament was reserved to be received of the people at the communion the next day, or in very short time after. For it was reserved in both kinds[18], as it appeareth plainly by his words. But it is clear, both by the judgment of reason, and also by their own cautels in that behalf[19], that the wine in such sort and quantity cannot be kept any long time without souring. And the manner in Græcia was, during the time of Lent, to consecrate only upon the Saturdays and Sundays, and yet nevertheless to com-

Chrysost. ad Innoc.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Presb. in Gloss. In Sexta Synod. Const. can. 52. τῇ[20] θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ τῶν προηγιασμένων.

[14] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956; where *ad verticem non est sanitas ulla.*]

[15] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Epist. i. Tom. III. p. 519. See before, page 241, note 11.]

[16] Concil. Brac. III. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 273. The particular abuse here noted is the following: Agnovimus quosdam de episcopis, quod in solennitatibus martyrum ad ecclesiam progressuri, reliquias collo suo imponant, ut majoris fastus apud homines gloria intumescant, et quasi ipsi sint reliquiarum arca, Levitæ albas induti, in sellulis eos deportent.]

[17] See below, page 557, notes 11, 12.]

[18] See before, note 15.]

[19] Sed sanguinem non præcipitur servare, quia &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 93. cols. 1963, 4.]

[20] 1611 omits τῇ.]

Canopy not commendable.

municate of the same upon the other week-days[1]. For the end of this reservation in old times was, not that the sacrament should be adored, but that it should be received of the people; and specially that persons excommunicate, for whose sake it was reserved, being suddenly called out of this life, upon their repentance might at all times receive the communion, and depart with comfort, as the members of the church of God.

But methinketh M. Harding doth herein as Apelles the painter sometime did in setting out king Antigonus' physiognomy. For, understanding that Antigonus was blind of the one side, he thought it best to paint him out only with half face, and so he cunningly shadowed the deformity of the other eye. Even so M. Harding sheweth us certain variety of keeping the sacrament, and other small matters of like weight; but the danger of idolatry, and other like horrible deformities, he dissembleth cunningly and turneth from us. Loth I am to use the comparison, but St Hierome saith it: *Diabolus nunquam se prodit aperta facie*[2]: "The devil never sheweth himself openly with his whole face."

Hieron. in Vit. Malch.

In the old times, when the sacrament was kept in chests, in napkins, in baskets, and in private houses, there was no danger of adoration. But under the canopy we see not only that the effect hath fallen out far otherwise, but also that the very cause thereof was at the first to the contrary. For so saith Linwood himself: *Citius repræsentatur nostris aspectibus adoranda*[3]: "It is the rather offered unto our sights to be worshipped." If there were no cause else, yet is this itself cause sufficient to abolish this new order of hanging up the sacrament under a canopy. For therefore the king Ezechias took down the brasen serpent and brake it in pieces, notwithstanding God had specially commanded Moses to erect it up; because he saw it abused to idolatry.

Gul. Linw. Lib. iii. de Custod. Euch. &c.

2 Kings xviii.

Again, they themselves, upon smaller considerations, have utterly abolished the manner of reservation that was used in the primitive church. For they will not now suffer neither lay people nor women to keep it in their houses; nor boys to carry it to the sick, as then the boy did to Serapion[4]; nor infidels, or men not christened, to wear it about them, as then did St Ambrose's brother Satyrus[5]. I leave the rust, the mould, the canker, and the breeding of worms, whereby that holy and reverend mystery of Christ's death is oftentimes made loathsome, and brought into contempt. They themselves do testify that such things not only may happen, but also have often happened. It is said that Alphonsus the king of Arragon, for the preservation of his honour and safety, so long kept the sacrament about him, that at last it putrefied, and bred worms; which when they had eaten up and consumed one another, in the end there remained only one great worm, that was the last, and had eaten all his fellows[6]. In such cases they command that the worms be burnt, and the ashes buried in the altar[7]. The gloss itself upon the decrees saith thus: "It is not necessary to keep the wine." And the reason is this: *Quia opus esset nimia cautela*[8]: "Because we should need to have too much ado with the keeping of it."

Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. Ambros. de Obit. Satyr.

Gers. contr. Floret. Lib. iv. Concil. Aurel. De Consecr. Dist. ii. Presb. in Gloss.

In the council of Lateran it is confessed, that the sacrament so kept hath been abused *ad horribilia et nefaria facinora*[9]: "to work horrible and wicked

Concil. Lat. sub Innoc. III. can. 20.

---

[1] Concil. Quinisext. can. 52. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. cols. 1166, 7. See before, page 129, note 6.]

[2] ... numquam diabolum aperta fronte se prodere. — Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Vit. Malch. Monach. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 91.]

[3] Lyndew. Provincial. seu Const. Angl. Antw. 1525. Lib. III. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179. 2.]

[4] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. cap. xliv. p. 200.]

[5] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Excess. Fratr. Satyr. Lib. I. 43. Tom. II. col. 1125. See before, page 554, note 12.]

[6] This story may be found Ant. Panorm. de Dict. et Fact. Alphons. Basil. 1538. Æn. Silv. Comm. Lib. I. 39. p. 251. But the king does not there say that such a thing occurred to himself: Vas aureum aperuit quispiam in quo ante mensem eucharistiam condiderat, nihil ibi præter vermiculum reperit.]

[7] Sed quæritur quid fiendum, si ex illis speciebus generentur vermes. Solu. Dicendum est quod vermes debent comburi et cineres intra altare recondi. — Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. IV. fol. 99. 2.

Ex Concil. Aurel. capp. 5, 6. in Burchard. Decret. Lib. xx. Par. 1549. Lib. v. capp. 1. li. foll. 140, 1.]

[8] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 93. cols. 963, 4.]

[9] Statuimus...ut chrisma et eucharistia sub fideli custodia clavibus adhibitis conserventur, ut non possit ad illa temeraria manus extendi, ad aliqua horribilia vel nefaria exercenda. — Concil. Lat. sub Innoc. III. cap. 20. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 953.]

deeds." And M. Harding himself confesseth that, for certain like abuses, the same reservation was in some part abolished in the council of Bracara[10].

Canopy not commendable.

To be short, touching the canopy, Linwood himself findeth fault with it, as it appeareth in the Provincial. For thus he writeth: *Dicitur, quod in loco mundo et singulari debet servari*[11]: "It is said, the sacrament ought to be kept in a clean several place sequestered from other." Whereunto he addeth thus: *Ex hoc videtur, quod usus observatus in Anglia, ut ... in canopæo pendeat, ... non est commendabilis*[12]: "Hereby it appeareth that the order that is used in England, of hanging up the sacrament in a canopy, is not commendable." Here M. Harding hath causes, both in general, why all manner such reservation ought to be misliked, and also in special, why the canopy cannot be liked.

Concil. Brac. III. can. 5. Extr. de Cel. Missar. Sane. Gul. Linw. Lib. iii. de Custod. Euch.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

If princes be honoured with cloth of estate, bishops with solemn thrones in their churches, and deans with canopies of tapestry, silk, and arras (as we see in sundry cathedral churches), and no man find fault with it; why should M. Jewel mislike the canopy that is used for honour of that blessed sacrament, (172) *wherein is contained the very body of Christ, and, through the inseparable joining together of both natures in unity of person, Christ himself, very God, and very*[13] *man? With what face speaketh he against the canopy used to the honour of Christ in the sacrament, that, sitting in the bishop's seat at Sarisbury, can abide the sight of a solemn canopy made of painted boards spread over his head? If he had been of counsel with Moses, David, and Salomon, it is like he would have reproved their judgments, for the great honour they used, and caused to be*[15] *continued towards the ark, wherein was contained nothing but the tables of the law, Aaron's rod, and a pot full of manna.*

The hundred and seventy-second untruth. For Chrysostom saith: "In vasis sanctis non verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur[14]."

[2 Sam. vii. H. A. 1564.] *King David thought it very unfitting, and felt great remorse in heart, that he dwelt in a house of cedars, and the ark of God was put in the midst of skins, that is, of the tabernacle, whose outward parts were covered with beasts' skins.*

*And now there is one found, among other *monstrous and strange forms of creatures, manners, and doctrines, who, being but dust and ashes, as Abraham said of himself, promoted to the name of a bishop, and not chosen, I ween, to do high service of a man according to God's own heart, as David was, thinketh not himself unworthy to sit in a bishop's chair under a gorgeous testure or canopy of gilted boards, and cannot suffer the precious body of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, to have, for remembrance of honour done of our part, so much as a little canopy, a thing of small price.* (173) *Yet was the ark but a shadow, and this the body; that the figure, this the truth; that the type or sign, this the very thing itself. As I do not envy M. Jewel that honour, by what right soever he enjoyeth it, so I cannot but blame him for* bereaving Christ of his honour in this blessed sacrament.*

* "Let your modesty be known to all men." Phil. iv.

The hundred and seventy-third untruth. For both are figures, both types, both signs. Nazian. saith: "Figura figuræ." De Paschate[16].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Princes use to sit under a cloth of estate; bishops and deans under painted thrones, or cloth of arras; *ergo*, (saith M. Harding), the sacrament ought to be hanged up under a canopy. I trow, it is not lawful for all men to use such arguments. In such sort Durandus reasoneth: "The ark of the covenant was carried by the Levites; *ergo*, the pope must be carried aloft upon the deacons' shoulders[17]." And again, they seem by practice further to reason thus:

* Christ will say, "In vain ye worship me," &c. Matt. xv.

Durand. Lib. ii.

---

[10] Concil. Brac. III. cap. 5. in eod. Tom. II. p. 273. See before, page 555, note 16.]

[11] Lyndew. Provincial. seu Const. Angl. Lib. III. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179; where *singulari mundo et signato debet.* See Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. cap. 10. col. 1378.]

[12] Id. ibid.]

[13] H. A. 1564 omits *very.*]

[14] ... in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. v. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii.]

[15] So to be, H. A. 1564.]

[16] Τὸ γὰρ νομικὸν πάσχα...τύπου τύπος ἦν ἀμυδρότερος. — Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]

[17] A quinquagesimo autem anno jussi sunt Levitæ vasa custodire: et a xxv. annis et supra jussi sunt in tabernaculo deservire, tanquam ætatis ad onera portanda robustæ: qui possent arcam fœderis, mensam

"The pope is carried upon men's shoulders; *ergo*, the sacrament must be carried before him, whithersoever he go, upon a fair white jennet."

And whereas it liketh M. Harding thus merrily to sport himself with bishops sitting under painted boards; certainly, I reckon it much fitter for the church of God to have painted boards than painted bishops, such as he is that claimeth to be the bishop of all bishops, and yet doth not indeed any part of the office of one bishop. The bishop's chair or stall was appointed at the first as a place most convenient for him to read and to preach in. But what needeth more? Such vanity of words should not be answered.

Exod. xxv. & xxvii. For the rest, God himself commanded Moses to make the tabernacle, and also shewed him in the mount in what order and form it should be made. Neither durst Moses, or his workmen, to add, or to minish, or to alter any one thing of their device, or to do any thing more or less, otherwise than God had appointed him. When David of his devotion would have built a temple unto God, Sam. vii. God forbade him by the mouth of his prophet Nathan, and said: "Thou shalt build me no temple." Afterward Salomon set upon to build the temple; not when he would himself, but only when God had so willed him. Neither followed he therein any part of his own fantasy, but only that self-same plat and proportion 1 Chron. xxviii. that God had given to his father. For so saith David himself: "All this pattern was sent to me in writing by the hand of the Lord, which made me understand all the workmanship of the pattern."

Here mark, good christian reader, in every of these examples, God hath bridled our devotion, and hath taught us to worship him, not in such sort as may seem good in our eyes, but only as he hath commanded us. Yet can M. Harding by his cunning apply every of these same examples to prove thereby, that we may honour God in such sort as we of ourselves can best devise.

This was evermore the very root of all superstition. And therefore Almighty Isai. lv. God saith: "My thoughts be not as your thoughts, nor my ways as your ways. Who ever required these things at your hands?" M. Harding would fain, in all that he taketh in hand, be called catholic; and yet nevertheless maintaineth a mere particular devotion, only used within this realm, and that only within these few late years, and never either used or known in any other christian country else, and therefore such as can in no wise be called catholic.

But he saith: "There is now found one among other monstrous and strange forms," &c. This, I trow, is not that sobriety and modesty that was promised at the beginning. Such eloquence would better become some other person than a man professing learning and gravity. Herein I will gladly give place to M. Harding. It is rather a testimony of his impatience and inordinate choler than good proof of the cause.

Certainly, if the sacrament be both God and man, as here, I know not how godly, it is avouched, then is this but a very simple honour for so great a majesty. Undoubtedly this is a very strange and monstrous doctrine, to teach the people, that Christ, being both God and man, and now immortal and glorious, may canker and putrefy and breed worms. The time was, when whoso had uttered such words of blasphemy had been reckoned a monster among the faithful. Rom. i. But this is the just judgment of God. He giveth men up "into a reprobate mind, to turn God's truth into a lie, and to worship and serve a creature, forsaking the Creator, which is God blessed for ever."

I trust, our doctrine abridgeth not any part of Christ's glory. We adore him, as he hath commanded us, sitting in heaven at the right hand of the power of God. And therefore, O M. Harding, ye have burnt your brethren, and scattered their bones upon the face of the earth, and wrought upon them what your pleasure was, only because they would not be traitors unto God, and give his glory unto a creature.

Gen. xxxi. Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 57. Chrysostom, expounding the complaint of Laban against Jacob for stealing away of his gods, writeth thus: *Quare deos meos furatus es? O excellentem insi-*

---

propositionis, et vasa tabernaculi deportare ... Hinc etiam diaconi cardinales mensam Lateranensis altaris ...deportant ... Ipsi quoque semper summum pontificem velut arcam fœderis deportant.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. II. cap. ix. 2. foll. 55, 6.]

pientiam! Tales sunt dii tui, ut quis eos furari queat? Non erubescis dicere, Quare furatus es deos meos[1]*?* "'Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods?' O what a passing folly is this! Be thy gods such ones, that a man may steal them? And art thou not ashamed to say, 'Wherefore hast thou stolen away my gods?'" This matter needeth no farther application. Verily, the thing that M. Harding calleth God and man may soon be stolen away, with pix, and canopy, and all together. If Chrysostom were now alive, he would say to M. Harding, as he said to Laban: "Art thou not ashamed," &c. And, touching the honouring of Christ, he saith: *Discamus.... Christum, prout ipse vult, venerari. Honorato namque jucundissimus [est] honor, quem ipse vult, non quem nos putamus. Nam et.... Petrus eum honorare putabat, cum sibi pedes eum lavare prohibebat: sed non erat honor, quod agebat, sed contrarium*[2]*:* "Let us learn to honour Christ, as he hath willed us. For to him that is honoured that honour is most pleasant that he himself would have, not that we imagine. For Peter thought to honour Christ, when he forbade him to wash his feet: howbeit, that was no honour unto Christ, but, contrariwise, it was dishonour." Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 60.

To conclude, whereas M. Harding, in the impatience of his heat, demandeth of us, with what face we can find fault with the hanging up of the sacrament under a canopy, we may easily answer him thus: Even with the same face wherewith Linwood found fault with the same; and with the same face wherewith all Christendom, England only excepted, hath evermore refused to do the same.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Now concerning this article itself, if it may be called an article, wherein M. Jewel thinketh to have great advantage against us, as though nothing could be brought for it (though it be not one of the greatest keys, nor of the highest mysteries of our religion, as he reporteth it to be, the more to deface it), of the canopy what may be found, I leave to others, neither it forceth greatly. But* * Before it was the honouring of God: now it is no great key of religion.

[*Hanging up of the sacrament in a pix over the altar is ancient.* H. A. 1564.] *of the hanging up of the sacrament over the altar, we find plain mention in St Basil's life, written by Amphilochius, that worthy bishop of Iconium; who telleth that St Basil at his mass, having divided the sacrament in three parts, did put the one into the golden dove (after which form the pix was then commonly made) hanging over the altar. His words be these:* Imposuerunt[3] columbæ aureæ pendenti super altare[4]. *And for further evidence that such pixes, made in form of a dove in remembrance of the Holy Ghost that appeared like a dove, were hanged up over the altar, we find in the acts of the general council holden at Constantinople, that the clergy of Antioch accused one Severus, an heretic, before John the patriarch and the council there, that he had rifled and spoiled the holy altars, and molted the consecrated vessels, and had made away with some of them to his companions:* Præsumpsisset etiam columbas aureas et argenteas in formam Spiritus sancti, super divina lavacra et altaria appensas, una cum aliis sibi appropriare, dicens, non oportere in specie columbæ Spiritum sanctum nominare[5]. *Which is to say, that "he had presumed also to convert to his own use, beside other things, the golden and silver*[6] *doves made to represent the Holy Ghost, that were hanged up over the holy fonts and altars, saying, that no man ought to speak of the Holy Ghost in the shape of a dove."* A vain childish fable under the name of Amphilochius. Here be doves indeed, but no mention of any sacrament.

Neither hath the sacrament been kept in all places and in all times in one manner of vessels. So it be reverently kept for the voyage-provision for the sick, no catholic man will maintain strife for the manner and order of keeping. Symmachus, a very worthy bishop of Rome, in the time of Anastasius the emperor,

---

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xxxi. Gen. Hom. lvii. Tom. IV. p. 556.]

[2 Id. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lx. Tom. V. col. 398; where *prohiberet.*]

[3 Imposuerit, H. A. 1564.]

[4 Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 175, 6. See before, page 188.]

[5 Suppl. Cler. Ant. ad Joan. Patr. contr. Sever. in Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 160. See also Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 34.]

[6 Sylvern, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Dove. *as it is written in his life, made two vessels of silver to reserve the sacrament in, and set them on the altars of two churches in Rome, of St Sylvester and of St Andrew*[1]. *These vessels they call commonly* ciboria[2]. *We find likewise in the life of St Gregory, that he also like Symmachus made such a vessel, which they call* ciborium, *for the sacrament, with four pillars of pure silver, and set it on the altar at St Peter's in Rome*[3].

The hundred and seventy-fourth untruth, standing in untrue translation.

In a work of Gregorius Turonensis, this vessel is called turris....in qua mysterium dominici corporis habebatur[4]: "*a tower wherein* (174) *our Lord's body was kept.*" *In an old book,* De Pœnitentia, *of Theodorus the Greek of Tarsus in Cilicia, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, before Beda his time, it is called* pixis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis: "*the pix with our Lord's body for the voyage-provision for the sick.*" *In that book, in an admonition of a bishop to his clergy in a synod, warning is given, that nothing be put upon the altar in time of the sacrifice, but the coffer of reliques, the book of the four evangelists, and the pix with our Lord's body*[5].

In the fable of Amphilochius, and nowhere else.

Thus we find that the blessed sacrament hath always been kept, in some places in a pix hanged up over the altar, in some other places otherwise, every where and in all times safely and reverently, as is declared, to be always in a[6] *readiness for the voyage-provision of the sick. Which keeping of it for that godly purpose, and with like due reverence, if M. Jewel and the sacramentaries would admit, no man would*[7] *be either so scrupulous or so contentious as to strive with them either for the hanging up of it, or for the canopy.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is marvel that M. Harding in so short a tale cannot avoid manifest contradiction. He holdeth and teacheth, that this is the honouring of Christ, God and man; and yet he saith, it is no great key of his religion. Verily, whatsoever key he now make of it, great or small, he bringeth in very small authorities and proofs to make it good.

Concerning the canopy, wherein all this question standeth, he is well contented to yield in the whole, as being not able to find it once mentioned in any manner old writer. But the hanging up of the sacrament, and that even over the altar, he is certain may well be proved by that solemn fable that we have so often heard under the name of Amphilochius; concerning which fable (for a very childish fable it is, and no better) I must for shortness refer thee, gentle reader, to that is written before in the first article of this book, and in the thirty-third division[8], as answer to the same. Yet thus much shortly, and by the way: first, M. Harding's Amphilochius saith that St Basil, after he had said mass to Christ and his twelve apostles, immediately, the same night, put one portion of the sacrament in the dove, that was then hanging over the altar; and the next day following sent for a goldsmith, and caused the same dove to be made, the same dove, I say, that he put the sacrament in the night before. And so M. Harding's dove was a dove before it was made. But dreams and fables are worthy of privilege. Yet, lest this tale should pass alone, it is accompanied with a miracle. For after that time, whensoever St Basil was at mass, and lifted

[1 Hic fecit basilicam S. Andræ apostoli... ubi fecit ciborium ex argento...basilicam S. Sylvestri et Martini... construxit... ubi et super altare ciborium argenteum fecit.—Ex Lib. Pontif. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 999, 1000.]

[2 Bingham produces authorities to shew that the ciborium ought not to be confounded with the pix; for that anciently it was quite another thing, viz. an ornamental erection over the altar.—Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book VIII. chap. vi. 18, 19.]

[3 Hic fecit ad beatum Petrum apostolum super altare ciborium cum columnis quatuor ex argento puro.—Ex eod. in eod. Tom. II. p. 180.]

[4 Gregor. Turon. Op. Lut. Par. 1699. De Glor. Mart. Lib. I. cap. lxxxvi. cols. 818, 9; where *turre.*]

[5 The editor has not succeeded in discovering this passage in the Penitential of Theodore; but it occurs in a treatise De Cur. Past. attributed to Leo IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671—2. Tom. VIII. col. 34, as follows: Super altare nihil ponatur nisi capsæ cum reliquiis sanctorum, aut forte quatuor sancta Dei evangelia, aut pyxis cum corpore Domini ad viaticum pro infirmis. See, however, Not. in Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740—3. Vol. II. p. 40; also Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. Hamb. 1734—46. Tom. IV. p. 761.]

[6 H. A. 1564 *omits a.*]

[7 Will, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[8 See before, pages 189, &c.]

up the bread, the same dove (so saith this Amphilochius) used evermore to rouse herself over the altar, and moved and stirred of herself hither and thither; much like to the mathematical dove, that Archytas Tarentinus made, that was able to fly alone[9]. If this golden dove had not been endued with spirit and life, this tale had lost half his grace. Again, Pekham in his Provincial giveth a strait commandment of[10] all priests, that the bread in the pix be changed and renewed every seventh day[11], for avoiding of putrefaction, or some other loathsomeness that may happen. But M. Harding's golden dove had a special virtue above all others, to keep the bread seven years together without corruption, and the same at the last meet to be given to a sick man in his death-bed. Dove.

But there is mention made of golden and silvern doves in the council of Constantinople. I grant. Howbeit, there is no mention made there of any pix or reservation of the sacrament. But if every dove there were a pix, or, as they call it, a monster, then hath M. Harding a great advantage. For, seeking out but one pix, he hath found twenty, and that all together in one church, some about the altar, some about the holy font, and some elsewhere. And yet I could never understand, but evermore in one church, were it never so big, one pix was thought sufficient. O what pains M. Harding hath taken to furnish a fable! God grant us to be simple as doves in obeying of God's truth, and wise as serpents in discerning and eschewing lies. Matt. x.

The rest, that is alleged of Symmachus, Gregorius Romanus, Gregorius Turonensis, and Theodorus, as it is not denied, so it is no parcel of this question. The hanging of the sacrament, and the canopy, wherein the greatest danger stood, being removed, somewhat may be considered touching reservation, when it shall be thought necessary. Wherein to counterpoise the credit of these four obscure and late doctors, we have the authority of eight other doctors counted learned and ancient, Clemens, Cyprian, Origen, Cyril, Hierome, Augustine, Hesychius, and Nicephorus, as it is already proved.

[9 Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. Lib. x. cap. xii. 4.]
[10 To, 1565, 1609.]
[11 Quod quidem venerabile sacramentum omni die dominica præcipimus innovari.—Joh. Pecch. in Lyndew. Provincial. Antw. 1525. Lib. III. De Custod. Euch. fol. 179. 2.]

OF ACCIDENTS WITHOUT SUBJECT.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain[1] only the accidents and shews without the substance of bread and wine.

[OF THE REMAINING OF THE ACCIDENTS WITHOUT THEIR SUBSTANCE IN THE SACRAMENT.—Article X. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

The hundred and seventy-fifth untruth. For the substance of the bread and wine remaineth still, as shall appear.

* Untruth, as before.

The hundred and seventy-sixth untruth. For this doctrine was neither believed nor taught from the beginning.

The hundred and seventy-seventh untruth. For this kind of real and material change is not affirmed by any father.

In this sacrament after consecration (175) *nothing in substance remaineth that was before, neither bread nor wine, but only the accidents of bread and wine, as their form and shape, savour, smell, colour, weight, and such-like*[2], *which here have their being miraculously without their subject; forasmuch as *after consecration there is none other substance than the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, which is not affected with such accidents, as the scholastical doctors term it. Which doctrine hath always, though not with these precise terms,* (176) *been taught and believed from the beginning, and dependeth of the article of transubstantiation. For, if the substance of bread and wine be changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord* (177) *(which is constantly affirmed by all the learned and ancient fathers of the church), it followeth by a necessary sequel in nature, and by drift of reason, that then the accidents only remain. For witness and proof whereof I will not let to recite certain most manifest sayings of the old and best approved doctors.*

[*Transubstantiation affirmed.* H.A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Transubstantiation.

M. Harding granteth that this doctrine hath no express authority by precise terms, neither in the scriptures, nor in the ancient councils, nor in any old father, Greek or Latin; yet the old fathers, both Greeks and Latins, in their kinds were counted eloquent, and were thought able to utter their doctrine in express and precise words, if there had been then any such doctrine received in the church: wherefore, finding herein such want of all antiquity, we may be bold expressly and in precise terms to say, this seemeth to be a very new doctrine, resting only upon a false position, and a little coloured with drift of reason; which reason, notwithstanding, never entered into man's head within a whole thousand years after that the gospel had been preached. By like position and by like drift the old heretics, the Manichees, held that all that outwardly appeared in Christ was nothing else but accidents; that is, as M. Harding himself expoundeth it, the form and shape[3], the colour, the weight; and so indeed nothing else but the shew and appearance and fantasy of a body. From such doctors, it appeareth, these men have received their new doctrine. For Doctor Tonstal confesseth, it was first determined in the council of Lateran, which was holden in Rome in the year of our Lord a thousand two hundred and fifteen; and that before that time it was evermore free for any man, without impeachment of his faith, to hold the contrary[4].

Cuth. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. i. p. 45.

[1] Remaineth, H. A. 1564.]
[2] Such the like, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[3] The shape, 1565, 1609.]
[4] Tonst. de Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. i. fol. 46.]

Likewise M. Harding's own doctor Gabriel Biel saith: *Quomodo ibi sit corpus Christi; an per conversionem alicujus in illud, an sine conversione incipiat esse corpus Christi cum pane, manentibus substantia et accidentibus panis, non invenitur expressum in canone bibliæ*[5]: "In what sort the body of Christ is there, whether it be by the turning of any thing into that, or, without any turning (or transubstantiation), the body of Christ begin to be there together with the bread, both the substance and accidents of the bread remaining, it is not found expressed in the scriptures." So likewise Duns himself saith: *De sacramentis tenendum est sicut tenet sancta Romana ecclesia.... [Nam] verba scripturæ possent salvari, secundum intellectum facilem et veriorem, secundum apparentiam*[6]: "Touching the sacraments, we must hold as the holy church of Rome holdeth. For the words of the scripture might be saved (without transubstantiation), by an easy and truer understanding in appearance." Thus it appeareth by D. Tonstal, that this doctrine hath no ground of antiquity; and by Biel and Scotus, that it hath no certain authority of God's word. Upon this foundation, which by their own confession is uncertain, M. Harding buildeth up the whole certainty of this article.

Transubstantiation.

Gab. Biel. de Canon. Lect. 40.

Scot. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 11. Quæst. 2.

But he will reply, Christ saith: "This is my body." So the Arian heretics were able to allege as many and as plain words of Christ: *Pater major me est:* "My Father is greater than I." Neither ever was there any heresy so gross, but was able to make some simple shew of God's word. But Christ saith not, This bread is now no bread; or, This bread is transubstantiate into my body; or, My body is really and fleshly contained under the accidents of this bread.

This is my body.

But contrariwise the evangelists do witness, that Christ took bread; and St Paul, after consecration, sundry times calleth it bread; and the holy fathers expressly and constantly affirm, that the bread remaineth still in nature and substance as it did before.

1 Cor. xi.

Nevertheless, in that sense and meaning that Christ spake in, that bread was Christ's body. For in this case we may not consider what bread is in itself, but what it is by Christ's institution. As the body of Christ is his very natural body, so the bread in itself is very natural bread. And yet, by way of a sacrament, the bread both is called and also is Christ's body. So St Paul saith: "The rock was Christ." And St Augustine saith: *Non dicit, Petra significabat Christum; sed, Petra erat Christus*[7]: "He saith not, The rock signified Christ; but, The rock was Christ." The rock naturally and indeed was a rock, as it was before: yet, because it gave water to refresh the people, by a sacramental understanding the rock was Christ. So is it[8] written: *Sanguis est anima:* "The blood is the soul." Which words rightly understanded are true; and yet to say, that naturally and really the blood is the soul, it were an error. Unto which words of Moses St Augustine, by way of exposition, resembleth these words of Christ, "This is my body." His words be these: *Possum... interpretari præceptum illud in signo esse positum. Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui*[9]: "I may expound that commandment to consist in a sign. For our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a sign of his body." And, to come near to the institution of Christ's supper, St Luke and St Paul say: "This cup is the new testament." Yet was not the substance and nature of the cup changed by any force of these words; neither was that cup indeed and really the new testament. Now, as the rock was Christ, the blood is the soul, the cup is the new testament, remaining notwithstanding each of them in their several nature and substance; even so is the bread the body of Christ, remaining still notwithstanding in the nature and substance of very bread. It is a sacrament that Christ ordained, and therefore must have a sacramental understanding. Verily, as water, remaining still water, is the sacrament

1 Cor. x.

August. in Levit. Quæst. 57.

Deut. xii.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

Luke xxii.

1 Cor. xi.

[5 Gab. Biel, Sacr. Canon. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xl. fol. 94. 2; where *sit Christi corpus*, and *in ipsum*.]

[6 Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. xi. Quæst. 3. Tom. VIII. pp. 616—9.]

[7 Petra erat Christus. Non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. in Heptat. Lib. iii. Quæst. lvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 516.]

[8 It is, 1565.]

[9 Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit*.]

[Bread remaineth. 1565.] of Christ's blood; so bread, remaining still bread, is the sacrament of Christ's body.

But the contrary hereof was determined in the council of Lateran in Rome, about the year of our Lord 1215[1]. Howbeit, the determination of that council neither was general, nor was ever generally received. For the Christians in Asia and Græcia, and of all other parts of Christendom, would never agree unto it, as it appeareth by the council of Florence[2]; but evermore refused it as an error. But what special power had that council of Lateran to alter the faith of the church, and to change the sense of God's word, and to make that catholic, that before that time was never catholic, and to make that heresy, that for the space of twelve hundred years and more before was no heresy? Certainly, the old catholic fathers of the primitive church and these young fathers of the church of Lateran agree not together. For Gelasius saith: *Non desinit esse substantia vel natura panis et vini*[3]: "It ceaseth not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine." St Chrysostom saith: *Natura panis in sacramento remanet*[4]: "The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament." Theodoretus saith: *Christus naturam (panis) non mutat, sed naturæ adjicit gratiam*[5]: "Christ changeth not the nature (of the bread), but unto the same nature he addeth grace." St Augustine saith: *Quod... videtis, panis est et calix: quod vobis etiam oculi... renuntiant*[6]: "The thing that you see is bread and the cup, which thing your eyes do testify." Here be the plain testimonies of four ancient catholic fathers in this behalf. But these new Lateran fathers contrariwise say: Here ceaseth the substance and nature of bread and wine: the nature of bread remaineth not: Christ changeth the nature and substance of the bread: believe not the witness of your eyes: the thing that you see is not[7] bread. Thus these new fathers, as it may appear, of purpose are contrary to the old. Hereof we may reason thus:

Concil. Lat. sub Innoc. III. Anno 1215.

Concil. Florent. Sess. Ult.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

Chrysost. ad Cæsar. Monach.

Theodor. Dial. primo.

Augustin. ad Infant. Citat. a Beda. 1 Cor. x.

The old catholic fathers understood not this new fantasy of transubstantiation;

Therefore they understood not the remaining of the accidents without substance.

Yet hath M. Harding chosen this as the only foundation of his whole cause.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

St Cyprian, that learned bishop and holy martyr, saith thus, In Sermone de Cœna Domini: Panis iste, quem Dominus discipulis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro[8]: "*This bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, changed not in shape, but in nature, by the almighty power of the word (he meaneth Christ's word of consecration) is made flesh.*" *Lo, he confesseth the bread to be changed, not in shape or form (for that remaineth), but in nature, that is to say, in substance. And to signify the change of substance, and not an accidentary change only, to wit, from the use of common bread to serve for sacramental bread (as some of our new masters do expound that place for a shift), he addeth great weight of words, whereby he far overpoiseth*[9] *these men's light device, saying that by the almighty power of our Lord's word it is made flesh. Verily they might consider, as they would seem to be of sharp judgment, *that to the performance of so small a matter, as their sacramental change is, the almighty power of God's word is not needful. And now if this*[10] *word,* factus est, *may signify an imaginative making, then why may not* Verbum caro factum est *likewise be expounded to the*

* This is a blasphemy. For no sacrament can be made without the almighty power of God. With this example M. Harding fighteth against himself.

[1] Concil. Later. sub Innoc. III. cap. 1. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 946.]

[2] Gen. VIII. Synod. Florent. Sess. Ult. Sanct. Union. Litt. in eod. Tom. III. p. 476. See before, page 534, note 1.]

[3] Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[4] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See before, page 545, note 12.]

[5] Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Immut. Dial. I. Tom. IV. p. 18.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]

[7] No, 1565.]

[8] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[9] Overpeiseth, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[10] Here this, H. A. 1564.]

defence of sundry old heinous heresies against the true manhood of Christ? Thus, the nature of the bread in this sacrament being changed, and the form remaining, so as it seem bread, as before consecration, and being made our Lord's flesh by virtue of the word, the substance of bread changed into that most excellent substance of the flesh of Christ; of that which was before, the accidents remain only, without the substance of bread. The like is to be believed of the wine.

Natura.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This place of St Cyprian is often and much alleged, as if every word thereof were an argument, as indeed at the sight and first appearance it seemeth vehement, and soundeth much; but, being well weighed and considered, it will appear in substance as it is. Certainly, of annihilations, of removing of natures, of remaining of accidents without subject, which thing M. Harding hath taken to prove, it speaketh nothing. For answer, first, it is plain by these four ancient learned fathers, St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoretus, that the bread and wine, after the consecration, remain in their nature and substance as they were before. Which thing notwithstanding, it is not the nature of bread that worketh the effect and force of this sacrament, that is, that Christ may dwell in us, and we in him, no more than it is the nature of water, in the sacrament of baptism, that worketh the effect thereof, and maketh us flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones. And for better evidence hereof, to compare one sacrament with another, St Basil saith: *Gratia (baptismatis) non est ex natura aquæ, sed ex præsentia Spiritus*[11]: "The grace of baptism is not of the nature of the water, but of the presence of the Spirit." And therefore Cyril saith: *Quemadmodum viribus ignis, &c.*[12]: "As water, being vehemently heat by the strength of fire, heateth no less than if it were fire indeed; so the water of baptism, by the working of the Holy Ghost, is reformed unto a divine power (or nature)." So Chrysostom saith: *Elizeus potuit undarum mutare naturam, &c.*[13]: "Elizeus was able to change the nature of the water, and made it able to bear iron." Here Chrysostom saith, even as St Cyprian saith, that the nature of the water was changed; yet the very substance of the water remained as before.

Eph. v.

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xv. ἡ Χάρις οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐστὶ τοῦ ὕδατος.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. i. cap. xlii.

Chrysost. de Virtutib. et Vitiis, Hom. 5.

Likewise St Ambrose, speaking of God's marvellous working in baptism, saith: *Non agnosco usum naturæ: . . . nullus [est] hic naturæ ordo, ubi est excellentia gratiæ*[14]: "In this case I have no skill of the use of nature: the order of nature hath no rule, where as is the excellency of God's grace." Again he saith: *Est hoc illud magnum mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit? Aquas video, quas videbam quotidie. Me istæ habent mundare, in quas sæpe descendi, et nunquam mundatus sum? Hinc cognosce, quod aqua non mundat sine Spiritu*[15]: "Is this that great mystery, that the eye never saw, that the ear never heard, that never entered into the heart of man? I see water, that I saw every day before: is this it that shall make me clean? I have gone oftentimes into it, and was never the cleaner. Therefore understand thou, that water (of his own nature) without the Holy Ghost cleanseth not." And again: *Per prædicationem dominicæ crucis aqua fit dulcis ad gratiam*[16]: "By the preaching of our Lord's cross the water (beside his own nature) is made sweet unto grace." And in this respect St Hilary saith: *Uno Christo per naturam unius baptismi induimur*[17]: "We put upon us only one Christ by the nature of one baptism."

Ambros. de illis qui init. Myst. cap. ix.

Ambros. de illis qui init. Myst. cap. iv.

Ambros. de illis qui init. Myst. cap. iii.

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. viii.

---

[11] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xv. Tom. III. p. 29.]

[12] "Ὀνπερ γὰρ τρόπον τὸ ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν ἐκχεόμενον ὕδωρ ταῖς τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμιλήσαν ἀκμαῖς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἀναμάττεται, οὕτω διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητον ἀναστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. II. cap. i. Tom. IV. p. 147. See also Op. Insig. Cyril. Alex. in Evang. Joan. a G. Trapezont. traduct. Par. 1508. Lib. II. cap. xlii. fol. 41.]

[13] Helisæi lignum potuit undarum mutare naturam, quas quidem superficie sua quasi tergo ferrum sustinere cogit.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Virt. et Vit. Serm. Tom. V. col. 775.]

[14] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 59. Tom. II. col. 342; where *ubi excellentia gratiæ est.*]

[15] Id. ibid. cap. iv. 19. cols. 329, 30; where *hoc est illud*, and *istæ me.*]

[16] ... in hunc fontem sacerdos prædicationem dominicæ crucis mittit, et aqua, &c.—Id. ibid. cap. iii. 14. col. 328.]

[17] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VIII. 8. col. 952; where *induantur.*]

Natura.

And Gregory Nyssene in like sort: *Natura aquæ præcedente virga fidei, &c. vitam præstat*[1]: "The nature of water (thus considered), the rod of faith going before, giveth life." Otherwise he saith: *Hoc beneficium non aqua largitur, &c., sed Dei præceptum, et Spiritus. Aqua vero subservit ad ostendendam purgationem*[2]: "It is not water (of his own nature) that giveth this benefit, but the commandment of God, and the Holy Ghost. The water serveth to shew us the cleansing of the soul."

Gregor. Nyss. in Vit. Mos.

Gregor. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism.

By these examples, I trust it may appear what St Cyprian meant by the change of nature. Verily Origen, that ancient learned father, touching the bread in the sacrament of Christ's body, writeth thus: *Non materia panis, sed super illum dictus sermo, est qui prodest, &c.*[3]: "It is not the matter (or substance) of bread, but the word spoken over it, that doth profit." And therefore St Ambrose likewise saith: *Quanto magis operatorius est [sermo Dei], ut sint, quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur*[4]*?* "How much more effectual is the word of God, that (the bread and wine) may be (in substance and nature) the same that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing?"

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

Notwithstanding this answer unto the discreet reader may seem sufficient, yet M. Harding forceth the matter further with this word, *factus est.* If this word, *factus est,* saith he, may signify an imaginative making, then why may not *Verbum caro factum est* be so expounded? O what simple shifts are these! Is M. Harding able to allege no bar, but that may be pleaded against himself? Or doth he think that this Latin word *facere* must needs signify *transubstantiare?* St Augustine saith: *Nos Christi facti sumus*[5]: "We are made Christs." Leo saith: *Corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi*[6]: "The body of the man that is regenerate is made the flesh of Christ that was crucified." Beda saith: *Nos ipsi corpus Christi facti sumus*[7]: "We ourselves are made the body of Christ." Origen saith, in like manner of speech: *Spiritus sanctus non in turturem vertitur, sed columba fit*[8]: "The Holy Ghost is not changed into a turtle, but is made a dove." So St Ambrose: *Victa anima ... libidine carnis fit caro*[9]: "The soul, being overcome with the pleasure of the flesh, is made flesh." And will M. Harding, upon warrant of this one word, conclude that our bodies be utterly transubstantiate, and substantially and really become the body of Christ? or that the Holy Ghost is verily transubstantiate into a dove? or the soul into flesh? Or in these very words that he hath alleged, *Verbum caro factum est,* "the Word, that is, the Son of God, was made flesh," doth he think that the Son of God left the nature of his Godhead, and was verily transubstantiate into flesh? Doubtless this were a monstrous doctrine, and in old times it was Cerinthus' and Ebion's horrible heresy[10]. Verily Leo saith: *Quamvis ... Johannes scribat, Verbum caro factum est, ... Verbum tamen non est versum in carnem*[11]: "Although St John say, 'The Word was made flesh,' yet was not the Word turned (or transubstantiate) into flesh." St Augustine saith of the heretics called Timotheani: *Ad confirmandam hujusmodi impietatem, qua Deum asserunt versum esse a natura sua, cogunt evangelistæ testimonium dicentis, Et Verbum caro factum est. Quod ita interpretantur: Divina natura in humanam versa est*[12]: "These heretics, to confirm their wickedness, whereby they hold that God was changed from his own

August. in Johan. Tractat. 21.

Leon. de Pass. Serm. 14.

Bed. 1 Cor. x.

Orig. in Cant. Hom. 2.

Ambros. 1 Cor. v.

August. ad Quodvult-Deum.

Epist. Leon. ad Leon. August.

August. ad Quodvult-Deum.

[1 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Vit. Mos. Tom. I. p. 211.]

[2 Id. In Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 369.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 500.]

[4 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369.]

[5 Christus facti sumus.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. v. Tractat. xxi. 8. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 459.]

[6 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pass. Dom. Serm. xiv. col. 176; where *fiat.*]

[7 Nam et nos ipsius corpus facti sumus.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365.]

[8 Orig. Op. In Cant. Canticor. Hom. ii. 12. Tom. III. p. 22.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. v. v. 5. Tom. II. Append. col. 127.]

[10 Cerinthiani ... Jesum hominem tantummodo fuisse, nec resurrexisse ... asseverantes ... Ebionæi Christum etiam ipsi tantummodo hominem dicunt.—August. Op. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 8, 10. Tom. VIII. col. 7.]

[11 Leon. Magni Op. Ad Leon. August. Epist. xcvii. cap. viii. col. 508. Leo quotes this passage from Theophilus Alexandrinus.]

[12 August. Op. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. Tom. VIII. col. 27; where *quæ Deum asserit a sua versum natura.* The Benedictine editors throw this into a note, as being a spurious addition to Augustine's treatise.]

nature (and made man), rack the witness of the evangelist St John, saying, 'The Word was made flesh.' Which word they expound thus: The nature of God was changed into the nature of man." Even thus M. Harding saith: The nature of bread is changed into the nature of Christ's body. Natura. Factus est. Omnipotentia.

Where is then that great force of this word, *factus est*, wherein M. Harding seemeth to have such trust? He might better say thus: The Word was made flesh, the nature and substance of the Word remaining still; so the bread is made flesh, the nature and substance of the bread nevertheless remaining still. And in this sort the old learned father Tertullian speaketh touching the same: [*Christus*] *acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[13]: "Christ, taking the bread, and dividing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say (saith Tertullian), this is a figure of my body." Thus the holy fathers expound what they meant by these words, The bread is made Christ's body. Tertul. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

But St Cyprian further allegeth to this purpose the omnipotent power of God, "which," saith M. Harding, "far overpoiseth all these men's light fantasies." Thus he saith, as though that without this light fantasy of transubstantiation God could not be omnipotent; or as if there were such wonderful weight in his outward shews and empty accidents. But God worketh mightily, and sheweth his power omnipotent, not only herein, but also in all other his holy mysteries, as it is before declared in the fifth article, and the fourth division[14]. Leo saith: [*Christus*] *dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi, et obumbratio Spiritus sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem fecit ut regeneraret unda credentem*[15]: "Christ gave to the water that he gave to his mother. For the power of the Highest, and the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, that caused Mary to bear the Saviour, the same power hath caused the water to regenerate the believer." To like purpose saith Chrysostom: *Ut Saram non natura, sed Dei promissio fecit matrem, &c.*[16]: "As the promise of God, and not nature, made Sara a mother; even so our regeneration by nature is nothing. But the words of God, which the faithful know, being pronounced by the priest in the bath of water, do form and regenerate him that is baptized, as it were, in his mother's womb." So they were wont to sing at the hallowing of the font: "*Descendat Spiritus sanctus in hanc plenitudinem aquæ, totamque ejus substantiam regenerationis fœcundet effectu*[17]: "Let thy Holy Ghost come down into this fulness of water, and let it fill the whole substance thereof with the effect of regeneration." Thus Leo, Chrysostom, and other old fathers, acknowledge the omnipotency of God in the sacrament of baptism; yet did they not think it therefore necessary to transubstantiate the nature and substance of the water. The same St Cyprian (albeit indeed it is not St Cyprian, but a far later writer, as by good proofs it doth appear), writing only of the blessing of the holy oil, allegeth likewise the omnipotent power of God above nature. His words be these: *Sanctificatis elementis, jam non propria natura præbet effectum; sed virtus divina potentius operatur: ... adest veritas signo, et Spiritus sacramento*[18]: "It is not nature that giveth effect unto the element of oil being sanctified, but the power of God worketh more mightily. The truth is present with the sign, and the Holy Ghost with the sacrament." Therefore it was no good catholic divine's part so lightly to shake off these new masters' sacramental changes, as matters of so small weight. It appeareth by these examples, that God therein sheweth his omnipotent power, and yet without any transubstantiation. Omnipotentia Verbi. Leon. Serm. 4. de Nativ. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. Totam substantiam. Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

Now if neither these words, *panis natura mutatus*, nor these words, *factus est*, nor these words, *omnipotentia Verbi*, nor all these words together, be able to prove

---

[13 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447, note 13.]

[14 See before, pages 454, 5.]

[15 Leon. Magni Op. In Nativ. Serm. v. cap. v. col. 52; where *facit ut regeneret*. See before, page 455.]

[16 Καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκείνην μητέρα οὐχ ἡ φύσις εἰργάσατο, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Θεοῦ ... οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσις μὲν οὐδεμία, τὰ δὲ ῥήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως λεγόμενα, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, ταῦτα ἐν τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τῶν ὑδάτων, καθάπερ ἐν νηδύϊ τινὶ, διαπλάττει καὶ ἀναγεννᾷ τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. — Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. iv. Epist. ad Gal. Comm. Tom. X. p. 711.]

[17 Descendat in hanc plenitudinem fontis virtus Spiritus sancti totamque hujus aquæ substantiam regenerandi fecundet effectu.—Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sar. Roth. 1555. Bened. Font. fol. 42.]

[18 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 47.]

transubstantiation, as it is clear by that is said already; then is M. Harding's foundation not well laid, and therefore we may the better doubt of his conclusion.

And whereas he saith, These new masters think it sufficient to acknowledge a sacramental changing, and to say, that the bread is changed into the sacrament of Christ's body, and that only for a shift; it may please him to remember that Beda, well near nine hundred years ago, expounded the same in like sort; and yet, that notwithstanding, was never counted neither shifter nor new master.

Bed. in Octav. Epiph.

His words be plain: *Panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis Christi ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur*[1]: "The creature of bread and wine, by the ineffable sanctification of the Spirit, is turned into the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood."

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

This place is counterfeit, and not to be found in all St Ambrose.

Nothing can be plainer to this purpose than the sayings of St Ambrose: Licet figura panis et vini videatur, nihil tamen aliud, quam caro Christi et sanguis, post consecrationem credendum est[2]: "*Although,*" *saith he,* "*the form of bread and wine be seen, yet after consecration we must believe they are nothing else but the flesh and blood of Christ.*" *After the opinion of this father, the shew and figure of bread and wine are seen, and therefore remain after consecration. And if we must believe that which was bread and wine before to be none*[3] *other thing but the flesh and blood of Christ, then are they no other thing indeed. For if they were, we might so believe. For belief is grounded upon truth; and whatsoever is not true is*[4] *not to be believed. Hereof it followeth, that, after consecration, the accidents and shews only remain without the substance of bread and wine. In another place he saith as much:* Panis iste[5], &c.: "*This bread, before the words of the sacraments, is bread: as soon as the consecration cometh, of bread is made the body of Christ.*" *Again in another place he saith most plainly, that* "*the power of consecration is greater than the power of nature; because nature is changed by consecration*[6]." *By this father it is evident that the nature* (178), *that is to say, the substance of bread and wine, by consecration being changed into the body and blood of Christ, their natural qualities, which be accidents, continuing unchanged for performance of the sacrament, remain without the substance of bread and wine.*

De Cons. Dist. 2. cap. Omnia quæcunque.

De Sacramentis, Lib. iv. cap. iv.

De iis qui initiantur.

The hundred and seventy-eighth untruth, standing in false interpretation, as shall appear. Accidents perform the sacrament. A strange kind of divinity.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Ambrose's books be extant, and known: among them all these words are not found. Gratian, the reporter of them, either of purpose or for want of discretion, as a man living in a very barbarous and corrupt season, allegeth often one doctor for another, the Greek for the Latin, the new for the old; as may soon appear to the learned reader. This writer, whom M. Harding would so fain have to pass by the name of Ambrose, in this very place purposely depraveth the words of Christ, alleging that for scripture that is not to be found so written in all the scriptures; which is not the manner of St Ambrose's dealing.

But, for contentation of the reader, to answer that thing that seemeth worthy of no answer, we must understand that the bread, the wine, and the water, of their own nature, without further consideration, are nothing else but usual and simple creatures. And therefore St Augustine giveth this general

---

[1 Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Epiph. Dom. Hom. Tom. VII. col. 320; where *ejus* for *Christi*.]

[2 Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 74. col. 1954; where *vini hic sit omnino nihil aliud*, and *credenda sunt*. A note in Gratian says, Ex Lib. iv. de Sacram. cap. iv. et vi; but these words are not to be found in the place thus referred to.]

[3 No, H. A. 1564.]

[4 It is, H. A. 1564.]

[5 Panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 14. Tom. II. col. 368.]

[6 Probemus ... majorem ... vim esse benedictionis quam naturæ; quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur.—Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 50. Tom. II. col. 338.]

rule touching the same: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be of themselves[7], but what they signify[8]." So St Ambrose writeth of the water of baptism: *Quid vidisti? Aquas utique, sed non solas...Apostolus docuit, non ea contemplanda...quæ videntur, sed quæ non videntur*[9]: "What sawest thou (in thy baptism)? water no doubt, but not only water. The apostle hath taught us to behold not the things that be seen, but the things that be not seen." Otherwise, touching the very substance of the bread and the wine, he saith: *Sunt quæ erant*[10]: "They be the same things that they were." And immediately before he calleth the sacrament touching the bread and the wine, which are the material parts thereof, "a common and a known creature[11]."

August. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. ii.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii

Creatura solennis et nota.

Yet nevertheless, touching the effect of the sacrament, we consider not the corruptible natures, or outward elements, but direct our faith only to the body and blood of Christ. St Ambrose himself leadeth us thus to say: *Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*[12]: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind; but after the consecration the body of Christ is signified."

Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. ix.

But, M. Harding will reply, thus[13] Ambrose saith: *Figura panis et vini videtur*[14]: "The figure of bread and wine is seen;" therefore we must needs confess there are accidents without a subject. If any old writer, Greek or Latin, learned or unlearned, ever used this word *figura* in this sense, to wit, to signify a shew alone without any substance, then may M. Harding seem to say somewhat. If never any writer used it so, then have we good cause to doubt his conclusion. Verily, to leave other old writers of all sorts, St Ambrose himself saith: [*Christus*] *apparet...in figura humana*[15]: "Christ appeareth in the form or figure of a man." And St Paul saith to the[16] like purpose: *Formam servi accepit*: "Christ took upon him the form of a servant." I think M. Harding will not warrant us, upon the force of these words, that Christ had only the shape and shew, and not the very substance and nature, of a man's body: for in so saying he should seem openly to favour the old condemned heresy of the Manichees. In saying otherwise, this word *figura* cannot further his purpose.

Ambros. in Epist. ad Col. cap. i. Phil. ii.

But St Ambrose saith: *Nihil aliud credendum*[17]: "We must believe there is nothing else." Therefore, saith M. Harding, there is no bread. I marvel he hath no further insight, nor better skill in his own arguments: for here he concludeth a plain contradiction against himself. For, if there be nothing else but the body of Christ, and we must also believe the same, then is there neither form, nor figure, nor weight, nor savour there; which is contrary to M. Harding's own first position; and yet by these words we must needs believe it. The meaning is, as it is before said, that, according to the doctrine of St Augustine, in all sacraments we sequester our minds utterly from the sensible creatures, and with our faith behold only the things that thereby are represented.

For answer to the other two places of St Ambrose here alleged, touching the changing of natures, and making of Christ's body, it may please thee, gentle reader, to remember that it is[18] answered before in the second division hereof[19] unto the words of St Cyprian. I trow M. Harding will not say that the changing of any thing is straightway the corruption of the same. Origen saith: *Si...mutabuntur cœli, utique non perit quod mutatur*[20]: "Albeit the heavens shall be changed, yet the thing that is changed is not therefore utterly abolished and

Orig. περὶ Ἀρχῶν, Lib. i. cap. vi.

[7 Themself, 1565.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See before, page 467.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 8. Tom. II. col. 327; where *docuit te apostolus non.*]

[10 Id. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369; where *sint.*]

[11 ... creaturam solemnem et notam.—Id. ibid. cap. iii. 8. col. 367.]

[12 Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[13 This, 1565, 1609.]

[14 See above, note 2.]

[15 Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Col. cap. i. v. 15. Tom. II. Append. col. 264.]

[16 1565 omits *the.*]

[17 See above, note 2.]

[18 That, that is, 1565.]

[19 See before, pages 565, &c.]

[20 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. De Princ. Lib. I. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 71.]

put away." The question between us is not, whether the bread be the body of Christ, or no; but whether in plain and simple manner of speech it be fleshly and really the body of Christ. St Augustine saith: *Secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est*[1]: "After a certain manner (of speech) the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ." And St Ambrose himself herein seemeth well and sufficiently to open his own meaning. For thus he writeth, as is before alleged: *Post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*:...*post consecrationem sanguis* [*Christi*] *nuncupatur*[2]. *In typum sanguinis Christi nos calicem sanguinis mysticum percipimus: carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*[3]. *Similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis*[4]. *Est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini*[5]. *In similitudinem...accipis sacramentum*[6]: "After consecration, the body of Christ is signified: after consecration, it is called the blood of Christ:" "We receive the mystical cup of blood, in example of the blood of Christ: we signify the flesh and blood of Christ, that were offered for us. Thou drinkest the likeness of that precious blood:" "It is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord:" "For a likeness or resemblance (of the body of Christ) thou receivest the sacrament." Thus many ways it seemed good to St Ambrose to qualify the heat and rigour of his other words.

August. Epist. 23.

Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. ix. Ambros. 1 Cor. xi.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v.

Now, if M. Harding, as his manner is, will call all these naked signs and bare figures, let him then remember, he maketh sport and game at St Ambrose, his own doctor. But the sacraments of Christ, notwithstanding they be signs and figures, as they be commonly called of the old[7] fathers, yet are they not therefore bare and naked. For God by them, like as also by his holy word, worketh mightily and effectually in the hearts of the faithful. Touching the force of God's word, St Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus,...et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim nobis vidisse, quem legimus, spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse*[8]: "We have seen him and beholden him with our eyes, and have thrust our fingers into the very holes of his nails. For we seem to have seen him whom we have read, and to have beholden him hanging on the cross, and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds." So saith St Cyprian: *Cruci hæremus,* [*et*] *sanguinem sugimus, et intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera figimus linguam*[9]: "We cleave to the cross, and suck up the blood, and thrust our tongues even within the wounds of our Redeemer." And in this respect St Ambrose saith: *Baptismus est mysterium, quod oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit*[10]: "Baptism is (not bare water, but) a mystery, that the eye never saw, the ear never heard, nor never entered into the heart of man." In respect hereof the element of water seemeth nothing. Even so in respect of Christ's body and blood, that are represented, the bread and wine seem nothing. Thus St Ambrose saith, in either sacrament "the power of consecration is greater than the power of nature:" thus "by consecration nature is changed."

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. v. cap. vii.

Cypr. de Cœna Dom.

Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. iv.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

According to[11] *the which meaning Theodoretus saith:* Videri et tangi possunt, sicut prius; intelliguntur autem ea esse, quæ facta sunt, et creduntur[12]: "*The bread and wine may be seen and felt, as before consecration; but they are understanded to be the things which they are made and believed.*"

Dialog. 2.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. cols. 339, 40.]

[3 ...in edendo et potando carnem &c. significamus novum testamentum in his consequuti &c.... In cujus typum nos calicem mysticum sanguinis...percipimus.—Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149.]

[4 Id. de Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 20. Tom. II. cols. 370, 1.]

[5 Id. ibid. cap. v. 21. col. 371; where *figura est.*]

[6 Id. ibid. Lib. VI. cap. i. 3. col. 380.]

[7 All the old, 1565.]

[8 Id. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. v. cap. vii. 97. Tom. I. col. 1378.]

[9 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 41.]

[10 Hoc est illud magnum mysterium, &c.—Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. iv. 19. Tom. II. cols. 329, 30.]

[11 Unto, H. A. 1564.]

[12 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here, good christian reader, I beseech thee to consider thus much by the way. In the university of Oxford, and in the late solemn disputation holden there against that godly father and martyr of blessed memory, Doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, the authority of this father Theodoretus was utterly refused in open audience, for that he was a Grecian, and therefore not thought to judge catholicly of the sacraments, according to the late determination of the church of Rome. Which thing notwithstanding, it appeareth M. Harding hath now reconciled him, and made him catholic. Howbeit, this thing seemeth very strange, that one man, in the uttering of one sentence, without any manner altering or change of word, should be both an heretic and a catholic, both together.

Substance and nature not changed. Anno 1554.

Concerning the greatest substance hereof, this place of Theodoretus is answered before, in the eighth article, and in the twenty-eighth division[13]. Here he saith that "the bread and the wine are seen and touched, as they were before." Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: *Ergo*, there is neither bread nor wine remaining, but only accidents and shews without substance. This argument of itself is strange and wonderful, and the more for that it concludeth plain contrary, not only to the meaning, but also to the express and evident words of Theodoretus. For thus his words lie: *Qui seipsum appellavit vitem, ille symbola et signa, quæ videntur, appellatione corporis et sanguinis honoravit; non naturam mutans, &c.*[14]: "He, that calleth himself the vine, honoured the signs and tokens (whereby he meaneth the sacraments), that be seen, with the name of his body and blood; not changing the nature thereof, &c." And again: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua. Manent enim in priori substantia*[15]: "The mystical signs after the consecration depart not from their own nature. For they remain in their former substance."

Theodor. Dial. 1. Immutabilis.

Theodor. in Dial. 2. Inconfusus.

Now let us compare this text with M. Harding's gloss. Theodoretus saith, "The bread and wine depart not from their own nature:" M. Harding saith, They depart utterly from their own nature. Theodoretus saith, "The bread and wine remain in their former substance:" M. Harding saith, There remain only the shews and accidents of bread and wine, without any their former substance. It is a bold gloss, that thus dareth to overthrow the manifest meaning of the text. I trow such dealing should be rectified by a writ of error.

Of these plain words of Theodoretus we may well conclude thus against M. Harding: The substance of the bread and wine remaineth still as it was before; therefore the accidents and shews of bread and wine be not there without their substance. For the rest, how these mystical signs be understanded and believed to be the body and blood of Christ, it is answered before, in the eighth article, and twenty-sixth[16] division.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

In Lib. Sent. Prosperi, De Consec. Dist. 2. cap. Nos autem.

"We do not in like sort," saith St Augustine, "take these two forms of bread and wine after consecration, as we took them before: sith that we grant faithfully, that before consecration it is bread and wine that nature hath shaped; but after consecration that it is the flesh and blood of Christ that the blessing hath consecrated[17]*." In another place he saith* *De Verbis Domini secundum Lucam, Sermo 28.* *that this is not the bread which goeth into the body* (179) (*meaning for bodily sustenance*), *but that bread of life* qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit[18], *"which sustaineth the substance of our soul."*

The hundred and seventy-ninth untruth. For Rabanus saith: "Sacramentum .. in alimentum corporis redigitur[19]."

[13] Here is an error: it should be the twenty-sixth division. See before, pages 547, &c.]

[14] Theodor. Op. Immut. Dial. 1. Tom. IV. p. 18.]

[15] Id. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85.]

[16] 28, 1565.]

[17] August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 41. col. 1932. See before, page 545, note 8.]

[18] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 152. See below, page 572, note 5, also before, page 128, note 1.]

[19] Rab. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626-7. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. 1. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The former of these two places may be easily discharged by that is answered before to the words of St Ambrose, in the third division hereof. St Augustine speaketh of the changing and advancing[1] of the natures of bread and wine unto a spiritual and divine use, and not of the abolishing of the same. As for accidents and shews standing without subject and substance, he saith nothing. True it is, the bread, before the consecration, was nothing else but bare and common bread; now it is advanced[2], and made a sacrament of Christ's body and blood; not by nature, but by consecration, above nature. Chrysostom saith:

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Oculis intellectus ista perspiciamus. Nihil enim sensibile tradidit nobis Christus, &c. Sic et in baptismo[3]*:* "Let us behold these things with the eyes of our mind; for Christ hath delivered to us nothing that is sensible, &c. So likewise in baptism." I think M. Harding will not deny but the water in baptism is a thing sensible; likewise, that the bread and wine in the holy mysteries, or, at the least, the accidents and shews thereof, are things sensible. But St Chrysostom withdraweth us from the bread, the wine, the water, and all other like things, that be sensible, to the consideration of the body and blood of Christ, that are not sensible: in comparison whereof, all the rest are consumed, and seem nothing.

Touching the second place, the words be written both in St Augustine, and also in a book that is commonly known by the name of St Ambrose *de Sacramentis*, the meaning whereof nothing toucheth, neither the bread, nor the wine, but only the body and blood of Christ, which thereby are represented. And therefore this place, so unadvisedly chosen, can little further M. Harding's fantasy of empty accidents, hanging, I know not how, without substance.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv.

The words be plain of themselves[4] without further exposition. *Non iste panis, ... qui vadit in corpus, sed ille panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*[5]*:* "Not this bread that passeth into the body, but that bread of everlasting life, that strengtheneth the substance of our soul." M. Harding knoweth that the sacrament is received into our bodies. Rabanus saith: *Sacramentum ... ore percipitur, ... [et] in alimentum corporis redigitur*[6]*:* "The sacrament is received with the mouth, and is turned to the nourishment of the body." But the body of Christ, as St Cyprian saith, *est cibus mentis, non ventris*[7], "is meat for the mind, not for the belly." So St Augustine saith: *Panis ... iste interioris hominis quærit esuriem*[8]*:* "This bread seeketh the hunger of the inner man." *Intus bibendo felix sum*[9]*:* "Drinking in my heart within, I am made happy." Tertullian saith: *Ruminandus intellectu, et fide digerendus [est]*[10]*:* "That meat ought to be chewed with understanding, and to be digested with faith." Likewise Chrysostom: *Magnus iste panis, qui replet mentem ... non ventrem*[11]*:* "This great bread, that filleth the mind, and not the belly." Of this bread St Ambrose speaketh, and not of the sacrament, that is received into the body. Wherefore it appeareth, M. Harding was not well advised how little this place would make for his purpose. The old father Origen saith: *Accidit, ut simpliciores quidam, nescientes distinguere, ... quæ sint, quæ in scripturis divinis interiori homini, quæ vero exteriori deputanda sint, vocabulorum similitudine falsi, ad ineptas quasdam fabulas et figmenta inania se contulerint*[12]*:* "It happeneth that simple folk, being not able to discern what things they be in the holy scriptures that are to be applied to the inner man, and what to the utter, being deceived by the likeness of words, turn themselves into[13] vain imaginations and foolish fables."

Rab. Maur. Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 25.

Tertull. de Resur. Carn.

Chrysost. ex variis locis in Matt. Hom. 9.

Orig. in Prolog. in Cant. Cantic.

[1 Avancing, 1565.]

[2 Avanced, 1565.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]

[4 Themself, 1565.]

[5 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 24. Tom. II. col. 378.]

[6 Rab. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626—7. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11.]

[7 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. See before, page 141, note 11.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 494.]

[9 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxv. 17. col. 493.]

[10 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resur. Carn. 37. p. 406.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Matt. cap. v: De Orat. Domin. Hom. Tom. V. col. 716.]

[12 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cantic. Canticor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 28; where *similitudinibus*.]

[13 To, 1565, 1609.]

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

No man can speak more plainly hereof than Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, an old author who wrote in Greek, and is extant, but as yet remaining in written hand, and common[14] *to the sight of few learned men: his words be not much unlike the words of the school doctors.* Præbetur corpus *ἐν τύπῳ... ἄρτου*, in specie, sive figura panis. Item, præbetur sanguis *ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου*[15]: "*Christ's body*," *saith he*, "*is given us in form or figure of bread. Again, his blood is given us in form of wine.*" *A little after these words he saith thus: μὴ πρόσεχε οὖν, ὡς ψιλοῖς τῷ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ, &c.:* Ne mentem adhibeas quasi pani et vino nudis: sunt enim hæc corpus et sanguis, ut Dominus pronunciavit. Nam tametsi illud tibi sensus suggerit, esse [scilicet panem et vinum nudum], tamen firmet te fides, et ne gustatu rem dijudices, quin potius pro certo ac comperto habe, omni dubitatione relicta, esse tibi impartitum corpus et sanguinem Christi[16]: "*Consider not*," *saith this father*, "*these as bare bread and wine. For these are his body and blood, as our Lord said. For, although thy sense report to thee so much, that it is bare bread and wine, yet let thy faith stay thee, and judge not thereof by thy taste, but rather be right well assured, all doubt put apart, that the body and blood of Christ is given to thee.*" *Again he saith thus in the same place:* Hæc cum scias, et pro certo et explorato habeas, (180) qui videtur esse panis, non esse, sed corpus Christi; item, quod videtur vinum, non esse, quanquam id velit sensus, sed sanguinem Christi, ac de eo prophetam dixisse, Panis cor hominis confirmat; firma ipse cor, sumpto hoc pane, utpote spirituali[17]: "*Whereas thou knowest this for a very certainty, that that which seemeth to be wine is not wine, albeit the sense maketh that account of it, but the blood of Christ, and that the prophet thereof said, 'Bread strengtheneth the heart of man;' strengthen then*[19] *thyself*[20] *thy heart, by taking this bread as that which is spiritual.*" *And in the*[21] III. Catechesi *this father saith:* Panis eucharistiæ post invocationem sancti Spiritus non amplius est panis nudus et simplex, sed corpus, &c.[22]: "*The bread of the sacrament, after prayer made to the Holy Ghost, is not bare and simple bread, but the body of Christ.*"

It is not bare bread; *ergo*, it is bread.

The hundred and eightieth untruth, standing in wilful corruption of the author's words and meaning, as shall appear[18].

Now, sith that by this doctor's plain declaration of the catholic faith in this point we ought to believe, and to be verily assured, that the bread is no more bread after consecration, but the very body of Christ, and the wine no more wine, but his precious blood, though they seem to the eye otherwise, though taste and feeling judge otherwise, and, to be short, though all senses report the contrary; and all this upon warrant of our Lord's word, who said these to be his body and blood, and that (as he teacheth) not in the bread and wine; and further, sith we are taught by Eusebius[a] *Emissenus, in homilies*[23] *of Easter, to believe* terrena commutari et transire[24], "*the earthly things to be changed, and to pass;*" *again,* creaturas converti in substantiam corporis Christi[25], "*the creatures of bread and wine to be turned into the substance of our Lord's body and blood,*" *which is the very transubstantiation; and sith Chrysostom*[b] *saith,* panem absumi, "*that the bread is consumed away*" *by the substance of Christ's body;* [c]*and Damascene, bread and wine* transmutari

[a] Newly set abroad and justly suspected.

[*Transubstantiation.* H. A. 1564.]

[*In Liturgia.* H. A. 1564.]

[b] In comparison of Christ's body, that is represented, the bread is nothing.

[c] Such a supernatural change there is in the water of baptism, and in all sacraments.

---

[14] Commen, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[15] Cyril. Hierosol. Op. Par. 1720. Catech. xxii. Myst. iv. 3. p. 320.]

[16] Id. ibid. 6. p. 321.]

[17] *Ταῦτα μαθὼν, καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὡς ὁ φαινόμενον ἄρτος οὐκ ἄρτος ἐστὶν, εἰ καὶ τῇ γεύσει αἰσθητὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ φαινόμενος οἶνος οὐκ οἶνός ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ ἡ γεῦσις τοῦτο βούλεται, ἀλλὰ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὅτι περὶ τούτου ἔλεγε ψάλλων ὁ Δαβὶδ ψάλλων, Καὶ ἄρτος καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου στηρίζει, τοῦ ἱλαροῦναι πρόσωπον ἐν ἐλαίῳ· στηρίζου τὴν καρδίαν, μεταλαμβάνων αὐτοῦ ὡς πνευματικοῦ· καὶ ἱλάρυνον τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου πρόσωπον.*—Id. ibid. 9. p. 322.]

[18] See below, page 579.]

[19] Thou, H. A. 1564.]

[20] Theeself, 1565.]

[21] H. A. 1564, omits *the*.]

[22] Id. Catech. xxi. Myst. iii. 3. pp. 316, 7.]

[23] His homilies, H. A. 1564.]

[24] Nec dubitet quisquam...creaturas...in dominici corporis transire posse naturam.—Euseb. Emis. Lut. Par. 1547. De Pasch. Hom. v. fol. 47. 2.]

[25] ...tibi novum ... non debeat videri, quod in Christi substantiam terrena et mortalia committantur, &c.—Id. ibid. fol. 45.]

supernaturaliter[1], "*to be changed above the course of nature;*" and *Theophylact, the bread* [d]transelementari in carnem Domini[2], "*to be quite turned by changing of the elements,*" *that is, the matter of*[3] *substance it consisteth of,* "*into the flesh of our Lord;*" *and that*[5] *in another place,* ineffabili operatione transformari, etiamsi panis nobis videatur[6], "*that the bread is transformed and*[3] *changed into another substantial form* (*he meaneth that of our Lord's body*) *by unspeakable working, though it seem to be bread; finally, sith that the Greek doctors of late age affirm the same doctrine, among whom* [e]*Samona useth for persuasion of it the similitude which Gregory Nyssene and Damascene for declaration of the same used before, which is, that in consecration such manner transubstantiation is made, as is the conversion of the bread in nourishing, in which it is turned into the substance of the nourished*[7]*; Methonensis, like St Ambrose, would not men in this matter to look for the order of nature, seeing that Christ was born of a virgin beside all order of nature, and saith that our Lord's body in this sacrament is received under the form or shape of another thing, lest blood should cause it to be horrible*[8]*; Nicolaus Cabasila saith, that this bread is no more a figure of our Lord's body, neither a gift bearing an image of the true gift, nor bearing any description of the passions of our Saviour himself, as it were in a table, but the true gift itself, the most holy body of our Lord itself, which hath truly received reproaches, contumelies, stripes, which was crucified, which was killed*[9]*; Marcus Ephesius, though otherwise to be rejected, as he that obstinately resisted the determination of the council of Florence concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost out of the Son, yet a sufficient witness of the Greek church's faith in this point, affirming the things offered to be called of St Basil* antitypa, *that is, the samplers and figures of our Lord's body, because they be not yet perfitly consecrated, but as yet bearing the figure and image, referreth the change or transubstantiation of them to the Holy Ghost,* donec Spiritus sanctus adveniat, qui ea mutet[10]: *These gifts offered* (*saith he*) *be of St Basil called figures,* "*until the Holy Ghost come upon them, to change them.*" *Whereby he sheweth the faith of the Greek church, that, through the Holy Ghost in consecration, the bread and wine are so changed, as they may no more be called figures, but the very body and blood of our Lord itself, as into the same changed by the coming of the Holy Ghost. Which change is a change in substance, and therefore it may rightly be termed transubstantiation, which is nothing else but a turning or changing of one substance into another substance.*

Lib. iv. De Orthodoxa Fide, cap. xiv. *In Marc. xiv.* *In Matt. xxvi.* *Cap. xxvii.*

[d] Even so Theophylact saith: "Nos transelementamur in Christum[4]."

[e] These four, Samona, Methonensis, Cabasilas, and Marcus Ephesius, are late writers, void of credit, yet all enemies to transubstantiation.

[*The treatises of these Greek writers have been set forth of late by one Claudius de Sainctes. H. A. 1564.*]

This Marcus Ephesius wilfully depraveth St Basil's words.

Two sorts of consecration; the one perfit, the other unperfit.

[*Transubstantiation. H. A. 1564.*]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus is an old author newly set forth. I will not call his credit into question; notwithstanding many of his considerations be very

---

[1] Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. IV. cap. xiii. Tom. I. p. 270.]

[2] Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Marc. Comm. cap. xiv. Tom. I. p. 249.]

[3] Or, H. A. 1564.]

[4] See below, page 577, note 12.]

[5] H. A. 1564, omits *that.*]

[6] Id. in Matt. Comm. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. p. 146.]

[7] Spiritus sanctus descendit, et...panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Christi μεταβάλλει, id est, commutat, non minus quam hepar convertit alimentum in corpus alicujus hominis.—Samon. Discept. sup. Verit. Corp. et Sang. Christ. in Sacr. Euch. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XI. p. 477. See also ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. fol. 26. 2.]

[8] Quid requiris causam et ordinem naturæ panis transmutationis in Christi corpus, et aquæ vinique in sanguinem; cum supra naturam, rationem, mentem, et cogitationem, ex virgine sit natus? ... scias oportet...Deum...hoc fecisse...ne aversarentur multi arrhabonem æternæ vitæ, et ægre ferrent, carnem et sanguinem intuentes.—Nic. Episc. Methon. De Corp. et Sang. Christ. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. XII. Pars I. p. 1192. See also ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. foll. 25, 6.]

[9 ...panis enim non amplius figura dominici corporis, neque donum ferens imaginem veri doni, neque ferens aliquam descriptionem ipsius Servatoris passionum tanquam in tabula: sed ipsum verum donum, ipsum sanctissimum corpus Domini, quod omnia illa vere suscepit, probra, contumelias, vibices; quod crucifixum, quod interfectum.—Nic. Cabas. Liturg. Expos. cap. xxvii. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Tom. XIV. p. 149.]

[10 Idcirco et Magnus Basilius...antitypa vocat proposita dona, nimirum quasi nondum perfecta per ea verba, verum adhuc typum quendam et imaginem ferentia. Itaque deinceps statim Spiritus sanctus adveniat precatur, faciatque panem quidem ipsum preciosum corpus; calicem autem, ipsum preciosum sanguinem.—Marc. Ephes. ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. fol. 28.]

much like to M. Harding's judgment in this article, that is to say, like *accidens sine subjecto*, "a shew of words without substance." He seemeth both in words and sense fully to agree with Chrysostom, Œcumenius, and other Greek fathers, that never understood this M. Harding's new religion. He shutteth up the hearers' bodily eyes, wherewith they see the bread and wine; and borroweth only the inner eyes of their minds, wherewith they may see the very body and blood of Christ, which is that bread that came from heaven. And herein, notwithstanding his words be quick and violent, the more to stir and inflame the hearts of them unto whom he speaketh, yet he himself in plainest wise openeth and cleareth his own meaning. For thus he writeth: *Ne consideres, tanquam panem nudum: Panis eucharistiæ non est amplius panis simplex et nudus*[11]: "Consider it not as if it were bare bread: The bread of the sacrament is no longer bare and simple bread." Which words are naturally resolved thus: It is bread; howbeit not only bare bread, but bread, and some other thing else beside. So, where they of M. Harding's side are wont to say, *Papa non est purus homo*[12], "The pope is not a bare man;" I trow their meaning is not that the pope is no man, but only that he is a man, and yet, besides that, hath another capacity above the condition and state of common men. Of these words of Cyrillus we may well reason thus by the way: The sacrament is not only or bare bread; therefore it is bread, albeit not only bare bread. And thus the same Cyrillus, that is brought to testify that there remaineth no bread in the sacrament, testifieth most plainly to the contrary, that there is bread remaining in the sacrament.

Bare bread. Bare oil.

Catech. Myst. 4.

And, although this answer of itself might seem sufficient, yet, good christian reader, for thy better satisfaction, I pray thee further to understand that, as this Cyrillus speaketh here of the sacrament of our Lord's body and blood, even so, and in like phrase and form of words, he speaketh of the oil that they call holy, of the water of baptism, and of other ceremonies. Of the oil he writeth thus, and further by the same expoundeth his meaning touching the sacrament: *Vide, ne illud putes esse unguentum tantum. Quemadmodum enim panis eucharistiæ, post sancti Spiritus invocationem, non amplius est panis communis, sed corpus Christi; sic et sanctum hoc unguentum non amplius est unguentum nudum, neque ... commune, ... sed est charisma Christi*[13]: "Beware thou think not this to be oil only. For as the bread of the sacrament, after the invocation of the Holy Ghost, is no longer common bread, but the body of Christ; so this holy oil is no longer bare or common oil, but it is the grace of Christ." By these words there appeareth like change in the one as in the other. As the oil is the grace of Christ, so is the bread the body of Christ; and as the nature and substance of the oil remaineth still, although it be not bare or common oil, so the nature or substance of the bread remaineth still, although it be not common or bare bread.

Cyril. in Catech. Myst. Tert.

In like sort he writeth of the water of baptism: *Non tanquam aquæ simplici studeas huic lavacro: ... ne aquæ simplicitati mentem adhibeas*[14]: "Behold not this bath as simple water: consider not the simplicity of the water." Of these conferences of places we may well gather thus: The water in the holy mystery of baptism, notwithstanding it be not bare and common water, yet nevertheless continueth still in the nature and substance of very water; so likewise the bread in the holy mystery of Christ's body, notwithstanding it be not bare and common bread, yet nevertheless in nature and substance is bread still.

Cyril. in Illuminat. 3.

But Cyrillus saith, it is no bread, it is no wine, notwithstanding it appear so unto the senses; Chrysostom saith, the substance of bread is consumed; Emissenus saith, it is turned into the substance of Christ's body; and Damascenus and Theophylactus, latter[15] writers of no great credit, avouch the same.

It is plain that both Cyrillus and all other old learned fathers labour evermore, with all vehemency and force of words, to sequester, and pull their hearers from the judgment of their senses, to behold that bread that giveth life unto the

---

[11] Cyril. Hierosol. Op. Par. 1720. Catech. xxii. Myst. iv. 6. p. 321; Catech. xxi. Myst. iii. 3. pp. 316, 7.]

[12] ...Romanus pontifex qui non puri hominis, sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terris.—Innoc. III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. i. Tit. vii. cap. 3. col. 217.]

[13] Cyril. Hierosol. Op. Catech. xxi. Myst. iii. 3. pp. 316, 7.]

[14] Id. Catech. iii. 3, 4. pp. 40, 1.]

[15] Later, 1565, 1609.]

Spiritual. Nothing in comparison. The oil is Christ.

world. And therefore he calleth it spiritual bread; and of Christ's blood he saith thus: *Bibe vinum in corde tuo, spirituale scilicet vinum*[1]: "Drink that wine (not with thy bodily mouth, but) in thy[2] heart; I mean that spiritual wine." Again he sheweth wherefore the Jews were offended with Christ, and openeth the very cause of the grossness of their error: *Judæi, non audientes verba Christi secundum Spiritum, scandalizati abierunt retro, eo quod existimarent sese ad humanarum carnium esum incitari*[3]: "The Jews, not hearing Christ's words according to the Spirit, were offended, and went from him, for that they thought they were encouraged to eat man's flesh." Again he saith: *Gustate et videte quod suavis est Dominus. Num hoc corporeo palato, ut istud dijudicetis, vobis præcipitur? Nequaquam; sed potius certa fide*[4]: "Taste and see that the Lord is delectable. What, are you commanded to judge this with your bodily mouth? No, not so; but with undoubted faith."

Catech. Myst. 4. Catech. Myst. 4. The translator hath turned it, "Quod Christus est Dominus;" being, as I judge, deceived by the likeness of these two words, χρηστὸς and Χριστός.

In this sense the water in baptism giveth place to the blood of Christ, and of itself seemeth nothing; likewise the bread in the sacrament of Christ's body giveth place to the body of Christ, and in respect thereof is utterly nothing. Which thing concerning the water of baptism Paulinus seemeth to express thus:

In Catech. Myst. 5.

> Fonsque novus renovans hominem; quia suscipit, et dat
> Munus: sive magis quod desinit esse per usum,
> Tradere divino mortalibus incipit usu[5].

Chrysost. in Psal. xxii.

Likewise Chrysostom: *Non erit aqua potationis, sed sanctificationis*[6]: "It shall not be water to drink (as it was before), but water of sanctification" (as before it was not). This is the very substance of the sacraments; in respect whereof the corruptible elements of bread, wine, and water, are consumed, and taken for nothing.

Chrysost. de Fide et Lege.

This thing Chrysostom expresseth notably to the eye by this example: *Lanæ, cum tinguntur, naturæ suæ nomen amittunt, et tincturæ nomen accipiunt; et non ultra vocas lanam, sed vel purpuram, vel coccinum, vel prasinum, &c.*[7]: "Wool, when it is dyed, loseth the name of his own nature, and taketh the name of the colour; thou callest it no longer wool, but purple, or scarlet, or green, &c." Notwithstanding the very substance of wool remaineth still.

Pachym. in Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iv. μύρον γάρ. ὁ Χριστός.

And so Pachymeres saith: "The holy oil is no longer called oil, but it is turned into Christ." His words be plain: *Oleum enim est Christus*[8]: "For the oil is Christ." Not meaning thereby that the oil is no oil, but only that in respect of Christ, that thereby is signified, the oil is consumed, and appeareth nothing. So Paulus, that famous learned lawyer, saith: *Res* [*una*] *per prævalentiam trahit aliam*[9]: "One thing by force of greater weight draweth another with it."

ff. De Rei Vendicatione. In rem. Paul.

Thus therefore saith Cyrillus: "The bread that we see is now not bread, but Christ's body; and the wine that we see is now not wine, but Christ's blood." As if he should say, these elements or creatures are not so much the things that they be indeed, as the things that they represent. For so St Augustine saith generally of all sacraments, as it hath been alleged once or twice before: "In sacraments we may not consider what they be indeed, but what they signify[10]." And to the same end St Ambrose saith: *Magis videtur, quod non videtur*[11]: "It is better seen that is not seen." And all this is wrought, both in the mystery of baptism, and also in the mystery of Christ's body, not by the work or force of nature, but by the omnipotent power of the Spirit of God, and by the warrant of Christ's word.

August. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. iii.

[1 Cyril. Hierosol. Op. Par. 1720. Catech. xxi. Myst. iv. 8. p. 322; where τὸν οἶνόν σου ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀγαθῇ.]

[2 They, 1565.] [3 Id. ibid. 4. pp. 320, 1.]

[4 Id. Catech. xxiii. Myst. v. 20. p. 331.]

[5 Paulin. Op. Ant. 1622. S. Fel. Natal. Dec. xxv. p. 622; where *quod suscipit.*]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Expos. Psal. xxii. Tom. V. col. 710.]

[7 Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Fid. et Leg. Nat. Serm. Tom. I. p. 828. This is spurious.]

[8 Τὸ δὲ μύρον ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. Pachym. Paraphr. cap. iv. 11. Tom. I. p. 353.]

[9 Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. VI. Tit. i. 23. Tom. I. p. 145; where *alienam rem trahit.*]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See before, page 467.]

[11 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. iii. 15. Tom. II. col. 328.]

Thus Emissenus, thus Damascene, thus Theophylact say the bread is changed into the substance of Christ's body; I mean, even so as the same Theophylact saith: "We ourselves are transelemented (and transubstantiate) into the body of Christ." For thus he imagineth Christ to say: *Miscetur mihi, et transelementatur in me*[12]. And in like sort Chrysostom, speaking of the corruption and renewing of the world, saith thus: *Opus erat quasi reelementationem quandam fieri*[13]: "It was needful that the elements were (transubstantiate, or) made new." So St Peter saith: *Efficimur consortes divinæ naturæ*: "We are made partakers of the divine nature." And a heathen writer saith: *Homo transit in naturam Dei*[14]: "A man is turned into the nature of God."

Theophyl. in vi. cap. Johan.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 25.

2 Pet. i.

Mercurius Trismegistus in Æsculapio.

All these, and other like phrases of speech, must be qualified with a sober and a discreet construction; otherwise, according to the simple tenour of the words, they cannot stand. Therefore St Chrysostom, entreating of the exposition of the scriptures, saith thus: *Divina opus est gratia, ne nudis verbis insistamus. Nam ita hæretici in errorem incidunt, neque sententiam, neque auditoris habitum inquirentes. Nisi enim tempora, locos, auditorem, et alia hujusmodi consideremus, multa sequentur absurda*[15]: "We have need of God's heavenly grace, that we stand not upon the bare words. For so heretics fall into error, never considering neither the mind (of the speaker) nor the disposition of the hearer. Unless we weigh the times, the places, the hearers, and other like circumstances, many inconveniences must needs follow." Verily Bertramus, an ancient writer, saith: *Ipse, qui nunc in ecclesia, &c.*[16]: "He that now in the church by his omnipotent power spiritually turneth the bread and the wine into the flesh and blood of his body, the same invisibly made his body of the manna that came from heaven; and of the water that flowed from the rock, invisibly he made his own blood." Thus, as the fathers say manna was made Christ's body, or the water in the wilderness was made his blood; even so they say the bread and wine are likewise made Christ's body and blood.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 39.

Bertram. de Sacram. Euch.

Manna made Christ's body.

Now that it may thoroughly appear, even unto the simple, what the godly fathers meant by such extraordinary use of speech, it shall not be from the purpose to report certain words of Gregorius Nyssenus touching the same, and that in such order as they are written. Thus therefore he saith: *Nam et hoc altare, &c.*[17]: "This altar whereat we stand is by nature a common stone, nothing differing from other stones whereof our walls be built and our pavements laid; but, after that it is once dedicate to the honour of God, and hath received blessing, it is a holy table and an undefiled altar, afterward not to be touched of all men, but only of the priests, and that with reverence. Likewise the bread, that first was common, after that the mystery hath hallowed it, is both called and is Christ's body; likewise also the wine Christ's blood. And whereas before they were things of small value, after the blessing that cometh from the Holy Ghost, either of them both worketh mightily. The like power also maketh the priest to be reverend and honourable, being by mean of a new benediction divided from the common sort of the people." Hereby we see, as the altar,

Gregor. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism.

[12 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Joan. Comm. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 595.]

[13 ...ἐχρῆν...ὥσπερ ἀναστοιχείωσίν τινα γενέσθαι.—Chrysost. Op. In cap. vii. Gen. Hom. xxv. Tom. IV. p. 239.]

[14 Mercur. Trismeg. Pœmand. Par. 1554. cap. x. p. 43; where is the passage that most probably is meant.]

[15 Chrysost. Op. In Joan. Hom. xl. Tom. VIII. p. 236.]

[16 Ipse namque, qui nunc in ecclesia omnipotenti virtute panem et vinum in sui corporis carnem, et proprii cruoris undam spiritualiter convertit, ipse tunc quoque manna de cœlo datum corpus suum, et aquam de petra profusam proprium sanguinem, invisibiliter operatus est.—Ratramn. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. Oxon. 1838. cap. xxv. p. 14.]

[17 Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινὸς, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἳ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἁγία, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκέτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων. ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεταί τε καὶ γίνεται. οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως. ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ σεμνὸν καὶ τίμιον, τῇ καινότητι τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς κοινότητος χωριζόμενον.—Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 370.]

Greek church. Figure.

which in some places both for steadiness and continuance was made of stone, was changed from the former state, and yet remained stone still; and as the priest or bishop was changed from that he was before, and yet remained in substance one man still; so, by the judgment of this ancient father, the bread and wine are changed into Christ's body and blood, and yet remain bread and wine in nature still.

And forasmuch as M. Harding, to make good and to maintain this his new error, hath here alleged together nine doctors of the Greek church as subscribing and well agreeing thereto; understand thou, good christian reader, for the better information and direction of thy[1] judgment, that the Grecians never consented to the same from the first preaching of the gospel there until this day, as it is easy to be seen in the last action of the general council holden at Florence[2]. And Duns himself, having occasion to entreat hereof, writeth thus: [*Ad hanc sententiam*] *principaliter ... videtur movere, quod de sacramentis tenendum est, sicut tenet sancta Romana ecclesia; ... ipsa autem tenet, panem transubstantiari in corpus, et vinum in sanguinem*[3]: "To this determination this thing seemeth specially to lead, that we must hold of the sacraments as the holy church of Rome holdeth," &c. For confirmation hereof he allegeth, not the Greek church, as knowing it had evermore holden the contrary; but only the particular determination of the church of Rome, concluded first in the council of Lateran, in the year of our Lord a thousand two hundred and fifteen, and never before.

Concil. Flor. Sess. Ult. Joan. Scot. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 10.

Concil. Lat. sub Innoc. III. Anno 1215.

And Isidorus, the bishop of Russia, for that, after his return home from the council of Florence, he began to practise both for unity herein, and also in all other causes, to be concluded between his churches and the church of Rome, was therefore deposed from his office, and utterly forsaken of all his clergy[4]. So well they liked this new device of transubstantiation.

Roman. Patrit. in Hist. de Novo Orbe.

M. Harding will reply, Cyrillus saith, ἐν τύπῳ ἄρτου, which he expoundeth, *In specie vel figura panis*, "In the form or figure of bread." And this, as he imagineth, is as much as accidents without subject. What manner consideration leadeth him hereto, I cannot tell. But it is most certain, that by this very way the old heretics were led into their errors. Marcion the heretic held that Christ appeared not in the very natural body of a man, but only in a fantasy or shew of a man's body: and, to prove the same, he used M. Harding's reason. For it is written, said he: *In similitudinem hominum factus est et figura inventus ut homo*: "He was made after the likeness of men, and found in figure (which M. Harding expoundeth, 'in shews and accidents') as a man." And St Ambrose saith: *Nec sibi blandiatur virus Apollinare, quia ita legitur, Et specie inventus, ut homo*[5]: "Let not that heretic Apollinarius[6] flatter himself for that it is thus written, 'He was found in figure and form as a man'." Here we see M. Harding is driven to fight with old heretics' weapons; otherwise his friends would not judge him catholic. St Ambrose saith, Christ appeared *in figura humana*[7], "in the figure of a man." Origen saith: *Christus est expressa imago et figura Patris*[8]: "Christ is the express image and figure of his Father." Again St Ambrose saith: *Gravior est ... ferri species, quam aquarum natura*[9]: "The form of iron is heavier than the nature of the water." And Gregory Nyssene

Phil. ii.

Ambros. Lib. vii. Epist. 48.

Ambros. ad Col. i.

Orig. περὶ Ἀρχῶν, Lib. i. cap. ii.

Ambros. de iis qui init. Myst. cap. iii.

[1 They, 1565.]

[2 Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. Ult. Sanct. Union. Litt. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 476. See before, page 534, note 1.]

[3 Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xi. Quæst. 3. Tom. VIII. p. 616; where *autem ipsa*.]

[4 The author intended is Lodovicus Vartomannus Bononiensis, qui et Romanus Patritius, Navig. Æthiop. &c. in Nov. Orb. Basil. 1555; but no reference to the fact mentioned has been there found. See, however, M. a Michov. Tractat. de duab. Sarmat. Lib. II. cap. i. in eod. pp. 473, 4. This last author is cited for the same fact by Jewel elsewhere.]

[5 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Sabin. Epist. xlvi. 8. Tom. II. col. 986; where *Apollinaris*.]

[6 Apollinaris, 1565.]

[7 Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Col. cap. i. v. 15. Tom. II. Append. col. 264.]

[8 In the chapter referred to, Origen quotes Heb. i. 3: splendor gloriæ, et figura expressa substantiæ ejus; and repeatedly afterwards uses the words *imago* and *figura* applied to Christ.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. De Princ. Lib. I. cap. ii. 5, &c. Tom. I. pp. 55, &c.]

[9 Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 51. Tom. II. col. 339; where *aquarum liquor*. See also De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 18. Tom. II. col. 370.]

saith: *Sacerdos... quod ad speciem externam attinet, idem est qui fuit*[10]: "The priest, as touching his appearance or outward form, is the same that he was before." And will M. Harding gather hereof that Christ, or a piece of iron, or a priest, is nothing else but an accident or a shew without substance? Gregor. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism.

Besides all this, M. Harding is fain to falsify Cyrillus, his own doctor, and to allege his words otherwise than he found them[11]. For, whereas in the common Latin translation it is written thus, *Sciens panem hunc, qui videtur a nobis, non esse panem, etiamsi gustus panem esse sentiat,* "Knowing that this bread that is seen of us is no bread, albeit our taste do perceive it to be bread;" M. Harding hath chosen rather to turn it thus: *Cum scias, qui videtur esse panis, non esse, sed corpus Christi*: "Knowing that the thing that seemeth to be bread is no bread, but the body of Christ." Wherein he hath both skipped over one whole clause, and also corrupted the words and meaning of his author. For Cyrillus saith: "With our outward eyes we see bread." M. Harding saith: "It appeareth or seemeth only to be bread." Cyrillus saith: "Our taste perceiveth (or knoweth) it to be bread." This clause M. Harding hath left out both in his Latin translation, and also in the English. But speaking of the cup, he turneth it thus: "Albeit the sense make that account of it." Corrupt doctrine must needs hold by corruption. For it is certain Cyrillus meant thus: "That, as we have two sorts of eyes, corporal of the body, and spiritual of the mind; so in the sacraments we have two sundry things to behold, with our bodily eyes the material bread, with our spiritual eyes the very body of Christ." And thus the words of Cyril agree directly with these words of St Augustine: *Quod... videtis, panis est: ... quod ... etiam oculi vestri renuntiant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi*[12]: "The thing that you see is bread; which thing your eyes do testify. But touching that your faith would be instructed of, the bread is Christ's body;" in such sort and sense as is said before. M. Harding of purpose falsifieth and corrupteth the old fathers. August. in Serm. ad Infant.

Samona, Methonensis, and Cabasilas are very young to be alleged or allowed for doctors. As for Marcus Ephesius, he seemeth well to brook his name: for his talk runneth altogether *ad Ephesios*. For, whereas St Basil in his liturgy, after the words of consecration, calleth the sacrament ἀντίτυπον[13], that is to say, a token or a sign of Christ's body; this doctor Marcus imagineth of himself that St Basil speaketh thus of the bread before it be consecrate. A very child would not so childishly have guessed at his author's meaning. Yet M. Harding herein seemeth not much to mislike his judgment. Howbeit he knoweth that the bread before consecration is neither sacrament nor sign of Christ's body; no more than any other common baker's bread. Otherwise, it should be a sign, and signify nothing; and a sacrament, before it were consecrate and made a sacrament.

Yet D. Stephen Gardiner seemeth to consider better and more advisedly of the matter. For he thinketh it likely that Basil's liturgy was disordered, and that set behind that should have been before; and that one ignorant simple scribe corrupted all those books throughout the whole world[14]. M. Harding saith, St Basil calleth the bread ἀντίτυπον, a sign or token, before it be perfitly consecrate; as if there were two sorts of consecration, the one perfit, the other unperfit. And yet he knoweth it is commonly holden in the schools, that the very beginning and end of consecration is wrought, not by degrees, but in an instant. Steph. Gardiner. ad Object. 185.

[10 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 370.]

[11 See before, page 573, note 17.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]

[13 ...προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, κ.τ.λ.—Basil. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560, p. 58. These words occur in a prayer immediately after the words of consecration.]

[14 Damascenus Græcus de hoc verbo (ἀντίτυπον) ita refert, Basilium in sua liturgia usum fuisse, sed ante sanctificationem: quod etsi in nostris exemplaribus aliter reperiatur hactenus; tamen valet Damasceni testimonium, ut nobis referat illorum temporum catholicam de eucharistia fidem, secundum quam post consecrationem crederemus veram corporis et sanguinis Christi præsentiam, non solam figuram, quam sonus verbi (ἀντίτυπον) videtur insinuare. Itaque fieri probabiliter potest, ut quum illis temporibus non typis, ut nunc, sed librariorum singulari opera, exemplaria liturgiæ Basilii divulgarentur, verbum illud (ἀντίτυπον) a sciolo fuerit loco motum, quasi non commode post consecrationem collocatum.—Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 185. foll. 125, 6.]

Thus consecration is no consecration; no sacrament is a sacrament; that is a sign is no sign; that is no sign is a sign; books be corrupted and disordered; that cometh after that should go before, and that is before that should come after. And yet all these shifts will scarcely serve to help out a common error.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

The hundred and eighty-first untruth. For this infallible faith was unknown to the primitive church, and openly refused of the Greek church in the council of Florence.

Sith for this point of our religion we have so good authority, (181) *and being assured*[1] *of the infallible faith of the church, declared by the testimonies of these worthy fathers of divers ages and quarters of the world; we may well say, with the same church against M. Jewel, that in this sacrament after consecration there remaineth nothing of that which was before, but only the accidents and shews, without the substance, of bread and wine.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The certainty of this article resteth only upon the most uncertain ground of transubstantiation: the determination whereof, forsomuch as it is not much more than three hundred years old, nor necessarily gathered of the force of God's word, as Duns himself confesseth, nor ever any where received saving only in the church of Rome, therefore is neither so infallible as M. Harding maketh it, nor so ancient, nor so catholic.

Time will not suffer me to say so much as might be said to the contrary. 1 Cor. xi. St Paul acknowledgeth very bread remaining still in the sacrament, and that such bread as may be divided and broken; which words cannot without blasphemy be spoken of the body of Christ itself, but only of the[2] very material Matt. xxvi. bread. Christ likewise after consecration acknowledgeth the remaining of very Ex hac generatione vitis. Chrysost. in Psal. xxii. wine, and that such wine as is pressed of the grape. For thus he saith: "I will drink no more of this generation of the vine." Chrysostom saith: *In similitudinem corporis et sanguinis, Christus nobis panem et vinum secundum ordinem Melchisedech ostendit in sacramento*[3]: "Christ shewed us (not accidents, or qualities, but) bread and wine in the sacrament, according to the order of Melchi- Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83. sedech, as all likeness[4] or figure of his body and blood." Again he saith: *Christus, quando hoc mysterium tradidit, vinum tradidit... [non bibam] inquit, ex hac generatione vitis; quæ certe vinum producit, non aquam*[5]: "Christ, when he delivered this mystery, delivered (not shews or accidents, but) wine. Christ saith (after consecration), 'I will no more drink of this generation of the vine.' Doubtless the vine Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. bringeth forth wine, and not water." Cyrillus saith: *Christus credentibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit*[6]: "Christ gave to his faithful disciples fragments or pieces of bread." I pass by St Cyprian, St Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoretus, and other ancient and holy fathers; according unto whose most plain words and authorities, if there be bread remaining in the sacrament, then is there somewhat else besides accidents. What M. Harding may say, that saith so much, it is easy to see; but that shews and accidents hang empty without the substance of bread and wine, none of the old fathers ever said.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

God's omnipotent power to bear up accidents.

And this is a matter to a christian man not hard to believe. For if it please God the almighty Creator, in the condition and state of things thus to ordain that substances created bear and sustain accidents; why may not he, by his almighty power, conserve and keep also accidents without substance, sith that the very heathen philosophers repute it for an absurdity to say, Primam causam non posse id præstare solam, quod possit cum secunda: *that is to say, "that the first cause (whereby they understand God) cannot do that alone which he can do with the second cause," whereby they mean a creature?*

---

[1] Thus assured, H. A. 1564.]

[2] 1565 omits *the.*]

[3] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Expos. Psal. xxii. Tom. V. col. 712; where *Christi panem,* and *nobis ostenderet.*]

[4] A likeness, 1565.]

[5] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[6] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See also Op. Insig. in Evang. Joan. a G. Trapezont. traduct. Par. 1508. Lib. iv. cap. xiv. fol. 95.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Cicero saith: "A simple poet, when he cannot tell how to shift his matters, imagineth some god suddenly to come in place a little to astonne the people; and there an end." So M. Harding, finding himself much encumbered with his accidents, is fain to bring in God with his whole omnipotent power, to hold them up. Children in their[7] schools are taught to know, that an accident hath no being without a subject. Which rule, being otherwise evermore true, hath exception, as M. Harding saith, only in this sacrament, wherein be the accidents and shews of bread and wine, and yet no subject. For they are not in the bread; because, as he saith, that is gone; nor in the air, for that cannot be seen; nor in Christ's body, for that is not round, &c. So there is a white thing, yet nothing is white; and a round thing, yet nothing is round. Therefore, forasmuch as these accidents neither are able to stand alone, nor have any subject there to rest in; for that cause, M. Harding saith, they be sustained by the power of God.

One saith: *Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus inciderit*[8]: "Never bring forth any god in a tragedy, to play a part, unless it be upon some occasion of great matter, meet for a god to take in hand." St Paul saith: *Deus portat omnia verbo virtutis suæ:* "God beareth all things by the word of his power." And the heathen poets imagine that Atlas holdeth up the heavens. But for God the Creator and Cause of all causes, to come from heaven to hold up accidents, it seemeth a very simple service. Heb. i.

M. Harding's reason standeth thus: God is omnipotent;

Ergo, accidents in the sacrament stand without subject.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

And that this being of accidents without substance or subject in this sacrament, under which, the bread not remaining, the body of Christ is present, may the rather be believed, it is to be considered that this thing took place at the first creation of the world, after the opinion of some doctors, who do affirm that that first light which was at the beginning until the fourth day (182) *was not in any subject, but sustained by the power of God, as him liked. For that first light and the same*[9] *were as whiteness, and a body whited*[10]*, saith St Basil. Neither then was Wickliff yet born, who might teach them that the power of God cannot put an accident without a subject. For so he saith in his book* De Apostasia, cap. 5, *as Cochlæus reporteth*[11]*. Hereof it appeareth out of what root the gospellers of our country spring; who, smatching of the sap of that wicked tree, and hereby shewing their kind, appoint bounds and borders to the power of God, that is infinite and incomprehensible. And thus by those fathers we may conclude that, if God can sustain and keep accidents with substance, he can so do without substance.*

The hundred and eighty-second untruth. For St Basil plainly saith the contrary.

Basilius Hexaemeron, Hom. 6.
Damas. Lib. ii. cap. vii.
Paulus Burgensis Gen. i.
Lib. ii. Hist. Hussitarum.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is great violence to force an ancient father to bear false witness, and specially against himself. This report of St Basil's meaning is as true as is that long peevish fable, so often alleged under the name of Amphilochius, that is to wit, a vain shew without substance. And because M. Harding only nameth Damascene and Paulus Burgensis in his margin, as being afraid to touch their words, he may remember that Damascene saith: *Non aliud est ignis, quam lux,*

Damascen. Lib. ii. cap. vii.

[7 The, 1565, 1609.]

[8 Hor. de Art. Poet. vv. 191, 2.]

[9 The sun, H. A. 1564.]

[10 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ τὰ σύνθετα πάντα οὕτω παρ' ἡμῶν διαιρεῖσθαι, εἴς τε τὴν δεκτικὴν οὐσίαν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐπισυμβᾶσαν αὐτῇ ποιότητα. ὡς οὖν ἕτερον μέν τι τῇ φύσει ἡ λευκότης, ἕτερον δέ τι τὸ λελευκασμένον σῶμα, οὕτω καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα διάφορα ὄντα τῇ φύσει ἥνωται τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ κτίσαντος.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Hexaem. Hom. vi. 3. Tom. I. p. 51.]

[11 Hic sæpe dixi, quod nec Deus nec homo potest facere accidens sine subjecto.—Artic. Wiel. De Apost. cap. v. in Cochl. Hist. Hussit. Mogunt. 1549. Lib. II. p. 90.]

ut quidam aiunt[1]: "The fire is nothing else but the light, as some men say." And Burgensis saith: *Quidam tradunt lucem fuisse nubem lucidam*[2]: "Some men write that the light was a bright cloud." By these expositions it appeareth, that either the fire or the cloud was a subject to receive the light. Certainly neither Burgensis, nor Damascene, nor Basil ever said that the light stood without a subject. Therefore that note in the margin might well have been spared. But it is an easy matter with shew of names to deceive the simple.

Burgen. in i. cap. Gen.

St Basil saith, the light was in the world before the sun was made. Therefore it was, and had his being, without the sun. His words stand thus: *Aliud quidem est, &c.*[3]: "The brightness of the light is one thing; and the body subject unto the same (that is, the sun) is another thing. And say not now unto me, It is impossible to divide these things asunder. For I say not, that thou or I can possibly divide the body of the sun from the light. Yet notwithstanding the things that we may part asunder only by imagination, the same things God, the Creator of nature, is able to sunder verily and indeed." Hereof M. Harding gathereth his reasons thus:

Basil. in Hexaem. Hom. 6.

The light was not in the sun; *ergo*, it was in nothing.

It was not in the sun; *ergo*, it was not in the air.

It was not in the sun; *ergo*, it was an accident without a subject.

This error cometh of the equivocation or double taking of this word, "being in." For one thing may be in another, as in an instrument, as the light is in a candle; which is the similitude that Basil useth. The same thing may be in another, as in a subject, as light in the air. This diversity considered, now let us weigh M. Harding's reason.

The light (saith he) was not in the sun, as in an instrument to carry it about the world;

Ergo, it was not in the air as in a subject.

This argument seemeth very light. A man may easily and sensibly with his fingers feel the folly of it in the dark. Verily, St Basil's words to the contrary shine so clear, that I marvel M. Harding could not or would not see them. For thus he writeth before in the same book: *περιελάμπετο δὲ ἀὴρ· μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγκεκραμμένον ἑαυτῷ ὅλον διόλου εἶχε τὸ φῶς*[4]: *Illustrabatur aer: vel potius lumen sibi totum et in totum permistum habuit:* "The air was lightened, or rather it had the whole light wholly mingled with itself." Again he saith: "The world was invisible, because the air was without light[5]." St Basil saith: "The light was in the air, and that wholly through the whole," as in a subject; yet M. Harding forceth St Basil to say contrary to himself: The light was only an accident without subject, and was stayed in nothing. Now judge thou, good christian reader, what credit thou mayest give to M. Harding's words in reporting of the ancient doctors.

Basil. in Hexaem. Hom. 2.

[*ἡ οἰκουμένη ἀόρατος*], *διὰ τὸ ἀφώτιστον εἶναι τὸν...ἀέρα. ὅλον διόλου.*

But he saith: "God's power is infinite and incomprehensible. Therefore he is able to sustain accidents." This error springeth of misunderstanding St Basil's words. For whereas St Basil writeth thus: *τότε... οὐ κατὰ κίνησιν ἡλιακὴν, ἀλλὰ ἀναχεομένου τοῦ πρωτογόνου φωτὸς ἐκείνου... ἡμέρα ἐγένετο*[6]: *Dies tum fiebat, non per motum solarem, sed diffuso illo primigenio lumine:* "The day was made, not by the moving or passing of the sun, but by pouring abroad the first light;" it appeareth that instead of *ἀναχεομένου*, which is, "poured abroad," M. Harding by error read *ἀνεχομένου*, which is, "borne up, or sustained." But he may not well maintain his accidents by shifting of words, or by misunderstanding or corrupting of his doctors.

[1 Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. II. cap. vii. Tom. I. p. 163.]

[2 Quidam enim dicunt illam lucem fuisse quandam nubem lucidam.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. In Gen. cap. i. Addit. (Burg.) Pars I. fol. 30. 2.]

[3 Καὶ μηδενὶ ἄπιστον εἶναι δοκείτω τὸ εἰρημένον, ὅτι ἄλλο μέν τι τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ λαμπρότης, ἄλλο δέ τι τὸ ὑποκείμενον τῷ φωτὶ σῶμα...καὶ μή μοι λέγε ἀδύνατα εἶναι ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαιρεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν διαίρεσιν τοῦ φωτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σώματος ἐμοὶ καὶ σοὶ δυνατὴν εἶναί φημι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἃ ἡμῖν τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ ἐστὶ χωριστά, ταῦτα δύναται καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ παρὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν διαστῆναι.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Hexaem. Hom. vi. 3. Tom. I. pp. 51, 2.]

[4 Id. ibid. Hom. ii. 7. p. 19.]

[5 Id. ibid. 1. p. 13.]

[6 Id. ibid. 8. p. 20.]

That is here alleged of Wickliff, and of his offspring, as it sheweth much choler, so it maketh small proof. We know that God is omnipotent, and able not only to sustain accidents, but also to restore the dead from the grave, yea, although he be putrefied within himself, and fight against the Spirit of God. But Tertullian saith: *Non ... quia omnia potest facere, ideo ... credendum est, illum fecisse: ... sed, an fecerit, requirendum*[7]: "We may not believe that God hath done all things, because he can do them; but rather we must see whether he have done them or no." For arguments taken of God's omnipotent power were a ready buckler in old times to serve Praxeas, and Eutyches, and other like heretics. Tertull. contr. Prax.

[7 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 10. p. 641.]

OF DIVIDING THE SACRAMENT.

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE.

Breaking.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that the priest then divided the sacrament in three parts, and afterward received all himself[1] alone.

[OF DIVIDING THE SACRAMENT IN THREE PARTS.—ARTICLE XI. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Of the priest's receiving the sacrament himself alone, enough hath been said before. This term "all" here smatcheth of spite. For if any devout person require to be partaker with the priest, being worthily disposed and examined, he is not turned off, but with all gentleness admitted. And in this case the priest is not to be charged with receiving all alone. Albeit, respect had to the thing received, how many soever receive, it is all of all and all of every one received. Concerning the breaking of the sacrament, and the dividing of it in three parts: first, it is broken by the priest, that we may know our Lord in fractione panis, *"in the breaking of the bread," as the two disciples acknowledged him, to whom Jesus appeared in the day of his resurrection, as they were going to Emmaus: and also that thereby the passion of Christ may be represented to our remembrance, at which his precious body was for our sins broken, rent, and torn on the cross. And this manner was used at the sacrifice in the apostles' time, as it is witnessed by Dionysius, St Paul's scholar.*

This mystical divinity should be avouched by some ancient doctor

Luke xxiv.

The hundred and eighty-third untruth, standing in untrue translation.

Opertum panem pontifex aperit, (183) in frusta[2] concidens, &c.[3]: *"The bishop," saith he, "openeth the covered bread, dividing it in pieces, &c."* [*Ecclesiast. Hierarch. cap. iii.* H. A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I marvel M. Harding would so slenderly pass this matter over, for that it is thought to make much both against his transubstantiation, and also against his private mass, which are both keys and locks of his whole religion. For first of all, the breaking itself seemeth to argue that there is very bread there remaining to be broken. And albeit, as it is reported by Petrus Lombardus, some held that there is in the sacrament a very real breaking, notwithstanding there be nothing there to be broken; some, that the body of Christ itself is there broken, and that verily and indeed, without any help or shift of figure; and some, that there is nothing broken, but only the shews and accidents; and some others, that there is no manner breaking there at all, notwithstanding unto our eyes and senses there appear a breaking[4]: yet the holy evangelists witness plainly, that "Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it;" and St Paul saith: (Not the

Sent. iv. Dist. 12.

Matt. xxvi. Luke xxii. Mark xiv.

[1 Himself all, H. A. 1564.]

[2 Frustra, 1611.]

[3 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[4 Ideo quibusdam placet, quod non sit ibi fractio, sicut videtur: sed dicitur frangi, quia videtur frangi. ...Alii vero dicunt, quod sicut ibi species panis est, et non est ibi res cujus vel in qua sit illa species: ita ibi fractio, quæ non fit in aliqua re, quia nihil ibi frangitur: quod mirabiliter Dei potentia fieri dicunt, ut ibi sit fractio, ubi nihil frangitur. Alii tradunt corpus Christi essentialiter frangi et dividi, et tamen integrum et incorruptibile existere...Sed quia corpus Christi incorruptibile est, sane dici potest fractio illa et partitio non in substantia corporis, sed in forma panis sacramentaliter fieri, ut vera fractio et partitio sit ibi, quæ fit non in substantia corporis, sed in sacramento, id est, specie. Ne autem mireris vel insultes, si accidentia videantur frangi, cum ibi sint sine subjecto: licet quidam asserant ea fundari in aere. Est ibi vera fractio et partitio, quæ fit in pane, id est, in forma panis.—Pet. Lomb. Lib. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xii. fol. 356.]

accidents of bread, but) "the bread that we break, is the participation of Christ's body." And in the primitive church the very supper of Christ was commonly called "the breaking (not of accidents, but) of bread." And Cyrillus calleth the broken portions of the sacrament *fragmenta panis*[5], "fragments" or "pieces of bread."

1 Cor. x. Acts ii. Acts xx.

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

Further, by this same ceremony Gerardus Lorichius, one of M. Harding's doctors, proveth that every mass ought to be common, and none private. For thus he writeth: *Dividitur... hostia, ut non solum ipse sacerdos missæ officium faciens, sed et ministri quoque, imo omnis populus astans, participet*[6]: "The host is broken, that not only the priest that ministereth the mass, but also the deacons, yea, and all the people standing by, may communicate." Likewise saith Durandus: *In primitiva, &c.*[7]: "In the primitive church the priest received one portion, and the deacons another; and the third was ministered to all the people that was present." And therefore Dionysius saith, as M. Harding hath alleged him: *Pontifex opertum panem aperit, et in frusta*[8] *concidit*[9]: "The bishop uncovereth the bread that stood covered, and cutteth it in pieces." Here note also by the way, Dionysius saith not, The bishop cutteth the shews or accidents, but "the bread" in pieces. I grant this tradition was used in the apostles' time; but it is utterly broken and abolished in the church of Rome at this time; and therefore it standeth M. Harding in small stead, unless it be to shew the world how boldly he and his church have broken the traditions and orders of the primitive church of God. Neither is there any manner mention in Dionysius, either of the breaking in three parts, or of any these mystical significations. Again, the words of Dionysius be otherwise than M. Harding reporteth them. For he saith not, *In frusta*[8] *concidens*, "Dividing it in pieces" (which perhaps M. Harding would have us to understand of three), but, *In multa concidens*, "Cutting it in many pieces." And to that use served a knife, which, as it appeareth by Chrysostom's liturgy or communion, was called *sacra lancea*[10]. For in such sort the bread was cut in pieces, not that one man might receive the whole, but that it might suffice the congregation. And therefore it is decreed in an epistle that beareth the name of Clement: "Let so many hosts or portions be provided as may be sufficient for all the people[11]."

Ger. Lorich. de Miss. Pub. Prorogand. Lib. iii.

Durand. Lib. iv.

Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii.

εἰς πολλὰ διελών.

Lit. Chrysost.

Clement. Epist. ii.

This, I say, was the cause of this ceremony; and not, as M. Harding vainly guesseth, "to know our Lord in the breaking of bread."

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

[*The dividing of the sacrament in three parts, a tradition of the apostles.* H. A. 1564.]

Now touching the dividing of the sacrament in three parts, it may appear to be a tradition of the apostles, or otherwise a custom very ancient, forasmuch as Sergius the bishop of Rome, who lived within four-score years of the six hundred years after Christ that M. Jewel referreth us unto, wrote of the mystery of that breaking or dividing the outward form of bread, and declared the signification of the same.

The mystery of breaking of accidents.

It is no small argument of the antiquity of this observation, that St Basil, as Amphilochius writeth of him, divided the sacrament in three parts at his mass, as is above rehearsed[12]. *And, where as Sergius saith that the portion of the host which is put into the chalice betokeneth the body of Christ that is now risen again, and the portion which is received and eaten sheweth his body yet walking on the earth, and that other portion remaining on the altar signifieth his body in the sepulchre*[13]*; what, I pray you, is there herein that any man should be*

The fable of Amphilochius.

De Cons. Dist. 2. can. Triforme.

[5 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See before, page 580, note 6.]

[6 Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 283.]

[7 The words of this passage have not been found. But see Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. IV. capp. liii. 3. lvi. 1. foll. 199. 2, 203. 2; where the practice of the primitive church is described.]

[8 Frustra, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Dionys. Areop. Op. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[10 Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 72.]

[11 Clement. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 41. See before, page 17.]

[12 See before, page 188.]

[13 Triforme est corpus Domini. Pars oblatæ in calicem missa corpus Christi, quod jam resurrexit, monstrat. Pars comesta, ambulans adhuc super terram. Pars in altari usque ad missæ finem rema-

offended withal? I acknowledge that the mystery hereof is otherwise of some declared, and of all to this end, to put us in mind of the benefits purchased to us by Christ in his body.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, of good policy to win credit, fathereth all his mystical fantasies upon the apostles. Of Sergius the first it is written, that he devised the *Agnus Dei* to be sung at the breaking and distribution of the mysteries[1]; but of the breaking of the same in three parts, notwithstanding it be strongly avouched by M. Harding, yet of Sergius the first there is written nothing. Indeed, Gratian allegeth this decree in the name of Sergius the pope, but without date or any manner further addition. And therefore it may as well be Sergius the second, that was called *Os Porci*, or Sergius the third, that took Formosus his predecessor, being dead, out of the grave, and beheaded him, and threw out his carcase into the Tiber. Therefore this matter, for ought that may appear, beareth small certainty.

Platina. Urspergensis.

De Consec. Dist. 2. Triforme.

But let us grant that Gratian meant Sergius the first; yet was he well near seven hundred years after Christ. Neither were it any great inconvenience to say, that, as he was able to devise these mystical significations, so he was also able to devise the number of parts and manner of breaking. But what great mysteries there may be in this breaking of outward forms and accidents, that M. Harding imagineth, I leave unto himself to consider.

The fable of Amphilochius hath been six times alleged by M. Harding in this one book, to sundry purposes; and yet he himself knoweth it is but a very peevish fable. Whoso listeth to know it further, may find it answered in the first article, and in the thirty-third division[2].

But, where as this Sergius saith, *Triforme est corpus Domini*, "The body of our Lord is of three forms;" whatsoever his meaning therein were, his speech is very strange, or rather monstrous. For the body of Christ is not of so many forms, but only one, and uniform. One of these portions, saith Sergius, signifieth Christ after his resurrection; the second, Christ walking in the earth; the third, Christ lying in his grave. All this, saith M. Harding, is holy and mystical.

Howbeit, some there were that liked not so greatly these imaginations, and therefore of themselves devised others. Some said, the first part signifieth the saints in heaven; the second, the faithful that be alive; the third, the souls in purgatory. Some say, these three parts signify the three states of Christ, mortal, dead, and immortal: some, that they signify the three substantial parts of Christ, his Godhead, his soul, and his body: some others, that they signify the three Persons in the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost[3]. And I marvel there was none that could say they signify the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Thus, having utterly lost the very use of the breaking of the mysteries, they retain a bare ceremony thereof; and yet are so far out of knowledge of the same, that they cannot agree among themselves what to make of it; I mean, neither what they break, nor wherefore they break it. This Sergius disagreeth from Bonaventura, from Durandus, and all others; yet he liketh M. Harding best of all.

Durand. Lib. iv. cap. liii.

"And what hurt," saith he, "is there herein? Or wherefore should any man herewith be offended?" Verily, in the house of God that thing is hurtful that doth no good. All the ceremonies of the church ought to be clear, and lively, and

---

nens, corpus jacens in sepulchro; quia usque ad finem sæculi corpora sanctorum in sepulchris erunt.—Serg. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 22. col. 1921.]

[1 Constituit præterea ut in fractione dominici corporis caneretur, Agnus Dei, &c.—Plat. Vit. Pontif. Col. 1551. Serg. I. p. 91. See also Chron. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 163.]

[2 See before, pages 189, &c.]

[3 ...aiunt quidam quod tres partes hostiæ tres status beatorum figurant: scilicet qui sunt in cœlo: qui in purgatorio: et qui in mundo versantur...frangitur in tres partes. Primo in memoriam Trinitatis. Secundo, in memoriam triplicis status Christi. Primus, fuit in hominibus manens. Secundus, fuit mortuus in sepulchro jacens. Tertius, est immortalis, in cœlo existens, &c.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. li. 8, 20. foll. 195, 6. 2.]

able to edify. And if this mystical ceremony be not hurtful, why then doth M. Harding himself break it? and that, not of ignorance or oblivion, but wittingly and willingly, and as often as he saith his mass? For Sergius saith one of the three portions ought to be reserved upon the altar until the mass be done[4]; but M. Harding, contrary both to Sergius, and also to his mystical significations, receiveth all the parts together, and reserveth none, and that by the warrant of the gloss in that place[5], which is quite contrary to the text. Why doth he thus dissemble, and so openly mock the world? If this ceremony be good, why doth he break it? If it be ill, why would he have us to keep it?

1 Cor. xiv.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Triform. in Gloss.

The guess that M. Harding useth herein seemeth very simple: Pope Sergius devised these mystical meanings seven hundred years after the apostles' time; *ergo,* this order of breaking came from the apostles.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

Now that this custom or mystical ceremony was not first ordained by Sergius, for ought that can be gathered, but of him expounded only touching the mystery of it, as used before his time from the beginning of the church, no one ancient council or author found upon whom it may be fathered, of good reason, sith it hath (184) *generally been observed, we may refer the institution*[6] *of it to the apostles; and that according to the mind of St Augustine, whose notable saying for that behalf is this:* Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec [in] conciliis constitutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur[8]. *"What," saith he, "the universal church keepeth, neither hath been ordained in councils, but hath always been observed, of good right we believe it hath been delivered (to the church) as a tradition by the authority of the apostles."*

The[7] hundred and eighty-fourth untruth. For it was never generally observed.

To conclude, if any spark of godliness remain in our deceived countrymen and brethren, they will not scorn and despise this ancient ceremony of dividing the sacrament in three parts at the blessed sacrifice of the mass, whereof any occasion of evil is not only not ministered, but rather, contrariwise, whereby we are admonished and stirred to tender our own soul's[9] *health, and to render thanks to God for the great benefit of our redemption.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

There is no mention made, neither in old father nor in ancient council, of this manner of breaking of the sacrament; *ergo,* saith M. Harding, it came first undoubtedly from the apostles. The contrary hereof were much more likely. For he might rather have said thus: There is no mention made of it in any old father or council; therefore it came not from the apostles.

And, where as he saith, "It hath been every where universally observed;" it is a great untruth, as, God willing, it shall appear. And therefore St Augustine's rule serveth nothing to this purpose.

For, first, as M. Harding is deceived in the manner of breaking, so is he also deceived in the quantity of the bread, imagining it was a little thin round cake, such as of late hath been used in the church of Rome: Which, Durandus saith, must be round like a penny; either because Judas betrayed Christ for some like kind of coin, or because it is written: *Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus:* "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof[10]." But indeed it was a great cake, so large and so thick, that all the congregation might receive of it. Durandus himself saith: *In primitiva ecclesia . . . offerebant unum magnum panem,*

Durand. Lib. iv. in sexta parte canon.

Durand. Lib. iv. cap. liii.

---

[4] Serg. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 22. col. 1921. See before, page 585, note 13.]

[5] Hodie non servantur, sed duæ partes siccæ comeduntur.—Gloss. in eod. ibid.]

[6] The first institution, H. A. 1564.]

[7] 1565 omits *the.*]

[8] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. 31. Tom. IX. col. 140; where *institutum.*]

[9] Soul, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[10] Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lib. IV. capp. xxx. 8. xli. 8. foll. 139, 162. 2. See before, page 15, note 15.]

et omnibus sufficientem: quod adhuc Græci servare dicuntur[1]: "In the primitive church they offered one great cake that was sufficient for all the people; which thing, they say, the Greeks do continue still." In Chrysostom's liturgy or communion we see both the form of the bread, and also the order of cutting or dividing it with a knife[2]. Gentianus Hervetus, in the description thereof, saith: *Est ... panis ... crassus, et fermentatus, [et] figura propemodum sphærica*[3]: "It is a thick cake, and leavened, and of form in manner round." It appeareth by St Gregory, that it was a great cake, such as men used commonly at their tables[4]; which thing appeareth also by that the heretics called *artotyritæ* added cheese unto it, and so ministered the communion in bread and cheese[5]. And Paulinus, sending such a cake unto St Augustine, sent also this greeting withal: *Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio misimus caritati tuæ, rogamus [ut] accipiendo benedicas*[6]: "This one loaf or cake, which I have sent unto you in token of unity, I beseech you, receiving the same, to bless it." And perhaps Ignatius in respect hereof said: *Unus est panis pro omnibus fractus*[7]: "There is one loaf or cake broken for all." And St Basil: *Idem est virtute, sive unam partem quis accipiat a sacerdote, sive plures partes simul*[8]: "It is all one in effect, whether a man take one only part of the priest, or many parts together." It is likely he useth these words "part" and "parts" in respect of one whole. Durandus saith that in his time "the priest in some churches, dividing the sacrament into three portions, received one himself, and ministered the other two to the deacon and subdeacon[9]." The like is recorded by Alexander de Hales, and sundry others. All this M. Harding dissembleth and passeth by, and seeth nothing but a mystical ceremony.

Lit. Chrysost.

Gent. Hervet. in S. Germ. Rer. Eccles. Theor.

Gregor. Dial. Lib. iv.

August. ad Quodvultdeum. Epiph. Inter Ep. August. Epist. 31.

Ignat. ad Philad.

Basil. ad Cæsar. Patric.

Durand. Lib. iv. cap. xv.

Alex. de Hales. in 4. Quæst. 37.

Now, this cake being so large, so thick, and so massy, and able to suffice so many, we may not well think that the priest could conveniently divide it into three parts, and receive all alone. But rather, as I have already said, the breaking thereof is an invincible proof of the holy communion, and a manifest condemnation of M. Harding's private mass. For it was not divided into parts, to the end to signify these mystical fantasies, that M. Harding and others have imagined, but to be distributed and delivered to the people. Clemens Alexandrinus saith: *Etiam eucharistiam, cum quidam, ut mos est, diviserint, permittunt unicuique ex populo partem ejus sumere*[10]: "After that certain (that is, the priests) have divided the sacrament, they suffer every of the people to take a portion of it." So St Augustine saith: *Ad distribuendum comminuitur*[11]: "It is broken that it may be distributed." And again: "*Confringunt oblationes in eucharistiam*[12]: "They divide the oblations into the sacrament" (that the people may communicate). So Dionysius: *Velatum ... panem in multa concidens, et unitatem calicis omnibus impertiens*[13]: "Dividing the bread, that stood covered, into many parts, and delivering the unity of the cup unto all the people." In St Basil's communion, taken out of the Syrian tongue, it is written thus: *Sacerdos frangit, et signat: diaconus proclamat, Communionem*[14]: "The priest breaketh and signeth

Clement. Alex. Stromat. Lib. i.

August. ad Paul. Epist. 59.

August. ad Quodvultdeum. De Ophitis.

Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii.

Lit. Basil.

[1 Id. ibid. cap. liii. 3. fol. 199. 2; where *enim* for *unum*.]

[2 Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560, pp. 72, 3.]

[3 Gent. Hervet. ad Lect. ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. fol. 35. 2; where *utpote fermentatus*.]

[4 Tunc duas secum oblationum coronas detulit.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. iv. cap. lv. Tom. II. col. 464; where see note. Conf. Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book xv. chap. ii. 5, 6.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679—1700. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 28. Tom. VIII. col. 10.

Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. ii. Hær. xlix. 2. Tom. I. p. 418.]

[6 Paulin. Epist. xxv. 5. in August. Op. Tom. II. col. 38.]

[7 Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Cotel. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Tom. II. p. 77.]

[8 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Patric. Epist. xciii. Tom. III. p. 187.]

[9 Sane sacerdos ipse omnes partes hostiæ comedit. In quibusdam tamen ecclesiis ipse unam partem sumit: et reliquam eucharistiæ medietatem super patenam in duas partes dividit, quas ministris, scilicet diacono et subdiacono, comedendas impendit. —Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. liv. 3. foll. 200, 1.]

[10 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. i. Tom. I. p. 318. See before, page 153, note 14.]

[11 August. Op. Ad Paulin. Epist. cxlix. 16. Tom. II. col. 509.]

[12 Id. ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 17. Tom. VIII. col. 8. in Not. The Benedictine editors exclude this from the text, as not supported by manuscript authority.]

[13 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[14 Basil. Lit. ex Syr. Vers. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Liturg. cap. ix. p. 26.]

(the sacrament): the deacon crieth aloud, The communion." And what needeth the witness of so many? St Paul saith: *Panis, quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est?* "The bread that we break, is it not the communication of the body of Christ?" Which words Anselmus expoundeth thus: *Panis, quem nos sacerdotes... frangimus, et quem unum in multas partes dividimus, ad designandam caritatem accipientium*[15]: The bread that we, being priests, do break, and which bread, being one cake, we divide into many portions, to express the love (or unity) of the receivers." Likewise Lorichius: *Panis, quem frangimus, participatio Domini est; hoc est, fractio significat, nos esse unum corpus*[16]: "The bread that we break is the participation of the Lord; that is to say, the breaking[17] signifieth that all we are one body." It appeareth hereby that the sacrament was thus divided into parts, not to the intent we should thereby learn new mysteries, but that the people might receive it.

1 Cor. x.

Anselm. in 1 Cor. x.

Lorich. de Miss. Pub. Prorogand. Lib. iii.

To be short, this ceremony of three portions so broken and so received cannot be found neither in the scriptures, nor in any of the old fathers or councils: it beareth witness both against transubstantiation and also against private mass: the best learned of that side cannot yet agree, neither whence it sprang first, nor what it meaneth: the people neither seeth it nor knoweth it: they themselves that so highly would seem to favour it, contrary both to Sergius' decree, and also to his mystical exposition, in their masses daily and openly are bold to break it. Now hast thou, good christian reader, hereof indifferently to judge, whether M. Harding or his countrymen be deceived. Verily St Augustine saith: "If the causes that first moved and led men to devise such ceremonies can hardly or not at all be known, whensoever opportunity is offered, let them be cut off and abolished without staggering[18].

August. ad Januar. Epist. 119.

---

[15] Anselm. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In 1. Epist. ad Cor. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 140; where *unionem caritatis*.]

[16] Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. III. pp. 282, 3.]

[17] Bread, 1565.]

[18] Omnia itaque talia...aut vix aut omnino numquam inveniri possint causse, quas in eis instituendis homines secuti sunt, ubi facultas tribuitur, sine ulla dubitatione resecanda existimo.—August. Op. Ad Inq. Januar. Lib. II. seu Epist. lv. 35. Tom. II. col. 142.]

OF FIGURE, SIGN, &c.

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic.

[OF THE TERMS FIGURE, SIGN, TOKEN, &c. BY THE FATHERS APPLIED TO THE SACRAMENT.—ARTICLE XII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

In this article we do agree with M. Jewel in some respect. For we confess it cannot be avouched by scripture, ancient council, doctor, or example of the primitive church, that whosoever had said the sacrament is a figure, a pledge, a token, or a remembrance of Christ's body, had therefore been judged for an heretic. (185) *No man of any learning ever wrote so unlearnedly. Much less, to impute heresy to any man for saying thus hath been any of the highest mysteries or greatest keys of our religion; with which untruth M. Jewel goeth about to deface the truth. Wherefore this article seemeth to have been put in either of malice toward the church, or of ignorance, or only to fill up the heap for lack of better stuff. Perusing the works of the ancient and learned fathers, we find that oftentimes they call the sacrament*[2] *a figure, a sign, a token, a mystery, a sampler. The words of them used to this purpose in their learned tongues are these:* figura, signum, symbolum, mysterium, exemplar, *ἀντίτυπον*, imago, &c. *By which they mean not to diminish the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, but to signify the secret manner of this*[3] *being in the same.*

The hundred and eighty-fifth untruth. For[1] M. Harding's own fellows have both taught so and written so; and therefore unlearnedly.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It appeareth that these men's doctrine is much mutable, and subject to change. For, notwithstanding they be now grown into some better liking of these terms, figure, sign, signification, token, &c.; yet not long sithence they seemed to be otherwise resolved, and thought themselves able to allege Theophylactus, Damascenus, Euthymius, and other great matter, to disprove the same. D. Tonstal, the more to make the matter odious, saith thus: "If the sacrament be a figure of Christ's body, then was a figure crucified for us, and not Christ[4]." And whatsoever they were that used this word *figura* in this matter of the sacrament, D. Stephen Gardiner scornfully calleth them *figuratores*[5], "figurers." And M. John White, late schoolmaster, and after bishop of Winton, writeth thus in great scorn against that most reverend learned father, D. Peter Martyr, touching the same:

Cuth. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. i.

Marcus Constantius.

Audio mille locis 'corpus;' non audio, Petre,
Signa, troposque, tuo nec symbola nata cerebro[6]:

"I hear 'body, body,' in a thousand places; but of signs, figures, tokens, that came only out of thy head, I hear nothing." Which words notwithstanding, in all the ancient learned fathers, by M. Harding's own confession, if he had had ears to hear, he might have heard. Therefore it was neither malice, nor ignorance, nor increase of heap, nor want of other stuff, but the fondness and folly of M. Harding's side, that added this article to the rest.

---

[1] 1565 omits *for.*] [2] Sacraments, 1565.]
[3] His, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[4] Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. i. foll. 12, 15, 29. 2.]
[5] Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 13. fol. 18. 2.]
[6] Whit. Diacosio-Mart. Lond. 1553. Gregor. Secund. fol. 42. 2.]

But, forasmuch as many, either of simplicity or of the great reverence they bear towards that holy mystery, have persuaded themselves that Christ's words touching the institution thereof must of necessity be taken plainly and as they sound, that is to say, without figure; and forasmuch also as St Augustine saith, "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the sign instead of the thing that is signified[7];" therefore, to avoid confusion, lest the simple be deceived, taking one thing for another, I think it necessary in few words and plainly to touch what the ancient learned fathers have written in this behalf. Sacramentum. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v.

And to pass by that Christ himself saith, "Do this in my remembrance;" and that St Paul saith, "Ye shall declare the Lord's death until he come;" and likewise to pass by a great many other circumstances, whereby the truth hereof may soon appear; the nature and meaning of a sacrament of the old fathers is thus defined: *Sacramentum... est sacrum signum*[8]: "A sacrament is a holy token." Which definition is common, and agreeth indifferently to all sacraments. Therefore St Augustine saith: [*Signa*] *cum ad res divinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur*[9]: "Signs, when they be applied unto godly things, are called sacraments." And the cause why sacraments are ordained is this, that by mean of such visible and outward things we may be led to the consideration of heavenly things. Therefore Dionysius saith: *Non est possibile animo nostro ad immaterialem illam ascendere cœlestium hierarchiarum... contemplationem, nisi ea, quæ secundum ipsum est, materiali manuductione utatur*[10]: "It is not possible for our mind to lift up itself to the spiritual contemplation of heavenly things, unless it have the corporal leading of such natural things, as be about it." Likewise again: *Nos imaginibus sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad cœlestes contemplationes adducimur*[11]: "By sensible images we are led as much as may be to heavenly contemplations." And, touching this holy mystery of Christ's body and blood, the cause of the institution thereof was, as Chrysostom saith, to keep us still in remembrance of Christ's great benefit, and of our salvation[12]. Which thing St Hierome openeth in this sort: *Ultimam nobis memoriam reliquit. Ut si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus apud eum, quem diligit, relinquat; ut, quoties illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitiam memorare*[13]: *quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, non potest videre sine ingenti dolore, et sine fletu*[14]: "He left unto us his last remembrance. As if a man, going a far journey, leave a token with his friend, to the end that he, seeing the same, may remember his benefits and his friendship; which token that friend, if he love unfeignedly, cannot see without great motion of his mind, and without tears." So saith St Basil: *Quid utilitatis habent hæc verba? Nempe, ut edentes, et bibentes, perpetuo memores simus ejus, qui pro nobis mortuus est, ac resurrexit*[15]: "What profit have these words? Verily, that we, eating and drinking, may evermore be mindful of him that died for us and rose again." So St Ambrose: *Quia... morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores, in edendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*[16]: "Because we are made free by the death of our Lord, being mindful thereof, in eating and drinking, we signify the flesh and blood that Christ offered for us." Origen, expounding these words of Christ, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, &c." saith thus: *Agnoscite, figuras esse, quæ in divinis voluminibus*

1 Cor. xi.

De Consecr. Dist. ii. Sacrificium. August. de Civ. Dei. Lib. x. cap. v. August. ad Marcell. Epist. v.

Dionys. Cœlest. Hierarch. cap. i, *αἰσθητοῖς εἰκόσι.*

Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i.

Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 61. Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestræ.

Hieron. in 1 Cor. cap. xi.

Basil. de Baptism.

Ambros. in 1 Cor. cap. xi.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7.

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 47. See before, page 448.]

[8 Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 32. col. 1925. Op. De Civ. Dei. Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 241.]

[9 Id. ad Marcell. Epist. cxxxviii. 7. Tom. II. col. 412.]

[10 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Cœlest. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 3.]

[11 Id. de Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 232.]

[12 Ait enim, Quotiescunque hoc feceritis...facietis commemorationem salutis vestræ, beneficii mei.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 402. See before, page 448, note 4.]

[13 Memorari, 1565.]

[14 .....ultimam nobis.....memoriam dereliquit. Quemadmodum si quis peregre proficiscens aliquod pignus ei quem diligit, derelinquat: ut quotiescumque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia et amicitias memorari, quod ille, si perfecte dilexit, sine ingenti desiderio non potest videre vel fletu.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 998.]

[15 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. De Baptism. Lib. I. cap. iii. 2. Tom. II. Append. p. 650. The Benedictine editor does not consider this work genuine.]

[16 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 570, note 3.]

scriptæ sunt; et ideo tanquam spirituales, et non tanquam carnales examinate, et intelligite ea, quæ dicuntur. Nam, si quasi carnales ista suscipiatis[1], *lædunt vos, non alunt*[2]: "Know ye, that these be figures written in the holy scriptures; and therefore examine and understand ye the things that be spoken, as men spiritual, and not as carnal. For if ye take these things as carnal men, they hurt you and feed you not." Tertullian expoundeth Christ's words in this wise: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[3]: "This is my body; that is to say, this is a figure of my body." St Ambrose, speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body, useth oftentimes these terms, a figure, a similitude, a sign, a token of Christ's body[4]. St Augustine, beside infinite other places, saith: [*Christus*] *adhibuit* [*Judam*] *ad convivium, in quo corporis . . . sui figuram discipulis* [*suis*] *commendavit*[5]: "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body." And writing against the heretic Adimantus, he saith: *Non . . . dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui*[6]: "Our Lord doubted not to say, 'This is my body,' when he gave a token of his body." So Chrysostom: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacramentum est*[7]? "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrament?" So St Hierome: *In typo sanguinis sui non obtulit aquam, sed vinum*[8]: "In token of his blood he offered not water, but wine."

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. August. in Psal. iii.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. ii.

I leave other like authorities well near infinite. These few may suffice for a taste. This was the old fathers' manner of writing; neither was there any man then that ever controlled them therefore, or called them figurers.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

For the better understanding of such places, where these terms are used in the matter of the sacrament, the doctrine of St Augustine, In Sententiis Prosperi, *may serve very well; which is thus:* Hoc est quod dicimus, quod omnibus modis approbare contendimus, sacrificium . . . ecclesiæ duobus confici, duobus constare, visibili elementorum specie, et invisibili Domini nostri Jesu Christi carne et sanguine; sacramento, [(id est, externo sacro signo)] et re sacramenti, id est, corpore Christi, &c.[9]: "*This is that we say,*" *saith he,* "*which by all means we go about to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and consisteth of two things; of the visible shape of the elements* (*which are bread and wine*), *and the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the sacrament* (*that is, the outward sign*), *and the thing of the sacrament, to wit, of the body of Christ,*" &c. *By this we understand that this word* "*sacrament*" *is of the fathers two ways taken. First, for the whole substance of the sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward forms, and also withal of the very body of Christ verily present; as St Augustine saith the sacrifice of the church to consist* (186) *of these two. Secondly, it is taken so as it is distinct from that hidden and divine thing of the sacrament, that is to say, for the outward forms only, which are the holy signs*[10] *of Christ's very body present under them contained. Whereof we must gather that, whensoever the fathers do call this most excellent sacrament a figure or a sign,* (187) *they would be understanded to mean none otherwise than of those outward forms, and not of Christ's body itself, which is there present, not typically or figura-*

De Con. Dist. 2. can. Hoc est quod dicimus.

The hundred and eighty-sixth untruth. For St Augustine never said so.

The hundred and eighty-seventh untruth. For none of the learned fathers ever called the outward form a sacrament. Christ's body itself is a figure.

[*How the fathers are to be understanded, calling the sacrament a figure, sign, token, &c.* H. A. 1564.]

[1 Suscipitis, 1565.]

[2 Agnoscite quia figuræ sunt, quæ in divinis voluminibus scripta sunt, et ideo tanquam spiritales et non tanquam carnales examinate, et intelligite quæ dicuntur. Si enim quasi carnales ista suscipitis, lædunt vos, et non alunt.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. 5. Tom. II. p. 225.]

[3 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447.]

[4 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. v. 21. Tom. II. col. 371.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7.]

[6 Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit,* and *signum daret.*]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. ii. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 198.]

[9 August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. cols. 1936, 7; where *hoc modis omnibus.*]

[10 Sign, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

tively, but really and substantially. Unless perhaps respect be[11] *had, not to the body itself present, but to the manner of presence, as sometimes it happeneth.*

So is St Basil to be understanded, in Liturgia, *calling the sacrament* antitypon[12], *that is, a sampler or a figure, and that after consecration; as the copies that be now abroad be found to have. So is Eustathius to be taken, that great learned father of the Greek church, who so constantly defended the catholic faith against the Arians, cited of Epiphanius, in* VII. Synodo[13]. *Albeit concerning St Basil, Damascene*[14], *and Euthymius*[15], *likewise Epiphanius in the second Nicene council,* Act. 6[13], *and Marcus Ephesius*[16], *who was present at the council of Florence, would have that place so to be taken before consecration.*

Lib. iv. cap. xiv.
In cap. Matt. xxvi.

(188) *As St Ambrose also, calling it a figure of our Lord's body and blood,* Lib. iv. De Sacramentis, cap. v.

The hundred and eighty-eighth untruth. For St Ambrose saith: "Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur[17]."

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, as he is content to yield to these names, figure, sign, token, &c., so he addeth thereto an exposition of his own, such as I believe he can hardly find the like in any ancient father. Therefore it must be such a figure, not as the old doctors and learned fathers have at any time used, but such as M. Harding can best imagine; and therefore now not the old doctors', but M. Harding's new figure. Indeed Tertullian saith: *Hæretici...nudas...voces conjecturis quo volunt rapiunt*[18]: "Heretics, by their conjectural guesses, draw bare words whither they list." With such conditions the wicked heretic Nestorius was contented to grant Christ to be God; but by his lewd exposition he made him no God; for thus he said: *Non invideo Christo divinitatem suam: hoc et ego fieri possum, si volo:* "It grieveth me not to confess Christ to be God: I myself[19] can be God too, if I list." The Pelagian heretics, notwithstanding they were the enemies of God's grace, yet, being forced by disputation and conference, were content to yield, and to confess the grace of God[20]. But by their fantastical exposition in the end they made it no grace at all. In like manner Mr Harding, notwithstanding he be driven by force to confess the name of figure, yet, as he glosseth it with his colours, indeed he maketh it no figure. Sometimes he saith it is a figure of Christ's body secretly being there; sometimes, it is a figure of the life to come; sometimes, common bread is a figure; sometimes, the accident and outward form of bread is a figure; sometimes, Christ's body invisible is a figure of Christ's body visible—all hitherto M. Harding. Sometimes also, it is a figure of the church; so saith Hosius: *Sacramenta nostra...sunt quodammodo per figuram ipsum corpus Christi, cujus sacramenta sunt, id est, ecclesia*[21]: "Our sacraments are in a manner, by a figure, the very body of Christ, whereof they be sacraments; that is to say, our sacraments be the church." Thus many ways these men have sought to make up a new kind of figure, such as neither grammarian, nor rhetorician, nor divine ever understood before. *Significat,* "it signifieth," is as much to say, saith M. Harding, as *continet,* "it containeth:" "it is a figure," that is to say, "it is the thing itself:" "it is a figure," that is, in conclusion, "it is no figure." Yet all these figures in the end be not sufficient to expound one figure. Truth is ever certain and simple: contrariwise, falsehood[22] is doubtful and double.

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Cyril. Lib. v. cap. xiv.

August. ad Innoc. Lib. xcv.

In Confess. Petricov. cap. xxxix.

How much better were it for these men to speak so as the old learned fathers

---

[11] He, 1565.]

[12] See before, page 579, note 13.]

[13] Ref. falso Nom. Def. Tom. III. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 449.]

[14] Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. IV. cap. xiii. Tom. I. p. 273.]

[15] Euthym. Zigab. Comm. in Quat. Evang. Lips. 1792. In Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 1015.]

[16] See above, page 574, note 10.]

[17] Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[18] Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 19. p. 531.]

[19] Meself, 1565.]

[20] August. Op. Ad Innoc. Aur. et cet. Epist. clxxvii. 2. Tom. II. cols. 622, 3.]

[21] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Fid. cap. xxxix. De Sacr. Euch. Tom. I. p. 99. These words are part of a quotation made by Hosius from Guitmund. De Verit. Euchar. Lib. II. See in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XI. p. 363.]

[22] Falsehead, 1565.]

Variety of figures.

were content to speak? St Augustine saith: *De signis disserens hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat, quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, hoc est, quod significant*[1]: "Reasoning of signs, I say thus: Let no man consider in them that they be, but rather that they be signs, that is to say, that they do signify." Again he saith: *Cavendum est, ne figuratam orationem ad literam accipias ... Ad hoc ... pertinet, quod apostolus ait, Litera occidit*[2]: "We must beware that we take not a figurative speech according to the letter. For thereto it appertaineth[3] that the apostle saith, 'The letter killeth'." St Hierome saith: *Quando dico tropicam* [*locutionem*], *doceo, verum non esse, quod dicitur, sed allegoriæ nubilo figuratum*[4]: "When I name a figurative speech, I mean, that the thing that is spoken is not true, but fashioned under the cloud of an allegory." Likewise Chrysostom: *Non alienum oportet esse typum a veritate; alioqui non esset typus: neque omnino adæquari veritati; alioqui et veritas ipsa foret*[5]: "The figure may not be far off from the truth; otherwise it were no figure: neither may it be even, and one with the truth; otherwise it would be the truth itself," and so no figure.

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v. Hieron. in Apol. contr Rufin. Chrysost. in Dict. Apost. Patres nostri omnes, &c. ult. tom.

These things considered, it may soon appear how faithfully and how well to his purpose M. Harding allegeth this place of St Augustine: *Hoc est, quod dicimus, &c.*[6]: "This is it that we say, which we go about by all means to prove, that the sacrifice of the church is made of two things, and standeth of two things; of the visible kind (or nature) of the elements, and of the invisible flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the sacrament, the outward holy sign, and the thing of the sacrament, which is the body of Christ." Hereof M. Harding gathereth that the body of Christ lieth hidden under the accidents. St Augustine's words be true; but M. Harding with his guesses is much deceived. For of this word *specie* he concludeth that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining but only accidents; and of this word *invisibili* he gathereth that Christ's body is there really inclosed. And so he maketh a commentary far beside his text.

De Conseer. Dist. 2. Hoc est.

But what would he have said, if he had seen these words of St Hierome: *Venit Philippus; ostendit ei Jesum, qui clausus latebat in litera*[7]: "Philip came, and shewed him Jesus, that lay hidden in the letter?" Or these words in the second council of Nice: *Christus ipse habitat in ossibus mortuorum*[8]: "Christ himself dwelleth in dead men's bones?" Or these of Angelomus: *Deus Pater Filium suum unigenitum ... in litera legis, Judæis nescientibus, absconditum habuit*[9]: "God the Father had his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ hidden in the letter of the law, the Jews not knowing it?" Would he of these words conclude that Christ is really hidden either in dead men's bones, or in the prophet Esay, or in the letter of the law? Certainly St Augustine speaketh not one word, neither here nor elsewhere, neither of accidents without subject, nor of any real presence. And, albeit his words here be not very dark, yet in other places both often and plainly he expoundeth himself. For thus he saith: *Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt, id est, spiritualiter*[10]: "All mysteries must be considered with the inner eyes, that is to say, spiritually." And again: *In sacramentis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur*[11]: "In sacraments we see one thing, and we understand another thing." So Chrysostom, speaking of the water of baptism: *Ego non aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur*[12]: "The things that be seen in baptism I consider not with my bodily

Hieron. ad Paulin. Concil. Nic. II. Act. iii. Angelom. in 1 Reg. cap. xxii. August. in Johan. Tractat. 46. August. citat. a Beda. 1 Cor. x. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 7.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 19; where *id est.*]

[2 Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. v. 9. col. 47; where *figuratam locutionem*, and *ait apostolus.*]

[3 Pertaineth, 1565.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Apol. adv. Ruffin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 381.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In dict. Paul. Nolo, &c. Hom. Tom. III. p. 235.]

[6 See before, page 592, note 9.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Ad Paulin. Epist. 1. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 571.]

[8 ... *τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ὀστᾶ νόσους φυγαδεύουσιν...καὶ ταῦτα διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνοικήσαντος.*—Exempl. Synod. Theodor. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 184.]

[9 Angelom. Strom. in Lib. Reg. I. cap. xx. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. Pars I. p. 724; where *habuerat.*]

[10 These words are not in the place referred to. But see August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. Tom. III. Pars II. cols. 493, &c., for the repeated expression of a similar idea.]

[11 Id. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. col. 1104; where *in eis.*]

[12 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51.]

eye." So likewise Origen: *Bene ... circumcisionem signum appellavit, ... quia et [in] ipsa aliud videbatur, ... aliud intelligebatur*[13]: "He called circumcision rightly a sign; for that in it one thing was seen, and another thing was understood." Thus in sacraments we see one thing with our eye, and another thing with our mind. With our bodily eye we see the bread: with our faith we see the body of Christ. Thus the sacrament consisteth of two parts: of the which the one is before our eyes, the other in heaven; and so the one visible, and the other invisible. So saith St Augustine: *Non [oportet] esse contentum superficie literæ, sed ad intelligentiam pervenire*[14]: "We may not stand content with the outward sight of the letter, but must go further unto the meaning." St Augustine meaneth not by these words that the understanding of the scriptures lieth really hidden under the letter. He himself better expoundeth his own meaning in this wise: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum, quia occulte significabatur*[15]: "The new testament was hidden in the old, because it was secretly (or invisibly) signified in the old."

Species.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. iv. cap. iv.

August. contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. v.

August. de Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. i. cap. xv.

Now let us examine the ground of M. Harding's guesses. St Augustine nameth *visibilem speciem* the visible kind of the elements; *ergo*, saith M. Harding, he meaneth only the accidents or outward forms of bread and wine, and not the substance. The weakness of this conclusion proceedeth of the misunderstanding of the terms. For St Augustine in this place useth not this word *species* for the outward shew, but for the very substance of the thing itself. So St Ambrose saith twice together in one place: *Sermo Dei species mutat elementorum*[16]: "The word of God changeth the kinds of the elements." And again: *Ante benedictionem ... alia species nominatur*[17]: "Before the consecration it is called another kind." In these and other like places M. Harding cannot well say that *species* signifieth an accident or outward shew.

Ambros. De iis qui init. cap. ix.

Neither doth this word "visible" import any such external form as is here imagined; but only excludeth the body of Christ, which is in heaven, invisible to our bodily eyes, and visible only to the eyes of our faith. And so the water in baptism is called *forma visibilis*, "a visible kind, or element," according to the general definition of all sacraments. So St Augustine saith: *Aliud Judæi habebant, aliud nos; sed specie visibili, quod tamen ... idem significaret*[18]: "The Jews had one thing (for their sacrament), and we another; indeed of another visible form or kind, which notwithstanding signified the same thing that our sacrament doth signify." Likewise he saith: *Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem: quod intelligitur fructum habet spiritualem*[19]: "The thing that we see hath a corporal shew; but the thing that we understand hath fruit spiritual." And in this sense Chrysostom saith of the sacrament of baptism: *Christus in sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit*[20]: "Christ in sensible things hath given us things spiritual."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. citat. a Beda. 1 Cor. x.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

By these we see both M. Harding's gross error, and also for what cause the old godly fathers call Christ's body invisible; that is, for that, being in heaven, we see it with our faith, with our mind, and with the eyes of our understanding. Neither may M. Harding of this word "invisible" reason thus, as he seemeth to do: Christ's body is invisible; *ergo*, it lieth hidden under accidents. For St Ambrose, in like phrase of words, speaketh thus of baptism: *Sacri fontis unda nos abluit: sanguis Domini nos redemit. Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium sacramento consequimur spirituali*[21]: "The water of the holy font hath washed us: Christ's blood hath redeemed us. Therefore by a spiritual sacrament we obtain two testimonies; the one invisible, the other visible." Here St Ambrose saith, Christ's blood in baptism is invisible. Yet we may not con-

Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. Lib. iii.

---

[13] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. iv. cap. iv. Tom. IV. p. 525.]

[14] August. Op. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. v. 19. Tom. VIII. col. 591; where *ad interiora intelligentiæ.*]

[15] Id. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. i. cap. xv. 24. Tom. IX. col. 92; where *in eo ipso occultabatur.*]

[16] ...non valebit Christi sermo, ut species mutet elementorum? &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. cap. ix. 52. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[17] Id. ibid. 54.]

[18] Aliud illi, aliud nos, &c.—August. Op. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[19] Id. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. col. 1104; where *spiritalem.*]

[20] Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]

[21] Ambros. Op. De Spir. Sanct. Lib. III. cap. x. 68. Tom. II. col. 678; where *spiritali.*]

clude thereof that Christ's blood is hidden under the accidents or shews of water.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 24. So Origen saith: *Baptismus Johannis videbatur; Christi baptismus est invisibilis*[1]: "John's baptism was seen; but Christ's baptism is invisible."

And, notwithstanding all these things be plain to any man that hath eyes to see, yet, that the weakness and folly of these shifts may thoroughly appear, let M. Harding shew us wherein and in what respect his naked shew of forms and accidents can be the sacrament of Christ's body. For thus he saith, and doubleth, and repeateth the same, and maketh it the stay and ground of this whole treaty.

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. Raban. Maur. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. The sign or signification of this sacrament, as St Cyprian saith, standeth in refreshing and feeding[2]. So saith Rabanus Maurus: *Quia panis corporis cor [con]firmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nuncupatur; et quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo [illud] ad sanguinem Christi refertur*[3]: "Because bread confirmeth the heart of the body, therefore it is conveniently called the body of Christ. And, because wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation to the blood of Christ." Likewise, because water washeth away the soil and

Greg. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism. filth of the body, therefore, as Gregory Nyssene saith, "Christ appointed it to the sacrament of baptism, to signify the inward washing of our souls[4]."

Now, although M. Harding can say many things, yet this thing, I think, he will not say, that our bodies be fed with his shews and accidents. Or if he so

Marc. Anton. Constant. ad Object. 66. say, as indeed they are driven so to say[5], then will the very natural philosopher reprove his folly. For the philosopher saith, as indeed true it is: *Ex iisdem nutrimur, et sumus:* "We consist of the same things wherewith we are nourished." Therefore, if M. Harding will say, the substance of our body is fed with accidents, then must he likewise say, the substance of our body doth stand of accidents.

Hereof we may very well reason thus: The accidents or shews of bread and wine feed not our bodies, as Christ's body feedeth our souls;

Ergo, the accidents and shews of bread and wine are not the sacraments

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. Raban. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. of Christ's body. Contrariwise, St Cyprian[6], Irenæus[7], Rabanus[8] and other ancient fathers say: The substance of the bread feedeth our body, &c.;

Ergo, the substance of the bread is the sacrament of Christ's body.

And again, M. Harding, standing upon this simple ground, cannot possibly avoid many great inconveniences. For, if the shews and accidents be the sacrament, then forasmuch as in one bread there be many accidents, as the whiteness, the roundness, the breadth, the taste, &c., and every such accident is a sacrament, he can by no gloss or conveyance shift himself; but instead of one sacrament he must needs grant a number of sacraments, and, avoiding one figure, he must be driven to confess a great many figures.

Touching St Basil, M. Harding seemeth to confess that his books are disordered, and that now set after consecration that sometimes was before; and yet he sheweth us not who hath wrought this treachery. I trow they have corrupted and falsified their own books.

But Basil calleth the sacrament ἀντίτυπον, that is, a sampler, a sign, or a token of Christ's body before the consecration; and so Damascenus, Euthymius, and one Epiphanius, and Marcus Ephesius, late writers, have expounded it[9]. Here mark well, good reader, the niceness and curiosity of this people without cause. Sooner than they will confess, as the ancient catholic fathers do, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body, they are content to say: It is a sacrament

---

[1 Joannis baptisma videbatur, Christi baptismus invisibilis erat.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Luc. Hom. xxiv. Tom. III. p. 961.]

[2 Panis dicitur propter nutrimentum vitæ.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[3 Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626-7. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 12; where *corpus Christi congruenter*, and *vinum autem quia sanguinem.*]

[4 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. In Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 369. See before, page 566.]

[5 Accidentia panis et vini ... nutriendi virtutem per miraculum retinent, &c.—Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Lut. 1552. Ad Object. 66. fol. 51.]

[6 Cypr. Op. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[7 ...ἐκ τούτων [τὸ ποτήριον καὶ ὁ ἄρτος] δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294.]

[8 Rab. Maur. Op. De Instit. Cleric. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11. See before, pages 571, 2.]

[9 See before, page 593.]

before it be a sacrament; and so a figure before it be a figure. For how can the sacrament be a sacrament, or what can the bare bread signify before consecration? Or who appointed or commanded it so to signify?

But to leave these M. Harding's new fantastical doctors, with their mystical expositions; St Ambrose in his time thought it no heresy to write thus: *Ante consecrationem... alia species nominatur: post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*[10]: "Before consecration it is called another kind: after consecration the body of Christ is signified." And again: *In edendo et potando, corpus et sanguinem [Christi], quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus*[11]: he saith not, Before consecration, but even in receiving the holy communion, which he calleth "eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood of Christ that were offered for us."

Ambros. de iis qui init. cap. ix.

Ambros. 1 Cor. xi.

Thus the old fathers called the sacrament a sign or a[12] figure of Christ's body after it was consecrate. But before consecration neither did they ever call it so, notwithstanding these new doctors' judgments to the contrary, nor was there any cause why they should so call it. Yet were they not therefore counted sacramentaries, nor maintainers of false doctrine.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

And if it appear strange to any man that St Basil should call the[13] *holy mysteries* antitypa *after consecration, let him understand that this learned father thought good by that word to note the great secret of that mystery, and to shew a distinct condition of present things from things to come. And this consideration the church seemeth to have had, which in public prayer, after holy mysteries received, maketh this humble petition:* Ut quæ nunc in[14] specie gerimus, certa rerum veritate capiamus[15]: *"That in the life to come we may take that in certain truth of things, which now we bear in shape or shew." Neither do these words import any prejudice against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament; but they signify and utter the most principal truth of the same, when as, all outward form, shape, shew, figure, sampler, and cover taken away, we shall have the fruition of God himself in sight, face to face; not as it were through a glass, but so as he is in truth of his majesty. So this word* antitypon, *thus taken in St Basil, furthereth nothing at all the sacramentaries' false doctrine against the truth of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.*

Sabbato 4. temporum. Mensis Septemb.

Christ's body is a figure of the life to come; proved only by the portuise.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, for fear of taking, altereth and shifteth himself into sundry forms; in like sort as the old poets imagine that one Proteus, a subtle fellow, in like case was wont to do. Among other his strange devices he saith, Christ's body is a figure of the life that is to come; and that he proveth only by his portuise, without any other further authority. But if a man would traverse this new exposition, how standeth M. Harding so well assured of the same? What scripture, what doctor, what council, what warrant hath he so to say? Verily, that Christ's natural body, being now immortal and glorious, should be a sign or a token of things to come, it were very strange and wonderful; but that bare forms and accidents should so signify, yet were that a wonder much more wonderful.

The prayer that is uttered in the church is good and godly, and the meaning thereof very comfortable; that is, that, all veils and shadows being taken away, we may at last come to the throne of glory, and see God face to face. For in this life we are full of imperfections; and, as St Paul saith, "we know (*ex parte*) unperfitly; we prophesy unperfitly. But, when that thing that is perfit shall come, then shall imperfection be abolished. Now we see as thorough a seeing-glass, in a riddle; but then we shall see face to face." Therefore St

1 Cor. xiii.

[10 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339. See before, page 595.]

[11 Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 591.]

[12 1565 omits *a*.]

[13 Those, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[14 H. A. 1564 omits *in*.]

[15 Missal. ad Us. Eccles. Sar. 1527. Sabb. Quat. Temp. Postcom. fol. 133, 2.]

August. Epist. 120. Augustine saith: *Vita est Christus, qui habitat in cordibus nostris; interim per fidem, post etiam per speciem*[1]: "Christ is our life that dwelleth in our hearts; in the mean while by faith, and afterward by sight." So St Ambrose: *Umbra in lege; imago ... in evangelio; veritas in cœlestibus*[2]: "The shadow was in the law: the image is in the gospel: the truth shall be in the heavens." So St Basil: *Nunc justus bibit aquam viventem; et posthac abundantius bibet, quando adscribetur in civitatem Dei: sed nunc in speculo, et in ænigmate, per modicam comprehensionem rerum cœlestium; tunc autem flumen universum recipiet*[3]: "Even now the just man drinketh the water of life; and hereafter he shall drink the same more abundantly, when he shall be received into the city of God. Now he drinketh as in a seeing-glass or a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things; but then he shall receive the whole stream." This is it that the church prayeth for, that, all imperfection set apart, our corruptible bodies may be made like unto the glorious body of Christ.

Ambros. in Psal. xxxviii.

Basil. in Psalm. xlv.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to reason in this wise: We shall see God face to face; *ergo*, Christ's body is really present in the sacrament. Or thus: We shall see God face to face; *ergo*, the sacrament signifieth not Christ's body, but the life that is to come. By such arguments M. Harding confoundeth all "the sacramentaries' false doctrine."

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

And, because our adversaries do much abuse the simplicity of the unlearned, bearing them in hand that, after the judgment and doctrine of the ancient fathers, the sacrament is (189) *but a figure, a sign, a token, or a badge, and containeth not the very body itself of Christ, for proof of the same alleging certain their sayings uttered with the same terms; I think good, by recital*[4] *of some of*[5] *the chief of*[5] *such places, to shew that they be untruly reported, and that, touching the verity of the presence in the sacrament, they taught in their days the same faith that is taught now in the catholic church.*

The hundred and eighty-ninth untruth, joined with a slander. The former part was never our doctrine: the second as yet was never proved.

Holy Ephrem, in a book he wrote to those that will search the nature of the Son of God by man's reason, saith thus: Inspice diligenter, quomodo sumens in manibus panem, benedicit, ac frangit in figura immaculati corporis sui, calicemque in figura pretiosi sanguinis sui benedicit, et tribuit discipulis suis[6]: "*Behold,*" *saith he,* "*diligently, how, taking bread in his hands, he blesseth it, and breaketh it in the figure of his unspotted body, and blesseth the cup in the figure of his precious blood, and giveth it to his disciples.*" (190) *By these words he sheweth the partition, division, or breaking of the sacrament, to be done no otherwise, but in the outward forms, which be the figure of Christ's body present, and under them contained: which body, now being glorious, is no more broken nor parted, but is indivisible, and subject no more to any passion; and, after the sacrament is broken, it remaineth whole and perfit under each portion.*

Cap. iv.

Taketh bread, blesseth it, breaketh it.

The hundred and ninetieth untruth, joined with unadvised corruption of the author.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If we abuse the simplicity of the people, uttering plainly and simply the very words of the ancient fathers; then did the fathers themselves likewise abuse the simple people, for that they of all others first uttered and published the same words, and specially for that they never qualified the same with any of these M. Harding's new constructions.

But if we abuse the people, speaking in such wise as the old catholic fathers spake so long before us, what then may we think of M. Harding, that cometh only with his own words, that wresteth and falsifieth the words of the holy fathers, and by his strange expositions maketh them not the

---

[1 Vita enim Christus est, qui habitat in cordibus eorum, interim, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Honorat. seu Epist. cxl. cap. xxv. 62. Tom. II. col. 445.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1636-90. In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. col. 852.]

[3 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xxxv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 172, 3.]

[4 By the recital, H. A. 1564.]

[5 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *of*.]

[6 Ephr. Syr. Op. Rom. 1732-46. Adv. Scrutat. Fil. Dei Nat. Tom. III. p. 423.]

fathers' words? Gelasius saith: "In the sacrament there remaineth the substance of bread and wine[7];" that is to say, saith M. Harding, there remaineth[8] the accidents of bread and wine. Irenæus[9] and Justinus Martyr[10] say: "The bread of the sacrament increaseth the substance of our flesh:" their meaning is, saith M. Harding, that the accidents of the bread increase the substance of our flesh. St Ambrose saith: *Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*[11]: "After consecration the body of Christ is signified:" M. Harding saith, No, not so; but after consecration the life to come is signified. Now judge thou indifferently, good reader, whether of us abuse[12] the simplicity of the people.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

Iren. Lib. v. Just. Mart. Apol. 2.

Ambros. De iis qui init. cap. 9.

Now let us see how he handleth this good old father Ephrem. Indeed here he maketh the darkness light, and the light darkness. For Ephrem's words be so plain as nothing can be plainer.

Christ took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, in figure, or, as Christ himself uttereth it, in remembrance of his blessed and unspotted body. But M. Harding's exposition upon the same is so perverse and so wilful, as if it were free for him to gloss and fancy what him listeth. Ephrem saith, "Christ took and brake bread:" M. Harding saith, Christ brake forms and accidents, and brake no bread. Ephrem saith, "The bread is a figure of Christ's body:" M. Harding saith, The bread is no figure of Christ's body. To be short, Ephrem saith, "Christ brake bread in figure or remembrance of his body;" *Ergo*, saith M. Harding, Christ's body is there present under the form of bread. Such regard hath he to the simplicity of the people. Certainly Ephrem saith not, neither that the forms or shews be broken, nor that the same forms be figures of Christ's body, nor that Christ's body is presently in them contained. And therefore M. Harding in his guileful construction of the same hath included great untruth.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Again, by the same words he signifieth that outward breaking to be a certain holy figure and representation of the crucifying of Christ, and of his blood-shedding. Which thing is with a more clearness of words set forth by St Augustine, De Con. Dist. 2. can. Dum frangitur. In Sententiis Prosperi: Dum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis de calice in ora fidelium funditur, quid aliud quam dominici corporis in cruce immolatio, ejusque sanguinis de latere effusio designatur[13]? *"Whiles the host is broken, whiles the blood is poured into the mouths of the faithful*[14]*, what other thing is thereby shewed and set forth than the sacrificing of Christ's body on the cross, and the shedding of his blood out of his side?" And by so doing the commandment of Christ is fulfilled: "Do this in my remembrance."*

The breaking of accidents is a figure.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here hath M. Harding found out a new kind of figure[15], far differing from all the rest. The breaking of the accidents, saith he, is a token of the breaking of Christ's body; and this he thinketh himself well able to prove by certain words of St Augustine. Wherein, notwithstanding he find but small help in the text (for St Augustine maketh no manner mention, neither of any real or fleshly presence, nor of breaking of forms or accidents); yet is he somewhat relieved by the gloss. For the words thereof are these: *Secundum hoc dices, ipsa accidentia frangi, et dare sonitum*[16]: "According to this thou shalt say, that the very acci-

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Cum frangitur in Gloss.

[7 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[8 Remain, 1565.]

[9 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294. See before, page 596, note 7.]

[10 Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον...λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλὰ ... τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, κ. τ. λ. — Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. 66. p. 83.]

[11 Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[12 Abuseth, 1565, 1609.]

[13 August. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 37. col. 1930.]

[14 Faithfuls, H. A. 1564.]

[15 Figures, 1565, 1609.]

[16 Gloss. in eod. ibid.]

dents and shews are broken, and give a crack." Thus we see there is no inconvenience so great, but these men can well defend it.

But St Augustine saith: *Sanguis in ora fidelium funditur; ergo,* saith M. Harding, Christ's blood is there present. I marvel much where M. Harding learned this strange logic. For St Hierome saith in like sort: *Quando audimus sermonem Domini, ... caro Christi et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*[1]: "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears." Will M. Harding conclude hereof by his new logic, that, when we hear God's word, Christ's flesh and blood are really present? Here once again I must do thee, good reader, to understand that a sacrament, according to the doctrine of St Augustine, beareth the name of that thing whereof it is a sacrament. And for example he saith: *Sacramentum sanguinis Christi* [*secundum quendam modum*] *sanguis Christi est*[2]: "The sacrament of Christ's blood, after a certain manner (of speech), is the blood of Christ." Again he saith in the same epistle: *Consepulti ... sumus Christo per baptismum: ... non ait, Sepulturam significamus; sed prorsus ait, Consepulti sumus. Sacramentum ergo tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncupavit*[3]: "We are buried together with Christ by baptism: he saith not, We do signify our burial; but he saith plainly, 'We are buried together.' Therefore St Paul would not call the sacrament of so great a thing but only by the name of the thing itself." Likewise he saith: *Solet ... res, quæ significat, ejus rei nomine, quam significat, nuncupari ... Non .... dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset, quod utique per substantiam non ... erat, sed per significationem*[4]: "The thing that signifieth is commonly called by the name of that thing that it signifieth. St Paul saith not, The rock signified Christ, but, 'The rock was Christ,' as if the rock had been Christ indeed. Yet it was not so in substance and indeed, but by way of signification." Thus therefore saith St Augustine: "Whiles the sacrament is broken, and the sacrament of Christ's blood (which is called blood) is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what thing else is thereby shewed, but the offering up of Christ's body upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood from his side?" Therefore St Augustine saith: *Ita facit nos moveri, tanquam videamus præsentem Dominum in cruce*[5]: "So it causeth us to be moved, even as though we should see our Lord present on the cross." This is St Augustine's undoubted meaning. These things considered, the weight of M. Harding's argument will soon appear. For thus he reasoneth: The renting of Christ's body and the shedding of his blood is expressed in the mysteries; *ergo,* Christ's body is there really present under shews and accidents.

Hieron. in Psal. cxlvii.

August. Epist. 23.

Rom. vi. Col. ii.

August. in Levit. Quæst. 57.

August. in Psal. xx.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

That it may further appear that these words, figure, sign, image, token, and such other like[6]*, sometimes used in ancient writers, do not exclude the truth of things exhibited in the sacrament, but rather shew*[7] *the secret manner of the exhibiting, amongst all other the place of Tertullian in his fourth book* contra Marcion[8] *is not to be omitted, specially being one of the chief, and of most appearance, that the sacramentaries bring for proof of their doctrine. Tertullian's words be these:* Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis suis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est[9] corpus meum dicendo, id est, figura corporis mei[10]: "*The bread that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body in saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body.*"

The double taking of the word "sacrament," afore mentioned, remembered, and consideration had how the sacraments of the new testament comprehend two things, (191) *the outward* (1) *visible forms that be* (2) *figures, signs, and tokens, and also*

The hundred and ninety-first untruth. Four untruths together packed up in one.

[1] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psalm. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504; where *sermonem Dei.*]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267.]

[3] Id. ibid. col. 268; where *significavimus.*]

[4] Id. Quæst. in Hept. Lib. III. Quæst. lvii. 3. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 516.]

[5] Id. in Psalm. xxi. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 93. See before, page 467, note 23.]

[6] The like, H. A. 1564.]

[7] Signify, H. A. 1564.]

[8] Marcionem, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[9] Esse, H. A. 1564.]

[10] See the next page.]

and that chiefly, a divine thing under them (3) *according to Christ's promise* (4) *covertly contained—specially this being weighed, that this most holy sacrament consisteth of these two things, to wit, of the visible form of the outward elements and the invisible flesh and blood of Christ, that is to say, of the sacrament and of the thing of the sacrament—Tertullian may seem to speak of these two parts of the sacrament jointly in this one sentence. For first he speaketh most plainly of the very body of Christ in the sacrament, and of the marvellous turning of the bread into the same.* This is *vanitas vanitatum.* *"The bread," saith he, "that he took and gave to his disciples, he made it his body." Which is the divine thing of the sacrament. Then forthwith he saith that our Lord did it "by saying, This is my body, that is, the figure of my body." By which words he sheweth the other part, the sacrament only, that is to say, that holy outward sign of the form of bread, under which form Christ's body, into the which the bread by God's power is turned, is contained; which outward form is verily the figure of Christ's body present, which our Lord, under the same contained, delivered to his disciples, and now is likewise at that holy table to the faithful people delivered, where the order of the catholic church is not broken.* Holy outward accidents.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If this place of Tertullian be the chief, and of greatest appearance for the sacramentaries, as M. Harding saith, I marvel it is so coursely[11] answered. The words be both very few, and also very plain. But with this copious commentary of M. Harding's glossing, it will be very hard for the reader to find out any part of Tertullian's meaning. I will first open the occasion of the writing, and then lay forth the words. That done, I doubt not but the sense will stand clear and easy of itself.

Marcion the heretic, against whom Tertullian wrote, held and maintained this error, that Christ received of the blessed virgin, not the very nature and substance, but only the outward forms and shews, of man's body. Out of whose springs M. Harding and the rest of that side, as it may appear, have drawn their doctrine of accidents standing without subject. This fond heresy Tertullian reproveth by this reason:

A figure of a body pre-supposeth a very natural body; for of a shew or a fantasy there can be no figure.

But Christ gave unto his disciples a figure of his body;

Therefore it must needs follow that Christ had a very natural body.

As every part of this argument is true, so the proportion and form of the same importeth a necessary sequel in reason. The words stand thus: *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quæ est phantasma, figuram capere non potest*[12]: "Christ, taking the bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body. But a figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as is a fantasy, can receive no figure." These words are plain of themselves[13]; and, if truth only might suffice, would require no long exposition. Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Now, good reader, mark well M. Harding's considerations touching the same; and thou shalt see the darkness of Egypt brought in, to clear the shining sun. First he saith: The accidents and shews may well be the sacrament. Yet again he saith: Christ's body itself may be the sacrament. Thirdly he saith: Tertullian joineth these two senses jointly both together. And so by his cunning he hath found out two sacraments in one sacrament. All this is M. Harding's gloss. For there is not one word thereof in the text, neither of accidents nor of Christ's body as being a sacrament of itself, nor of this combining of two sacraments both in one. M. Harding saith: Tertullian speaketh of a marvellous turning. But Tertullian speaketh no such word, neither of miracle nor of turning. M. Harding saith: Tertullian speaketh of holy outward forms. But Tertullian

[11] Coursely, probably means cursorily.]
[12] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40, p. 571. See before, page 258, note 5.]
[13] Themself, 1565.]

111742

not once nameth any kind of forms. By M. Harding's report Tertullian saith: Under these holy forms Christ's body is really present. But Tertullian himself speaketh nothing of any presence. All these petit glosses M. Harding hath devised of his own, as if it were lawful for a catholic man to examine the old learned fathers upon the rack, and to make them speak what him listeth.

Tertullian only saith thus: "Christ took bread and made it his body." And, because these words seemed doubtful, and might be diversly taken, he openeth his own meaning in this wise: "This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body." And touching this word *fecit*, in what sense it is used in the holy fathers, I have spoken at large before, in the tenth article and the second division[1]. Yet, a little more to open M. Harding's folly in this behalf, whereas in these two several propositions, *Hoc est corpus*, and *hoc est figura*, this pronoun *hoc*, as Tertullian useth it, hath relation only to one thing, as if he would say, This bread is my body, and this bread is a figure; M. Harding, to make up this new construction, contrary both to Tertullian's mind, and also to the natural course of the words, imagineth the same pronoun *hoc* in the first place to signify one thing, and in the second place to signify another thing: as if Tertullian in the former clause had written thus, *Hic panis*, "This bread is my body;" and in the second thus, *Hæc accidentia*, "These accidents are a figure of my body." And so, whereas these two propositions should sound both one thing, the one being only a declaration of the other, by M. Harding's exposition they are made to sound two divers things, the one nothing like unto the other. Thus M. Harding useth the ancient fathers in like sort as they say Procrustes, the cruel giant, was wont in old times to use his prisoners: if they be longer than his measure, he choppeth them shorter; if they be too short, he racketh them longer.

And where he saith the sacraments of the new testament contain covertly under them the thing itself that they signify, and that according to Christ's promise; verily this saying covertly containeth a great untruth. For as he is not able to allege any ancient learned father, that ever once mentioneth this privy and secret being under such covert; so is he not able to shew that Christ ever made him any such promise touching the same. And, notwithstanding baptism be a sacrament of the new testament, yet, contrary to M. Harding's new decree, it containeth not covertly and really the thing that it signifieth. True it is, the new sacraments of Christ's institution are plainer and clearer than the old; as the gospel is plainer and clearer than the law. But the things signified are no more contained in the one than in the other. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Idem...in mysterio illorum cibus, et noster*[2]: "The spiritual meat that they had in the old law, and the spiritual meat that we have in the gospel, in a mystery is all one." And again: *Spiritualem escam comederunt eandem, quam nos*[3]: "They did eat the same spiritual meat that we eat." And the whole difference between the sacraments of the old testament and the sacraments of the new he openeth thus: *In illis...sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur: in hoc autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impiis occidendus: in hoc autem pro impiis annuntiatur occisus*[4]: "In the sacrifices of the old law it was signified under a figure what thing should be given unto us; but in this sacrifice it is plainly shewed what thing is already given unto us. In the sacrifice[5] of the old law it was shewed by a figure that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked; but in this sacrifice it is declared that he hath been already slain for the wicked." Such differences the old fathers find between these sacrifices; but of M. Harding's "containing," or "covert," they know nothing.

August. in Psal. lxxvii.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. ad Pet. Diacon. cap. xix.

The reason that M. Harding can gather hereof standeth thus: Tertullian saith, The sacrament is a figure of Christ's body; *ergo*, Christ's body is therein covertly contained under the accidents.

[1 See before, pages 566, 7.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lxxvii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 816; where *cibus et potus illorum qui noster.*]

[3 Spiritalem utique eamdem ... spiritalem vero, quam nos.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498.]

[4 Id. [Fulgent.] Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. 62. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30.]

[5 Sacrifices, 1565.]

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

That Tertullian in this place is so to be understanded, we are taught by the great learned bishop St Augustine, and by Hilarius, who was bishop of Rome next after Leo the first. St Augustine's words be these: Corpus Christi et veritas et figura est: veritas, dum corpus Christi et sanguis [in] virtute Spiritus sancti... ex panis et vini substantia efficitur; figura vero est... quod exterius sentitur[6]: "*The body of Christ is both the truth and the figure: the truth, whiles the body of Christ and his blood by the power of the Holy Ghost is made of the* substance of bread and wine; and it is the figure, that is with outward sense perceived.*"

De Consecr. Dist. 2. can. Utrum sub figura.

A bastard authority in St Augustine's name.

*Christ's body of the substance of bread.

Where St Augustine here saith the body and blood of Christ to be made of the substance of bread and wine, beware, thou unlearned man, thou think them not[7] *thereof to be made as though they were newly created of the matter of bread and wine, neither that they be made of bread and wine as of a matter; but that, where bread and wine were before, after consecration there is the very body and blood of Christ born of the virgin Mary, and that in substance, in sort and manner to our weak reason incomprehensible.*

M. Harding shunneth his own doctor.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words are bastard and misbegotten, as nothing resembling neither the sense nor the words of St Augustine, but rather contrary to them both. They are alleged only by certain late writers, as namely by Gratian, by Peter Lombard, and by Algerius, as other things also be without any great choice or judgment. Only St Augustine, upon whom they are fathered, and therefore should best know them, knoweth them not. Howbeit, by whatsoever name we may call this new doctor, M. Harding findeth him so far and so rank of his side, that he is fain to check him of too much riot, and to call him back. "Beware, thou unlearned man," saith he: if thou take not very good heed, this new doctor, whom I call St Augustine, will deceive thee. This Augustine saith, Christ's body is made of the substance of bread; but say thou, Christ's body is not made of the substance of bread. This Augustine saith twice together in one place, Christ's body is created; but he was not well advised what he said; therefore say thou, Christ's body is not created: believe not this Augustine's words: he saith one thing, and thinketh another. Thus this doctor is set to school. But it may well be doubted, whether we ought to give more credit to this young St Augustine, that cannot tell his own tale, or to M. Harding's commentary, that goeth so far beside the text.

If these words be false, why doth M. Harding here allege them? why are they not rectified, either by Gratian, or by the gloss, or at least by some note in the margin? And why are they published for a rule of our faith? If they be true, why should we shun them? Or why should we beware and take heed of them, specially being uttered without figure, or metaphor, or heat of speech?

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

The words of Hilarius the pope utter the same doctrine: Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari figura[8] est, dum panis et vinum videtur extra; veritas autem, dum corpus... Christi... interius creditur[9]: "*The body of Christ, which is received from the altar, is the figure, whiles bread and wine are seen outwardly; and it is the truth, whiles the body and blood of Christ are believed inwardly.*"

Dist. 2. can. Corpus Christi.

[6 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 72. col. 1951. Gratian refers to Paschasius, Rabanus, and Algerus for this canon. See also Pet. Lomb. Lib. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. x. D. fol. 352. 2.]

[7 Not them, H. A. 1564.]

[8 Figurata, 1609, 1611.]

[9 Hilar. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 79. col. 1956; where we have *extra videtur*.]

Intus. Foris.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words of Hilary are partly answered before. His meaning is this: The bread that we see with our senses is the figure; but the very substance of the sacrament, that thereby is signified, is the body of Christ in heaven. The bread is received with our bodily mouth; the body of Christ only with our faith. And thus these two words, *extra* and *interius*, which Hilary useth, have relation to our mouth and to our faith, and so to the sacrament that is present before us, and to the body of Christ that is at the right hand of God. And in this sense St Augustine saith: *Aqua...exhibet forinsecus sacramentum gratiæ; et Spiritus operatur intrinsecus beneficium gratiæ*[1]: "The water outwardly sheweth the sacrament of grace; and inwardly the Spirit worketh the benefit of grace." And, to come near to the words of Hilary, St Augustine again saith: *Habent foris sacramentum corporis Christi; sed rem ipsam non tenent intus, cujus est illud sacramentum*[2]: "Outwardly they have the sacrament of Christ's body; but inwardly they have not the thing itself, whereof that thing is a sacrament."

Extra. Interius.

August. Epist. 23.

August. Epist. 50.

Further, we may say that Christ's body is in the sacrament itself, understanding it to be there as in a mystery. But to this manner of being there is required neither circumstance of place, nor any corporal or real presence. So Chrysostom saith: *Oleum visibile in signo est: oleum invisibile in sacramento est. Oleum spirituale intus est: oleum visibile exterius est*[3]: "The visible oil is in a token: the oil invisible is in a sacrament. The spiritual oil is within: the visible oil is without." So Paulinus writeth to Cytherius: *In suarum literarum corpore Paulus magister adfuit*[4]: "Paul the teacher was present in the body of his letters." So St Augustine: *Novum testamentum absconditum erat in lege*[5]: "The new testament was hidden in the law." So the ancient father Origen: *In vestimento poderis erat universus mundus*[6]: "The whole world was in the priest's long gown." So Chrysostom: *In scripturis insertum est regnum Dei*[7]: "The kingdom of God is inclosed in the scriptures." So Paulinus, writing unto St Augustine: *In hoc pane Trinitatis soliditas continetur*[8]: "In this cake the perfection of the holy Trinity is contained." I use purposely the more examples in this behalf, for that I see many of simplicity are deceived, thinking that one thing cannot possibly be in another, unless it be contained in the same presently, really, and indeed. Yet it is written in that fond council of Nice the second: *Qui imaginem imperatoris videt, in ea imperatorem ipsum contemplatur*[9]: "He, that seeth the emperor's image, in the same seeth the emperor himself." Likewise saith Prudentius: *Legis in effigie scriptus per ænigmata Christus*[10]: "Christ written by figure[11] in the shew of the law." Therefore M. Harding's error herein standeth in over gross understanding of these words *extra* and *interius*. For by the former he can conceive nothing else but accidents, by the latter[12] nothing but Christ's body under the same secretly hidden; which was never any part of this holy father's meaning.

Chrysost. in Psal. xliv.

Paulin. ad Cyther.

August. in Quæst. super Exod. Lib. ii.

Orig. Peri Arch. Lib. ii.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. cap. xxiii.

Inter Ep. August. Epist. 35.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 2. Tom. II. col. 264; where *exhibens* and *operans*.]

[2 ... in Christi corpore, cujus habent foris sacramentum, sed rem, &c.—Id. ad Bonifac. Epist. clxxxv. seu De Correct. Donatist. Lib. cap. xi. 50. Tom. II. col. 663.]

[3 Possibly the following may be the passage intended:... μὴ ἁπλῶς ἔλαιον νόμιζε, ἀλλὰ τὴν χρίσιν νόει. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἔλαιον σύμβολον τοῦ πνεύματος ἦν, καὶ τὸ προηγούμενον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τὸ πνεῦμα ἦν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Expos. in Psalm. xliv. Tom. V. p. 176.]

[4 Paulin. Op. Antv. 1622. Ad Cyther. xiii. p. 489.]

[5 An forte significat novum testamentum nomine Jesu, et absconditum esse in lege, &c.—August. Op. Quæst. in Hept. Lib. II. Quæst. ciii. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 454.]

[6 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. De Princip. Lib. II. cap. iii. 6. Tom. I. p. 82. Origen quotes this from the book called the Wisdom of Solomon. See Wisd. xviii. 24.]

[7 ... in illis [scripturis] insertum est regnum cœlorum.—Chrysost. Op. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi.]

[8 Paulin. et Theras. Epist. ad Alyp. in August. Op. Epist. xxiv. 6. Tom. II. col. 36; where *in quo etiam Trinitatis.*]

[9 Refut. falso Nom. Def. Tom. IV. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 456.]

[10 Aur. Prud. Op. Han. 1613. Apoth. Adv. Jud. v. 399. p. 174; where *scriptum*, and *Christum.*]

[11 Figures, 1565, 1609.]

[12 Later, 1565.]

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Thus the fathers call not only the sacrament, but also the body and blood of Christ itself in the sacrament, sometimes the truth, sometimes a figure; the truth, that is to wit, the very and true body and blood of Christ; a figure, in respect of the manner of being of the same there present, which is really and substantially, but invisibly, under the visible form of the outward elements. And so Tertullian meaneth by this[13], *"That is, the figure of my body;" as though Christ had shewed by the word* hoc *that which was visible, which verily is the figure of the body, right so as that which is the invisible inward thing is the truth of the body. Which interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ's words, though his meaning swerve not from the truth. For, where as our Lord said, "This is my body," he meant not so as though he had said, The outward form of the sacrament, which here I deliver to you, is a figure of my body under the same contained; forasmuch as by these words,* hoc est, *he shewed not the visible form of bread, but the substance of his very body, into which by his divine power he turned the bread. And therefore* (192) *none of all the fathers ever so expounded those words of Christ, but contrariwise, namely Theophylact and Damascene. "He said not," saith Theophylact, "this is a figure, but this is my body*[14]." *"The bread nor wine*[15]" *(meaning their outward forms), saith Damascene*, "is not a figure of the body and blood of Christ: not so in no wise. But it is the body itself of our Lord deificated; sith our Lord himself saith, 'This is my body,' not the figure of my body, but my body; and not the figure of my blood, but my blood, &c.*[16]"

A miserable shift. By this exposition how can Christ's body itself be a figure?

Tertullian understandeth not Christ's words.

The hundred and ninety-second untruth, notorious. For M. Harding knoweth that all the old fathers expounded it so.

* Outward forms and accidents are Christ's body itself.

In Matt. cap. xxvi.

Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is imagined another strange kind of figures. For Christ's body itself is now become a figure. But Hilarius saith: *Figura est, quod extra videtur*[17]: "The figure is that is seen outwardly." And St Augustine saith: *Signum est quod speciem ingerit oculis*[18]: "A sign is a thing that offereth a sight unto the eyes." Wherefore, by M. Harding's judgment, Christ's very body appeareth outwardly, and is seen in the sacrament with our corporal eyes. If so, how then is it there secretly, as he said before, and under covert? If not, how then can it be called a figure? In confessing the one, he must needs deny the other. If Christ's body be a figure, it is not in covert: if it be in covert, it is not a figure.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Corpus. August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i.

M. Harding contrary to himself.

He will say, the accidents and shews are figures of Christ's body there hidden. And again, the same body so invisibly hidden is a figure of that body that died visibly upon the cross. Thus, where as others may not once name any figure in these cases, it is lawful for M. Harding to heap figure upon figure; and that not such figures as have been used by any the ancient fathers, but such as he himself for a shift can best devise.

Tertullian, saith M. Harding, supposeth that Christ, when he had the bread in his hand, and said *hoc*, "this," shewed only the visible accidents and forms of bread, as if Christ had said: This whiteness, this roundness, this breadth, this lightness, &c., is my body: by which skilful construction it must needs follow, that Christ had a body made of accidents.

"Howbeit," saith M. Harding, "this interpretation of Tertullian indeed is not according to the right sense of Christ's words." Hereby it appeareth what affiance M. Harding hath in the judgment of this learned father. After so many fair words, he beginneth utterly to mislike him, and concludeth in the end, that he wrote he knew not what, and took upon him to expound Christ's words, and

---

[13] His, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[14] Οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀντίτυπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου.—Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Matt. Comm. cap. xxvi. Tom. I. p. 146.]

[15] Nor the wine, H. A. 1564.]

[16] Οὐκ ἔστι τύπος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον, αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰπόντος, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ, οὐ τύπος τοῦ σώματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ οὐ τύπος τοῦ αἵματος, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷμα· κ. τ. λ.—Damascen. Op. Par. 1712. De Fid. Orthod. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. Tom. I. p. 271.]

[17] See before, page 603, note 9.]

[18] Signum est enim res præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus.—August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 19.]

yet understood not what Christ meant; and that not in any deep allegory, or other spiritual or secret meaning, but even in the very literal sense and outward sound of Christ's words. And thus Tertullian is charged, not only with ignorance, but also with presumption.

But if, as M. Harding saith, Tertullian understood not Christ's meaning, what if some man would likewise say, M. Harding understandeth not Tertullian's meaning? And what if the simple reader understand not M. Harding's meaning? It were too much to say further, M. Harding understandeth not his own meaning. Verily Tertullian not once nameth any one of all these M. Harding's strange fantasies, neither form, nor accident, nor visible, nor invisible, nor outward element, nor secret presence, nor really, nor substantially, nor I know not what. He wrote and meant plainly in these cases, as others the learned fathers wrote and meant.

And touching the words of Christ, "This is my body;" he saith not, These shews or accidents of bread, as M. Harding full unadvisedly expoundeth him, but, "This bread is my body." Wherein he hath the consent both of the scriptures, and also of the ancient doctors of the church. St Paul saith: (Not the outward form or accident, but) "the bread that we break, is the participation of Christ's body." Irenæus saith: *Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, est corpus Domini*[1]: "The bread, wherein thanks are given, is the body of the Lord." Origen saith: *Dominus panem discipulis dabat, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum*[2]: "Our Lord gave bread unto his disciples, saying, 'This is my body'." So St Cyprian: *Vinum fuit, quod sanguinem suum dixit*[3]: "It was wine that he called his blood." So Chrysostom: *Christus, cum hoc mysterium tradidit, vinum tradidit*[4]: "Christ, when he gave this mystery, he gave wine." Likewise Cyrillus: *Christus fragmenta panis dedit discipulis*[5]: "Christ gave fragments or pieces of bread to his disciples." Thus Tertullian understood and expounded the words of Christ. Wherefore it is great folly to charge him with this new imagination of accidents, and so unadvisedly and without cause to reprove him for speaking that he never spake. By these we may the better judge of M. Harding's own exposition. For thus he saith: "When Christ said *hoc*, 'this,' he shewed not forth the visible accident or form of bread, but his very natural body." It appeareth that M. Harding either little considereth, or not much regardeth his own words. For all the rest of his side hold for most certain, that their transubstantiation is not wrought before the uttering of the last syllable. Which thing notwithstanding, M. Harding, contrary to all his fellows (I will not say, contrary to himself), saith that the bread is turned into Christ's body only at the utterance of the first syllable. And so, by this new divinity, Christ's body is made present, and the sacrament is a sacrament, before consecration; and all is ended before it be begun: which in M. Harding's schools, not long sithence, was counted an error above all errors; which to shift, they were fain to devise *individuum vagum*.

Again, if this pronoun *hoc* have relation to Christ's body, then must we of force, by M. Harding's fantasy, thus expound the words of Christ: "This is my body;" that is to say, "my body is my body:" which exposition of M. Harding's, D. Holcote saith, is vain, and peevish, and to no purpose[6].

And, whereas M. Harding saith none of all the old fathers ever expounded these words of Christ by a figure, I marvel he can so boldly utter and publish so great untruth without blushing. For he knoweth right well that scarcely any one of all the old fathers ever expounded it otherwise.

Damascene and Theophylact are very young doctors in comparison of them

1 Cor. x.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Orig. in Matt. Tractat. 12.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

Cyril. in Joan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

In iv. Sentent. Quæst. 3.

[1 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. p. 251; where *panem, sint,* and *corpus esse.*]

[2 ...διὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον δίδωσι τὸν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας καὶ κλάσας τοῖς μαθηταῖς, κ.τ.λ.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. xvi. 7. Tom. III. p. 720. See also Op. Basil. 1545. In Matt. Tract. xii. Tom. II. p. 98.]

[3 ... vinum fuisse, quod, &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p.152.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 784.]

[5 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See before, page 149, note 14.]

[6 Unde non intendit [sacerdos] demonstrare aliquid quod est ibi realiter, quando profert illud pronomen hoc: sed intendit demonstrare illud quod erit in fine prolationis, &c.—Rob. Holkot. sup. Quat. Lib. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. iv. Quæst. iii. fol. n. iii. See also ibid. fol. m. vii.]

that we may justly call old, as standing far without the compass of the first six hundred years, and otherwise fraught[7] with great errors and sundry follies. Therefore I think it not amiss, for shortness of time, to pass them by. Yet by the way, let us a little view M. Harding's logic. Thus he teacheth us to reason: Tertullian by this pronoun *hoc* understood the outward accident or form of bread; *ergo*, Christ's body itself is a figure.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

And the cause why Tertullian so expounded these words of Christ was, that thereby he might take advantage against Marcion the heretic; as many times the fathers in heat of disputation do handle some places, not after the exact signification of the words, but rather follow such way as serveth them best to confute their adversary. Which manner not reporting any untruth St Basil doth excuse in the setting forth of a disputation, not in prescribing of a doctrine. As he de-
Epist. 64. *fendeth Gregorius Neocæsariensis against the Sabellians, for that in a contention he had with Ælianus, an ethnick, to declare the mysteries of the Trinity, he used the word ὑπόστασις instead of οὐσία*[8]. *And the learned men that be well seen in the fathers know they must use a discretion and a sundry judge*[9] *between the things they write* agonistikῶs, *that is to say, by way of contention or disputation, and the things they utter* dogmatikῶs *that is, by way of setting forth a doctrine or matter of faith. Neither in that contention did Tertullian so much regard the exact use of words, as how he might win his purpose, and drive his adversary, denying that Christ took the true body of man, and that he suffered death indeed to confess the truth, which he thought to bring to pass, by deducing of*[12] *an argument from the figure of his body, which consisteth in that which is visible in the sacrament, to prove the verity of his body. And therefore in framing his reason by way of illation he saith:* Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus: "*There were not a figure, unless there were a body of truth, or a very body indeed.*"

Tertullian regarded[10] not the exact use of his words. O folly! What needeth[11] him to prove this by a figure, if he had thought that Christ's body itself was really present?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding courteously deviseth a favourable excuse for Tertullian, not thinking it best, being so ancient a father and so near to the apostles' time, utterly to condemn him of folly. He uttered all this, saith he, in heat of contention, rashly and unadvisedly, and understood not what he said, neither had any great regard to the exact use of his words. Howbeit, Tertullian not only spake these words upon the sudden, but also leisurely and with study wrote them; and yet, afterward quietly perusing and considering the same, was never able to espy this fault.

But that such cases of heat may sometimes happen, we have over good trial in M. Harding; whom, as it now appeareth, contention hath caused so many ways and so far to overreach the truth, and to have so small regard to that he writeth. St Ambrose saith: *Apostolus...impudoratos appellat eos, qui contentionibus nituntur: necesse est enim, ut contentio extorqueat aliquid, imo multa, quæ dicantur contra conscientiam; ut intus in animo perdat, foris victor abscedat: non enim patitur se vinci, licet sciat vera* [esse], *quæ audit*[13]: "The apostle calleth them impudent that hold by contention. For it cannot be chosen, but that contention must force a man to say something, or rather many things, against his conscience; that he lose in his mind within, to the intent outwardly he may seem to have the victory. For he will not suffer himself to be conquered; no, although he know the things that he heareth be never so true." Afterward, being thus carried away with contention, and more regarding their own reputation than the truth of God, as Lactantius saith, they seek reasons and shifts to

Ambros. in 2 ad Tim. ii.

Lactant. Videri volunt, non tantum cum venia, sed etiam cum ratione peccare.

[7 Freight, 1565.]

[8 Καθῆκαν δέ τινα πεῖραν δι' ἐπιστολῆς ... ὡς ἄρα Γρηγορίου εἰπόντος ἐν ἐκθέσει πίστεως, Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν ἐπινοίᾳ μὲν εἶναι δύο, ὑποστάσει δὲ ἕν. τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι οὐ δογματικῶς εἴρηται, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιστικῶς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Αἰλιανὸν διαλέξει, οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν συνιδεῖν, κ. τ. λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Prim. Neoc. Epist. ccx. 5. Tom. III. p. 316.]

[9 Judgment, H. A. 1564.]

[10 Regardeth, 1565.]

[11 Needed, 1565.] [12 H. A. 1564 omits *of*.]

[13 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Tim. II. cap. ii. 15. Tom. II. Append. col. 308; where *appellans, dicuntur*, and *nemo enim*.]

colour their error[1]. So Seneca writeth of the poet Ovid: *Non ignoravit vitia sua, sed amavit*[2]: "He was not ignorant of his own faults, but rather had a fancy to them."

Touching Gregorius Neocæsariensis, St Basil's excuse is good. So St Augustine, writing against the Pelagians, seemeth sometime to lean too far to the contrary, and to become a Manichee; as also, writing against the Manichees, he seemeth sometimes to be a Pelagian. The like St Basil writeth of one Dionysius, that, contending over earnestly against the heretic Sabellius, seemed to fall into the contrary heresy[3].

Basil. Epist. 41.

Thus the holy fathers in the sway of disputation use ofttimes to enlarge their talk above the common course of truth; but specially when they entreat of the nature and effect of the holy sacraments; to the end to withdraw the eyes of the people from the sensible and corruptible creatures, that they see before them, to the contemplation of things spiritual, that be in heaven. In this sort St Chrysostom saith: *Figimus dentes in carne Christi*[4]: "We fasten our teeth in the flesh of Christ." And again: *Videmus Dominum nostrum in cunis jacentem, et fasciis involutum*[5]: "We see our Lord lying in a[6] cradle, and swathed in bands." And again: *Turba circumstans rubet sanguine Christi*[7]: "The company standing about is made red with the blood of Christ." Likewise again he saith: *Hic sermo.... sanguine infectus omnes aspersit*[8]: "These words, being stained with blood, have sprinkled all men." So likewise St Bernard: *Totum Christum desidero videre, et tangere, et non* [*id*] *solum, sed accedere ad sacrosanctum ejus lateris vulnus, ostium arcæ, quod factum est in latere, ut... totus intrem usque ad... cor Jesu*[9]: "I desire to see whole Christ, and to touch him; and not only so, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door that was made in the side of the ark; that I may wholly enter even unto the heart of Jesus." Thus the holy fathers have evermore used upon occasion to force and advance[10] their words above the tenor of common speech.

Chrysost. in Joan. Hom. 45. Chrysost. de Beat. Philogon. Chrysost. de Sacerdot. Lib. iii. Chrysost. ad Hebr. Hom. 16. Bernard. de Amore Dei. cap. i.

Now mark, good christian reader, how handsomely M. Harding applieth these things unto his purpose. Certainly Tertullian in these words, even by M. Harding's own judgment, enlargeth nothing, nor useth any such contentious or fiery speech, over and above the truth; but rather contrariwise he abateth and minisheth as much as he possibly may of the truth. For the thing that M. Harding saith is Christ's very natural body, Tertullian saith "it is a figure of Christ's body[11]." The thing that indeed and undoubtedly is the substance of bread, that Tertullian, by M. Harding's exposition, calleth a shew or accident of bread: to be short, that thing wherein resteth all thing, Tertullian in conclusion maketh nothing. Yet M. Harding favourably excuseth him, for that he wrote ἀγωνιστικῶς, as did Gregorius Neocæsariensis; and therefore through heat of contention[12] seemeth somewhat to overreach the truth. Thus he, that calleth Christ's body a figure, substance, accident, and abaseth his talk, and speaketh less than he should do, by M. Harding's divinity, amplifieth, enlargeth, overreacheth, and speaketh more than he should do. It is a very narrow hole that these men will not seek to shift out at.

Hoc est, figura corporis mei.

Origen, expounding these words, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man," &c., saith thus: "It is a figure[13]." St Cyprian saith: *Significata et significantia iisdem nominibus censentur*[14]: "The things that signify, and the things

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7. Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

[1 ... natura hominum proclivis in vitia, videri vult non modo cum venia, sed etiam cum ratione peccare. —Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Instit. Lib. IV. cap. xxiv. Tom. I. p. 337.]

[2 M. Ann. Sen. Controv. x.]

[3 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Max. Epist. ix. 2. Tom. III. p. 90.]

[4 ... ὁ Χριστὸς ... οὐκ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε ... ἀλλὰ καὶ ... ἐμπῆξαι τοὺς ὀδόντας τῇ σαρκί. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VIII. p. 272.]

[5 Id. De Beat. Philogon. Hom. Tom. I. p. 497.]

[6 His, 1565, 1609.]

[7 Id. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. cap. iv. Tom. I. p. 382. See before, page 488, note 2.]

[8 Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 160.]

[9 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Lib. de Contempl. Deo, cap. i. 3. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 235; where *totum eum*, and *lateris ejus*. This book is ascribed to Guillelmus, abbot of St Theoderic.]

[10 Avance, 1565.]

[11 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571.]

[12 Contentation, 1611.]

[13 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. 5. Tom. II. p. 225. See before, pages 591, 2.]

[14 ... significantia et significata eisdem vocabulis censerentur.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

that be signified, are counted both by one name." St Hierome saith: "Christ represented the verity of his body[15]." St Augustine saith: "Christ delivered to his disciples the figure of his body[16]." Gelasius calleth the sacrament *similitudinem et imaginem*[17], "a similitude and an image of Christ's body." St Basil calleth it *ἀντίτυπον*[18], "a sampler." Dionysius calleth it *signum*[19], "a token." St Ambrose useth all these words together, *imago, figura, typus, similitudo, significatur*[20], "an image," "a figure," "a token," "a likeness," "it is signified." Time will not suffer me to reckon up the rest. For to this purpose and with such words they write all, and none otherwise. And must we needs believe, upon M. Harding's report, that all these fathers spake in such heat and in such fury of contention, and had no manner regard to the exact use of their words? Truly, as it is said before, Tertullian wrote gravely and soberly, and without any token of impatient heat; and that not lightly or slenderly, touching the matter with one hot word or two, as it is here supposed, but clearly proving the same by a substantial and full conclusion. For, to prove against Marcion the heretic that Christ had the very substance and nature of a man's body, he useth this reason: A figure pre-supposeth the verity of a thing whereof it is a figure; but Christ at his last supper gave to his disciples the figure of his body; therefore Christ had indeed (not a fantasy or a shew, but) a natural and a very body. The force hereof standeth upon this ground, that a fantasy or shew can bear no figure. And in this sort some think St Paul said: *Idolum nihil est:* "An idol is nothing." Thus St Augustine saith: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of things whereof they be sacraments, then no doubt they were no sacraments[21]." Thus Leo, Gelasius, and other old fathers reason against the heretic Eutyches. Likewise Chrysostom reproveth the old heretics Valentinus, Manichæus, and Marcion. Thus he writeth: *Quoniam isti, eorumque sequaces, negaturi erant hanc dispensationem (Christi in carne), ideo nos in memoriam passionis semper reducit per hoc mysterium; ut nemo, modo ne sit insanus, seduci possit*[22]*:* "Because these heretics, and others their disciples, would deny this dispensation (of Christ in the flesh), therefore by this mystery he putteth us evermore in remembrance of his passion, that no man, unless he be mad, can be deceived." And immediately before he useth these words, which I have elsewhere alleged: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est*[23]*?* "If Christ died not (as these heretics say), then whose sign and whose token is this sacrifice?" In like manner Tertullian reasoneth against Marcion, not ignorantly or blindly, as M. Harding saith, but directly and orderly, and according to the words of Christ.

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxvi. August. in Psal. iii. Gelas. contr. Eutych. Basil. in Lit. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. Ambros. de Sacram. Et de iis qui initiantur.

1 Cor. viii.

August. Epist. 23.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

But, if Tertullian had then been persuaded of this privy and secret presence that here is imagined, and nevertheless would have left the same, and grounded his whole proof upon a figure; then had he not only been ignorant and presumptuous, as here M. Harding maketh him, but also a traitor to his own cause. For, if he had granted this new fantasy, that the accidents in the sacrament stand alone without any subject, then had he concluded fully with Marcion the heretic, and most directly against himself. For thus would Marcion conclude upon the same: The bread in the sacrament is fantastical; that is to say, it seemeth bread, and is none: even so the body of Christ was fantastical; for it seemed a body, and was none.

[15 ... ut ... ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 128.]

[16 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7. See before, page 447.]

[17 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671; where *imago et similitudo.*]

[18 Basil. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 58. See before, page 579, note 13.]

[19 ... *ἐπιτεθέντων τῷ θείῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν σεβασμίων συμβόλων, δι' ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς σημαίνεται καὶ μετέχεται.*—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. 295. See also ibid. p. 299.]

[20 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 20. v. 21; Lib. VI. cap. i. 3. Tom. II. cols. 370, 1, 80. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. col. 339. See before, page 570, notes 2, 4, 5. See also In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. cols. 852, 3.]

[21 August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503.]

[22 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[23 See before, page 465.]

Thus M. Harding and Marcion the heretic build both together upon one foundation.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

And, whereas Tertullian useth this word "figure" in this place, it is not to be understanded such[1] *as the figures of the old testament be, as though it signified the shewing of a thing to come, or of a thing absent, which is wont to be set against the truth, as contrary to the same; but it is such a kind of figure as doth cover the truth present, and so as it were joined with the truth,* (193) *as it is wont to be taken in the new testament, where it sheweth rather the manner of a thing to be exhibited, than that it taketh away the truth of presence of the thing which is exhibited. For else, concerning the truth of Christ's body in the sacrament, if any man doubt what opinion he was of, he sheweth himself plainly so to judge of it as ever hath been taught in the catholic church. Whereof he giveth evidence in many other places; but specially in his second book to his wife, exhorting her not to marry again to an infidel, if she overlived him, lest, if she did, she should not have opportunity to observe the christian religion as she would. Speaking of the blessed sacrament, which was then commonly kept of devout men and women in their houses, and there in times of persecution received before other meats, when devotion stirred them, he saith thus: "Shall not thy husband know what thou eatest secretly before other meat? And if he know it, he will believe it to be bread,* (194) *not him who it is called*[2]*." The Latin is recited before. I omit many other places which shew him to acknowledge Christ's body in the sacrament, because I would not be tedious; which verily by no wresting can be drawn to the signification of a mere figure.*

[The words figure, sign, token, &c. exclude not the truth. H. A. 1564.]

The hundred and ninety-third untruth. For it is never so taken in the new testament.

The hundred and ninety-fourth untruth, standing in manifest and wilful corruption.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

One cloud more M. Harding throweth in to dim and shadow the daylight. He casteth doubts, lest some man would make this holy mystery a figure of the old testament. But it is known even unto children, that it is a sacrament in[3] the gospel, like as also is the sacrament of baptism.

But the differenee between the sacraments of the old testament and of the new standeth not in containing or covering, as it is here surmised, but in the order and manner and evidence of shewing. Which difference St Augustine openeth in this sort: [*Sacramenta legis*] *fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum: nostra sunt indicia* [*rerum*] *completarum*[4]*:* "The sacraments of the old law were promises of things to be performed: our sacraments are tokens of things that already be performed." Again: *Lex...et prophetæ...sacramenta habebant prænuntiantia rem futuram: sacramenta nostri temporis venisse testantur, quod illa venturum...prædicabant*[5]*:* "The law and the prophets had sacraments, shewing before a thing that was to come; but the sacraments of our time do witness that the thing is already come that by those sacraments was signified." And again: *Sacramenta Judæorum in signis diversa fuerunt a nostris; in rebus autem significatis paria*[6]*:* "The sacraments of the Jews in outward tokens were divers from ours; but in the things signified they were equal and one with ours." Likewise again he saith: *In illis...carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nostris peccatis...fuerat oblaturus:...in isto autem sacrificio est gratiarum actio et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*[7]*:* "In those fleshly sacrifices there was a signification of the flesh of Christ, which he had to offer for our sins; but in this sacrifice there is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ which he hath already offered for us."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. ix. cap. xiv.

August. contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. xxxvii.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

August. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix.

---

[1] To be such, H. A. 1564.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. II. 5. p. 190. See before, page 148.]

[3] A sacrament of Christ's institution in, 1565.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. XIX. cap. xiv. Tom. VIII. col. 320; where *fuerint* and *hæc sint*.]

[5] Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. xxxvii. 87. Tom. IX.; where *nostri vero temporis sacramenta*.]

[6] Sacramenta illa fuerunt: in signis diversa sunt: in re quæ significatur paria sunt.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12, Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498.]

[7] Id. [Fulgent.] Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. 62. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where *significatio fuit, peccatis nostris*, and *gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est*.]

The new fantasy of being present secretly, or under covert, is answered before.

And whereas, for further proof of Tertullian's mind herein, M. Harding hath here alleged certain words of his unto his wife; understand thou, good reader, that wilfully he hath of purpose corrupted the same, the rather to mislead thy simplicity. True it is that the unfaithful that knoweth not Christ, if he happen to see the bread of the holy mysteries, will judge no further of it, but that he seeth. But what it meaneth or signifieth, or unto what end it is appointed, he knoweth not. But the bread of the sacrament, by Christ's institution, is spiritual and heavenly bread, even as the water of baptism is spiritual and heavenly water: which thing, as Tertullian saith, the infidel cannot see. But M. Harding, having small regard to his reader's judgment, hath wittingly falsified his translation, changing this article "it" into "him," only of his own particular wilfulness, contrary to all others, old or new; yea, contrary to his own fellows: of whom one translateth the same in this wise: "And if he know it, he believeth it to be bread, and not that which it is said to be." No man may be bold to work such open corruption, but M. Harding. For, whereas Tertullian's words be plain, *Si scierit maritus tuus, panem esse credet, non illum (panem) qui dicitur*, "If thy husband know it (being an infidel), he will believe it to be (bare) bread, but not that (bread) that it is called;" M. Harding thought it better to translate it thus: "He will believe it to be bread, but not him who it is called;" as if it were the person of a man. This dealing and the whole understanding of Tertullian's mind is opened more at large in the first article and in the seventeenth division[8]. Certainly false translation maketh no sufficient proof.

Now mark thou, good christian reader, into how many and how narrow straits M. Harding hath cast himself to avoid the force of these few plain words of Tertullian, *Hoc est figura corporis mei:* "This is a figure of my body." First, the outward, and, as he calleth it, the holy form of bread is the figure of Christ's body, invisibly hidden under the accidents. Secondly, the same body, so hidden, and invisible, is a figure of Christ's body visible. Thirdly, Tertullian, as it is here presumed, understood not the very grammatical and literal sense of Christ's words. Fourthly, the same Tertullian was carried away with heat and contention, and either knew not, or cared not, what he said. Fifthly, by this new exposition he is made to join with Marcion the heretic, against whom he writeth, and so to conclude directly against himself. I pass over the fantasying of forms, accidents, outward elements, miraculous changes, secret presences, and other like forced terms, whereof Tertullian knoweth none. To be short, M. Harding with his strange construction, and Marcion the old heretic, hold both by one principle.

1. Holy accidents.
2.
3.
4.
5.

It were far better for a man that meant truth to leave these unsavoury and unsensible glosses, and simply and plainly to expound the words of Christ, as this ancient learned father expoundeth them: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei:* "This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body." So shall Tertullian agree both in sense and words with all the old catholic writers and doctors of the church. So shall he agree with the common gloss noted in the decrees: *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat [corpus Christi]*[9]: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." So shall he agree with Maximus the Greek scholiast upon Dionysius: *Signa sunt hæc, non autem veritas*[10]: "These be tokens, but not the truth itself." To conclude, so shall Tertullian agree with himself; for thus he writeth: *Christus non reprobavit panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentavit*[11]: "Christ refused not bread, wherewith he represented his own body."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Gloss.

Max. in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια. Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. i.

[8 See before, page 150.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where *Christi corpus.*]

[10 Max. Schol. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. 1. Tom. I. p. 306; where καὶ for ἀλλά.]

[11 ... ille ... nec ... reprobavit ... panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat.—Tertull. Op. Adv. Marcion. Lib. i. 14. pp. 439, 40.]

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

The like answer may be made to the objection brought out of St Augustine, Contra Adimantum Manichæum, cap. xiii.: Non...dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum [tamen] daret signum corporis sui[1]: "*Our Lord sticked not to say, 'This is my body,' when notwithstanding he gave the sign of his body.*" *For this is to be considered that St Augustine, in fighting against the Manichees, oftentimes useth not his own sense and meaning, but those things which by some mean, howsoever it were, might seem to give him advantage against them, so as he might put them to the worst, as he witnesseth himself in his book* De Bono Perseverantiæ, cap. xi. et xii.[2]

A miserable shift. St Augustine hath no regard what he say.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Augustine, saith M. Harding, in the chafe and rage of disputation sometimes forgat himself, and uttered his words unadvisedly; and not only that, but also afterward published the same his unadvised speech in open writing unto the world, as a man seeking only to conquer his adversary; but whether by right or by wrong, by truth or by falsehood[3], he had no care. But, O gentle and easy heretics, that upon such proofs would so lightly yield unto St Augustine! Easy also be these catholics, that in so childish guesses will give credit to M. Harding. Certainly, St Augustine for his mildness and sobriety, both in disputation, and also otherwise, hath the praise above all others. Neither doth there appear in that whole book against Adimantus any token to the contrary. Some part of their variance grew upon occasion of these words: *Sanguis est anima:* "The blood is the soul." For declaration whereof St Augustine, without any manner heat of contention that may appear, saith thus: *Ita sanguis est anima, quemadmodum petra erat Christus*[4]*:* "So is the blood the soul, even as the rock was Christ." And in the same chapter he joineth these three sentences all together, "The blood is the soul," "the rock was Christ," and "this is my body;" as being all both of like meaning, and also of like manner of utterance. St Augustine never knew any of these M. Harding's lately invented holy forms, or coverts, or secrecies. But in most plain wise he saith: *Dabat signum corporis sui*[5]*:* "Christ gave a token of his body;" agreeing therein both with himself, and also with all other ancient catholic fathers. But if M. Harding, not shewing us any suspicion or token of inordinate heat in that reverend master of the church of God, may tell us only of himself, that he was thus unadvisedly carried away with vehemency of disputation and tempest of talk; then may he also easily dispatch all other the ancient learned fathers, and say, whatsoever they wrote that liketh not him, they wrote in a rage and in their furies. But, if St Augustine were alive, he would rather say that M. Harding were somewhat blown away with the winds and waves of contention, and had much forgotten himself, and talketh in his heats he knoweth not or careth not what. St Ambrose, upon occasion expounding these words, saith thus: *Cum sanguinem hoc loco animam diceret, utique significavit, aliud esse animam, aliud sanguinem*[6]*:* "When Moses in this place called the blood the soul, doubtless he meant thereby that the blood is one thing, and the soul another" (notwithstanding he seem by words to make them one). Even so likewise may we say, when Christ uttered these words, "This bread is my body," he meant that the bread is one thing and his body another, notwithstanding the words seem to sound otherwise.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

Ambros. de Noe et Arca. cap. xxv.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Gregory Nazianzene, Oratione iv. in Sanctum Pascha, *shewing difference between the passover of the law, which the Jews did eat, and that which we in the new testa-*

[1] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124; where *Dominus dubitavit,* and *signum daret.*]

[2] Id. De Don. Persev. capp. xi. xii. Tom. X. cols. 834, &c.]

[3] Falsehead, 1565.]

[4] Sic est enim sanguis anima, quomodo petra erat Christus.—Id. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 5. Tom. VIII. col. 126.]

[5] Id. ibid. 3. col. 124. See above, note 1.]

[6] Cum enim hoc loco animam sanguinem dixerit utique, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Noe et Arca. cap. xxv. 92. Tom. I. col. 266.]

ment do eat in the mystery of the sacrament, and that which Christ shall eat with us in the life to come in the kingdom of his Father, uttereth such words as whereby he calleth that we receive here a figure of that shall be received there: Ceterum jam paschæ fiamus participes, figuraliter tamen adhuc, etsi pascha hoc veteri sit manifestius. Siquidem pascha legale, audenter dico, figuræ figura erat obscurior: at paulo post illo perfectius et purius fruemur, cum Verbum ipsum biberit nobiscum in regno Patris novum, detegens et docens, quæ nunc mediocriter ostendit. Novum enim semper existit id, quod nuper est cognitum[7]: *"But now," saith he, "let us be made partakers of this passover, and yet but figuratively as yet, albeit this passover be more manifest than that of the old law. For the passover of the law (I speak boldly) was a dark figure of a figure; but, ere it be long, we shall enjoy it more perfitly, and more purer*[8]*, when as the Word (that is, the Son of God) shall drink the same new with us in the kingdom of his Father, opening and teaching the things that now he sheweth not in most clear wise. For that ever is new, which of late is known." Where as this learned father calleth our passover that we eat a figure, whereof the law-passover was a figure, terming it the figure of a figure; he asketh leave, as it were, so to say, and confesseth himself to speak boldly, alluding, as it seemeth, to St Paul, or at least having fast printed in his mind his doctrine to the Hebrews; where he calleth the things of the life to come* res ipsas, *"the very things themselves;" the things of the new testament* ipsam imaginem rerum, *"the very image of things;" and the old testament* imaginis umbram, *"the shadow of the image." Which doctrine Nazianzene applieth to the sacrament of the altar. And his meaning is this, that, although we be gotten out of those darknesses*[9] *of the law, yet we are not come to the full light which we look for in the world to come, where we shall see and behold the very things themselves clearly, and we shall know as we are known. To be short, by his report the sacraments of the old testament be but figures and shadows of things to come, the sacraments of the new testament not shadows of things to come,* (195) *but figures of things present, which are contained and delivered under them in mystery, but yet substantially; at the end of all, figures*[10] *in heaven shall cease and be abolished, and there shall we see all those things that here be*[11] *hidden clearly face to face. And, where Christ saith that he will drink his passover new with us in the kingdom of his Father, Nazianzene so expoundeth that word "new," as it may be referred to the manner of the exhibiting, not to the thing exhibited. Not that in the world to come we shall have another body of our Lord, which now we have not, but that we shall have the self-same body that now we have in the sacrament of the altar in a mystery, but yet verily and substantially, after another sort and manner, and in that respect new. For so had, without mystery or coverture, in clear sight and most joyful fruition, it is new in comparison of this present knowledge.*

Heb. x.

The hundred and ninety-fifth untruth. For this was never this father's meaning.

O folly! Nazianzene speaketh not of the sacrament, but of perfection and imperfection of knowledge.

Thus the word "figure" reporteth not always the absence of the truth of a thing, as we see, but the manner of the thing either promised or exhibited; that, forasmuch as it is not fully and clearly[12] *seen, it may be called a figure. So of Origen it is called* imago rerum, *"an image of the things," as in this place:* Si quis vero transire potuerit ab hac umbra, veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum, videat eum pontificem offerentem quidem et nunc Patri hostias, et postmodum oblaturum; et intelligat hæc omnia imagines esse spiritualium rerum, et corporalibus officiis cœlestia designari. Imago ergo dicitur hoc, quod recipitur ad præsens, et intueri potest humana natura[13]: *"And if any man," saith he, "can pass and depart from this shadow, let him come to the image of things, and see the coming of Christ made in flesh; let him see him a bishop that both now offereth sacrifice unto his Father, and also hereafter shall offer. And let him understand that all these things be images of spiritual things, and that by bodily services heavenly things be resembled and set forth. So this, which is at this present received, and may of man's nature be seen, is called an image." In this saying of Origen, this word "image" doth not in*

In Psalm. xxxiii. Hom. 2.

This place is not well applied; for these words pertain nothing to the sacrament.

[7 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]

[8 Purely, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[9 Darkness, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[10 At the end all figures, H. A. 1564.]

[11 He, 1565.]

[12 Clearly and fully, H. A. 1564.]

[13 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxviii. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. II. pp. 696, 7.]

The law and the gospel.

signification diminish the truth of things, so as they be not the very things indeed; for the things that Christ did in flesh were true things; but, when they are termed the image of things, thereby is signified, so far as the condition and nature of man can behold and see them.

This is most plainly uttered by Œcumenius, a Greek writer, upon these words of St Paul to the Hebrews, Non ipsam imaginem rerum, "*Not the image itself of things:*" Id est, veritatem rerum, "*That is, the truth of things,*" *saith he, and addeth further:* Res appellat futuram vitam, imaginem autem rerum evangelicam politiam, umbram vero vetus[1] testamentum. Imago enim manifestiora ostendit exemplaria: adumbratio autem imaginis obscurius hæc manifestat; nam hæc veteris testamenti exprimit imbecillitatem[2]. *The sense of which words may thus be uttered in English: St Paul "calleth the life to come, the things; and the ordinance or disposition of the things in the gospel, he calleth the image of things; and the old testament he nameth the shadow of the image of things. For an image sheweth samplers more manifest; but the adumbration or shadowing of the image sheweth these things but darkly; for this doth express the weakness of the old testament." By this place of Œcumenius we see that, although it be proper to an image to exhibit the truth of things, and therefore by interpretation he saith,* Imaginem, id est, veritatem, "*The image, that is, the truth;*" *yet the proper and right taking of the word signifieth the way or manner of a thing to be exhibited, not the thing itself; that what the image hath less than the thing itself, it is to be understanded in the manner of exhibiting, not in the thing itself exhibited.*

Heb. x.

Nothing of the sacrament.

Hitherto we have brought examples to declare, that the words figure and image signify the truth of things exhibited indeed, though in secret and privy manner.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These three fathers, Nazianzene, Origen, and Œcumenius, cost M. Harding no great study. He found them word by word alleged before in doctor Stephen Gardiner[3]. Neither do they any wise further his purpose, touching either his outward forms and accidents, or else his privy and secret presence. But he knoweth that the very names of old doctors, although they say nothing, may suffice to lead the ignorant.

The meaning of these three fathers was only to shew the difference that is between the three states; the Jews under the law, the Christians under[4] the gospel, and the saints in the life to come. All which three states are one offspring of Abraham, one people, one church, one inheritance; all calling upon and glorifying the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ. Therefore St Augustine saith: "The people of Israel under the law were very Christians; and the Christians in the gospel are very Israelites." Albeit he addeth: *Non oportet illud nomen in consuetudine sermonis retinere*[5]: "In common use of speech we may not continue that name." Again he saith: [*Judæi*] *nondum nomine, sed reipsa erant... Christiani*[6]: "The Jews, although not in name, yet indeed were very Christians." Likewise Eusebius saith: "All the Jews, from Abraham upward until Adam, were indeed christian men; albeit they were not named so[7]." So likewise Epiphanius saith: "The faith of Christ was ever from the beginning of the world[8]."

August. ad Asell. Epist. 20.

August. contr. 2 Epist. Pelag. Lib. iii. cap. iv. [τῷ] ἔργῳ Χριστιανοί, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὀνόματι.

Epiph. Lib. i. cap. i. ἡ νῦν πίστις...ἀπ' ἀρχῆς οὖσα.

The substance of these three states is one: the difference standeth only in quality, or proportion of more or less. The Jews saw Christ in the law; the Christians see Christ in the gospel; the blessed saints see Christ in heaven.

---

[1] Imaginis rerum vetus. H. A. 1564.]

[2] Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 391.]

[3] Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 185. fol. 126.]

[4] In, 1565, 1609.]

[5] Verumtamen cum quisque isto modo fuerit verus germanusque Christianus, utrum etiam Judæus aut Israelita dicendus sit, merito quæritur. Quod quidem si non carne, sed spiritu hoc esse intelligitur, non debet ipsum nomen sibi in consuetudine sermonis imponere, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Asell. Epist. cxcvi. 9. Tom. II. col. 733.]

[6] Id. contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. III. cap. iv. 11. Tom. X. col. 454; where *fuerunt*.]

[7] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. iv. p. 11; where Χριστιανοὺς εἰ καὶ μή.]

[8] Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. 5. Tom. I. pp. 5, 6.]

The Jews saw Christ darkly, as in a shadow; the Christians see Christ as in an image lively pourtrayed; the holy saints see Christ in heaven, expressly and perfitly, without image or shadow, face to face. Christ that is seen is all one: the difference is only in the seers; of whom some see in a dark shadow, some in a perfit image, and some in the clear light: and yet none of them without the sight of Christ. And, as the Jews were in a shadow, in comparison of that brightness of light that we see now; even so are we likewise in a shadow, in comparison of that light that we hope for, and is to come. And thus Origen, Nazianzene, Œcumenius, and the rest of the ancient fathers meant, and none otherwise. Therefore M. Harding may consider better how much these authorities make for him, to prove his secret fleshly presence in the sacrament.

Chrysostom compareth the state of the Jews unto a candle; and the state of the Christians to the brightness of the sun[9]. Again, he likeneth the Jews to the first draught or plat of an image, set out only in bare lines; and the Christians unto the same image lively filled up with all due proportion, and resemblance, and furniture of colours[10]. Irenæus compareth the Jews to the sowing of the seed; and the Christians to the harvest and reaping of the corn[11]. To conclude, St Paul compareth the Jews to a child; and the Christians to a full perfit man.

Chrysost. in variis locis in Matt.

Chrysost. in Dict. Apost. Patres nostri omnes, &c. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xlii.

Gal. iv. 1 Cor. xiii.

By all these examples it appeareth that the substance is one, and the difference standeth only in more and less. The Jews had the same light, although not in like quantity; the same image, although not with like furniture; the same corn, although not grown to like ripeness: they were the same person, although not in like perfection of age. Thus much to open the difference between the law and the gospel; which was one part of these fathers' meaning.

The like difference we may find between the state of the gospel and the state of the life that is to come. For although the things be one, yet the fruition of the same is not one; and, in respect of that abundance of glory that we look for, all that we have and enjoy already is but a figure. And therefore St Augustine saith: *Cum Christus tradiderit regnum Deo et Patri,... in illa perspicua contemplatione incommutabilis veritatis nullis mysteriis corporalibus indigebimus*[12]: "When Christ shall have delivered the kingdom to God and the Father, in that plain contemplation of the unchangeable truth we shall need no bodily mysteries."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xii. cap. xx.

Likewise he writeth of the sacrament of baptism: *Ungimur...modo in sacramento, et sacramento ipso præfiguratur quiddam, quod futuri sumus; et illud nescio quid futurum ineffabile desiderare debemus, et in sacramento gemere, ut in ea re gaudeamus, quæ sacramento præmonstratur*[13]: "We are now anointed in a sacrament; and in the sacrament itself there is a thing fore-signified, that we shall be; and the same unspeakable thing that is to come, we ought to desire and to mourn for it in the sacrament, that we may rejoice in that thing that is signified in the sacrament."

August. in Psal. xxvi.

So St Basil: *Etiam nunc justus bibit aquam illam viventem: verum eam posthac largius bibet, ubi cooptatus fuerit in civitatem Dei. Nunc quidem bibit in speculo, et in ænigmate, per brevem comprehensionem observationum divinarum: tunc autem flumen universum recipiet*[14]: "Even now the just man drinketh that

Basil. in Psal. xlv. διὰ τὴν κατὰ βραχὺ κατάληψιν τῶν θείων θεωρημάτων.

---

[9] The comparison has not been found in the homilies indicated. But it occurs elsewhere: "Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι [οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι] ἔτι τῷ λύχνῳ παρακαθήμενοι τοσαύτην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν φυλακήν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς δικαιοσύνης κατανγασθῆναι κατηξιώθημεν, καὶ τὴν σκιὰν καταλιπόντες πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχειραγωγήθημεν, τὴν ὁμοίαν φυλακὴν ἐπιδειξώμεθα, κ.τ.λ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xxxvi. Gen. Hom. lx. Tom. IV. pp. 581, 2.]

[10 "Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκείνης οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖς τὸ πᾶν πρὸ τῆς τῶν χρωμάτων ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀμυδράν τινα λάβῃς γνῶσιν τῶν γινομένων, ἱκανῶς τὴν σκιαγραφίαν ἀπηρτίσθαι νομίζεις· οὕτω μοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς καινῆς λογίζου, κ.τ.λ.—Id. in Dict. Paul. Nolo vos, &c. Hom. Tom. III. p. 234.]

[11 Cum enim unus esset Abraham, in semetipso præfigurabat duo testamenta, in quibus alii quidem seminaverunt, alii vero messi sunt ... Disseminaverunt enim sermonem de Christo patriarchæ et prophetæ; demessa est autem ecclesia, hoc est, fructum percepit.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xxv. (*al.* xlii.) p. 261.]

[12 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xii. cap. xx. Tom. VIII. col. 237; where *cum tradetur regnum*, and *egeamus*.]

[13 Id. in Psalm. xxvi. Enarr. ii. 2. Tom. IV. col. 119.]

[14 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psal. xlv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 172, 3.]

living water. But after this, when he shall be received into the city of God, he shall drink it more abundantly. Now he drinketh as in a seeing-glass, or in a riddle, by a small understanding of heavenly things; but then he shall swallow down the whole stream."

Gregor. Nazianz. in Sanct. Pasch. Orat. 4. Orig. in Psal. xxxviii. Hom. 2.

In this sense Nazianzene saith: "The ecclesiastical policy of the Jews, compared with the gospel of Christ, is a figure of a figure[1]." In this sense Origen saith: "The coming of Christ in the flesh, and the offering of himself upon the cross (the force of which oblation continueth still), and all that our nature can conceive of the same, is but an image in comparison of those spiritual things that we look for[2]." And here understand thou, good reader, that Origen in this place speaketh of Christ's coming and appearing in the flesh; and not one word of the sacrament. For thus he saith: *Veniat ad imaginem rerum, et videat adventum Christi in carne factum*[2]: "Let him come to the image of things, and see Christ's coming in the flesh." This image Œcumenius very well expoundeth *veritatem rerum*[3], that is, "the truth and performance of things that were promised under a shadow to the Jews." In like sort Chrysostom expoundeth the same words: *Lex habuit umbram futurorum bonorum, non ipsam imaginem rerum, hoc est, non ipsam veritatem*[4]: "The law had a shadow of good things to come, but not the image of the things, that is to say, not the truth itself." He calleth the gospel the truth itself, not in respect of Christ's secret being in the sacrament, unto which fantasy M. Harding driveth all this long talk, but only in respect of Christ's incarnation, as it is plain by that immediately followeth: *Donec enim quis velut in pictura circumducat colores, umbra quædam est; cum vero flores ipsos colorum induxerit et imposuerit, tunc imago efficitur*[5]: "A picture, until the painter lay on his colours, is but a shadow; but, the fresh colours being laid on, it is an image." So St Paul calleth "the law the shadow," and "Christ the body." And in this consideration Athanasius saith: *Evangelium est Dei Verbi Domini Jesu Christi præsentia, ad humani generis salutem incarnati*[6]: "The gospel is the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the Word of God, incarnate unto the salvation of mankind." And therefore St Augustine saith: *Nostra sacramenta dant salutem: Judæorum sacramenta promittebant Salvatorem:...non quod jam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quod jam venerit Christus, qui per prophetas pronuntiabatur*[7]: "Our sacraments do give salvation: the sacraments of the Jews promised a Saviour. I speak not this for that we have already attained everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was pronounced by the prophets."

Œcumen. ad Hebr. cap. x. Chrysost. ad Hebr. cap. x. Col. ii. Athanas. de Com. Essen. P. Fil. et Spir. Sanct. August. in Psal. lxxiii.

Out of these fathers' words M. Harding reasoneth in this wise: The brightness of the gospel is but a figure in comparison of that brightness that is to come; *ergo*, Christ's body is secretly hidden under the outward forms and accidents of the sacrament.

Howbeit, it may soon appear unto the discreet and indifferent reader, that in all these words there is no manner mention, neither of secrecy, nor of presence, nor of absence, nor of forms, nor of elements, nor of accidents, nor, in express words, of any sacrament. Nazianzene, notwithstanding he may seem to touch the sacrament of Christ's body, yet indeed he speaketh only of the spiritual food of the knowledge of God, and not of the sacrament; as it is plain both by the place itself, and also by the words that immediately follow after. The words that went before are these: *Christus bibet nobiscum novum vinum in regno Patris*[8]: "Christ will drink with us new wine in the kingdom of his Father." The words that follow are these: *Quis est hic potus, et quæ est hæc oblectatio? Nostra quidem, discere; illius vero, docere. Doctrina enim etiam docenti alimenti instar*

τροφὴ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ δίδαξις καὶ τοῦ τρέφοντος.

[1 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863. See before, page 613.]

[2 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Explan. sup. Psalm. xxxviii. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. II. pp. 696, 7. See before, page 613.]

[3 Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. x. Tom. II. p. 391. See before, page 614.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 167.]

[5 Id. ibid.]

[6 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. De Com. Essent. Patr. Fil. et Spir. Sanct. 50. Tom. II. p. 26.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxxiii. Enarr. 2. Tom. IV. col. 769; where *sacramenta novi testamenti dant salutem, sacramenta veteris testamenti promiserunt, quia jam*, and *prænuntiabatur*.]

[8 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. In Sanct. Pasch. Orat. xlv. 23. Tom. I. p. 863.]

est[9]: "What is this drink, and what is this pleasure? Of our part, it is to learn; of Christ's part, it is to teach. For doctrine, even unto him that teacheth, is a kind of meat."

It is very much for M. Harding thus to conclude his imaginations of the sacrament by these fathers, that speak not one word of the sacrament. Touching that is here alleged of secret and privy being, the catholic fathers do confess that Christ is in the sacraments of the new testament, as he was in the sacraments of the old. So St Augustine saith: *Quicunque in manna Christum intellexerunt, eundem, quem nos, cibum spiritualem manducaverunt*[10]: "As many as in manna understood Christ, fed of the same spiritual bread that we feed of." Again he saith: *Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata. Ibi petra Christus; nobis Christus, quod in altari Dei ponitur*[11]: "Behold, the faith standing one, the signs or sacraments are changed. There the rock was Christ: unto us that thing is Christ that is laid upon the altar." As Christ is now here, so was Christ then there. And as Christ is now in the bread, so was Christ then in the rock, and none otherwise. But what can be so plain as that Nazianzene himself writeth, whom M. Harding hath chosen specially for his author? These be his words: *Pellent me ab altaribus. At ego novi aliud altare, cujus ea omnia, quæ nunc videntur, exemplaria tantum sunt, non manu aut ascia elaboratum: ... mentis opus est, et contemplationis ascensus. Ibi astabo, et acceptabilia offeram, sacrificium, oblationem, et holocausta, quæ tanto præstantiora sunt quam ea quæ nunc aguntur, quanto veritas potior est quam umbra*[12]: "They will drive me from the altars or communion-tables. But I know another altar, whereof all the things that are now seen are but samplers, not wrought by hand or instrument. It is the work of the mind, and the elevation of the heart. There will I stand, and offer up acceptable sacrifices; which so far exceed the sacrifices that are made here, as the truth exceedeth a shadow."

August. de Util. Pœn.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 45.

Nazianz. in Orat. Cum post ea, quæ contra Maximum, &c.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

Certain fathers use the words signum et sacramentum, *that is, "sign and sacrament," in the same signification. St Augustine,* In Libro Sententiarum Prosperi, *saith thus:* Caro ejus [est], quam forma panis opertam in sacramento accipimus; et sanguis ejus, quem sub vini specie et sapore potamus; caro videlicet carnis, et sanguis est sacramentum sanguinis: carne et sanguine, utroque invisibili, spirituali, intelligibili, signatur visibile[13] Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpus [et] palpabile, plenum gratia omnium virtutum et divina majestate[14]: "*It is his flesh that we receive, covered with the form of bread in the sacrament, and his blood that under the shape and savour of wine we drink. Soothly flesh is a sacrament of flesh, and blood is a sacrament of blood: by the flesh and the blood both invisible, spiritual, intelligible, our Lord Jesus Christ his visible and palpable body, full of the grace of all virtues and divine majesty, is signified, or as it were with a sign noted.*"

De Con. Dist. 2. can. Utrum sub figura.

In these words of St Augustine we see the flesh of Christ called a sacrament of his flesh, and the blood a sacrament of his blood, inasmuch as they be covered with the form of bread and wine, yet verily and in substance present. And likewise he letteth not to call this verity or truth of the things themselves, thus covertly exhibited, a sign of Christ's visible and palpable body; so that the naming of a sign doth not import a separation from the truth, but sheweth a distinct manner of the truth exhibited: and therefore, according to the truth of the manner of exhibiting, it is not the flesh of Christ, but the sacrament of the flesh of Christ, for that the flesh doth not exhibit itself in his own shape, but in a sacrament.

---

[9] Id. ibid.]

[10] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccclii. 3. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. Tom. V. col. 1365.]

[11] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 598.]

[12] Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Orat. xxvi. 16. Tom. I. p. 483.]

[13] Visibili, 1611.]

[14] August. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937; where we find *sacramentum est,* and *intelligibili spirituali significatur.*]

Covered.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In this saying of St Augustine M. Harding seemeth specially to note these few[1] words, *forma, operta,* and *invisibilis;* which being answered, I hope the force of his collection will soon appear. First, if M. Harding will say that this word *forma* must needs be taken for the outward shew and appearance of bread, then must he needs fall into a great inconvenience, and become either a patron or a scholar of the old heretic Marcion, who upon the very same word erected his heresy; and of these words of St Paul, *Formam servi suscepit,* reasoned then as M. Harding doth now; *ergo,* Christ had nothing else but the outward form and appearance or shape of a man's body. But it is known to the learned, that, as well among the philosophers, as also among the old catholic learned fathers, these words *forma* and *species* are taken, not only for the outward appearance, but also for nature and substance itself. So St Hierome imagineth Christ to say: *Declinavi ad eos, deserens regna cœlorum, ut cum eis vescerer, assumpta forma hominis*[2]: "I went down unto them, leaving the kingdoms of heaven, that I might eat with them, having received the form of man." I leave St Augustine, St Ambrose, and other like authorities. This matter is proved more at large in the tenth article and sixth division[3]. By these few it may appear that this word *forma* importeth not only a shew, but also the very substance of the bread.

Hieron. in Osee, Lib. iii. cap. xi.

In the second word, *operta,* which signifieth "covered," M. Harding wittingly dissembleth his own learning, and would seem not to know the manner and nature of all sacraments; which is to offer one thing outwardly unto our senses, and another inwardly to our mind. Hereof there is sufficiently spoken before, in the second and eighth division of this article[4]. Chrysostom saith: *In sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit*[5]: "In sensible and outward things Christ hath given us things spiritual." And for example he addeth: *Sic et in baptismo*[6]: "So it fareth in the sacrament of baptism." Thus St Augustine saith: "The godly of the Jews understood Christ in their manna[7]." In like sort Origen speaketh of the letter of the scriptures: *Corpora prophetarum colunt, posita in libris et literis, quasi in quibusdam sepulchris*[8]: "They honour the bodies of the prophets, laid in their books and letters, as if it were in certain graves." So St Augustine: *Sensus in litera manet, et per literam videtur*[9]: "The sense lieth in the letter, and by the letter it is seen." So Nicolaus Cabasilas: *Spiritus celatur in litera:* "The Spirit of God is hidden in the letter." I think M. Harding in these speeches will not necessarily require any corporal or real presence. Thus St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *in seipso immortaliter et incorruptibiliter vivens,...iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*[10]: "Christ, living in himself immortally and without corruption, dieth again in this mystery." Whereupon the gloss saith: *Moritur, id est, mors ejus repræsentatur*[11]: "Christ dieth, that is to say, his death is represented." Now, as Christ dieth in the sacrament, so is his body present in the sacrament. But Christ dieth not there really and indeed; therefore Christ's body is not there really and indeed.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83. ἐν αἰσθηταῖς τὰ νοητὰ... παρέδωκε.

August. de Util. Pœn. In manna Christum intellexerunt.

Orig. in Matt. Tractat. 26.

August. de Spirit. et Anim. cap. ii.

Nicol. Cabas.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit sanguis.

I thought it needful to use the more examples in this behalf, for that this place of St Augustine seemeth to carry the greatest force of all others. But as St Augustine saith here, Christ's body is hidden under the form or kind of bread; even so he saith: *Gratia* [*Dei*] *in veteri testamento velata latebat*[12]: "The grace of God lay hidden in the old testament." Even so St Gregory saith: *Ut palea fru-*

August. de Spirit. et Lit. cap. xv.

Gregor. in Prolog. in Cantic.

[1 These three, 1565.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Osee Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1313.]

[3 See before, pages 578, 9.]

[4 See before, pages 594, 5, 604.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787; where αἰσθηταῖς, and παραδίδωσι.]

[6 Id. ibid.]

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccclii. 3. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. Tom. V. col. 1365.]

[8 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 27. Tom. III. p. 847; where *in literis posita et in libris.*]

[9 August. Op. De Spirit. et Anim. cap. ii. Tom. VI. Append. col. 35. The Benedictine editors ascribe this treatise to Alcherus.]

[10 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953; where *semetipso.*]

[11 Gloss. in eod. ibid.; where *ejus mors.*]

[12 August. Op. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xv. 27. Tom. X. col. 100; where *testamento vetere,* and *latitabat.*]

mentum, sic litera tegit Spiritum[13]: "As the chaff hideth the corn, so the letter hideth the Spirit." Even so again St Augustine saith: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum*: "The new testament was hidden in the old." But he expoundeth himself: *Occultabatur, id est, occulte significabatur*[14]: "It was hidden, that is to say, it was secretly signified." And thus, by St Augustine's own words and exposition, we may likewise say: *Caro Christi operta, id est, occulte significata*: "Christ's flesh is privily hidden, that is to say," as St Augustine expoundeth it, "it is privily signified."

Invisibly. 1565.

August. de Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. i. cap. xv.

Thus the sacrament of Christ's flesh, which, according to the doctrine of St Augustine, beareth the name of that thing that it signifieth, is called Christ's flesh, invisible, spiritual, and only to be conceived by understanding. For the whole work hereof pertaineth, not unto the mouth or teeth, as St Augustine saith, but only to faith and spirit[15]. And therefore the same St Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread shall not die," saith thus: *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*[16]: "That pertaineth to the effect and virtue of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, not outwardly; that eateth with his heart, not that presseth with his teeth." Likewise he saith of Moses, Aaron, and Phinees, and others the faithful of that time: *Visibilem cibum (manna) spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt*[17]: "They understood manna, that visible meat, spiritually; they hungered it spiritually; they tasted it spiritually." By these words, *intus*, "inwardly;" *in corde*, "in the heart;" *spiritualiter*, "spiritually;" St Augustine expoundeth the meaning of this word *invisibiliter*, "invisibly." Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Mysterium appellatur, quia aliud videmus, aliud credimus. Nam hujusmodi est mysteriorum nostrorum natura*[18]: "It is called a mystery, because we see one thing, and believe another. For such is the nature of (baptism and our Lord's supper, which are) our sacraments or mysteries." So saith St Ambrose, as is alleged before: "The water of the holy font hath washed us: the blood of Christ hath redeemed us:" *alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium, &c.*[19]: "The one witness is invisible, the other is visible." So the old father Origen saith: "St John's baptism was visible; but Christ's baptism is invisible[20]."

August. de Consecr. Dist. 2. Ut quid. August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 7.

Ambros. de Spirit. Sanct. Lib. iii.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 24.

As it is in the mystery of baptism, so is it also in the mystery of Christ's body. As Christ's blood is invisible, wherewith we are washed; so is Christ's flesh invisible, wherewith we are fed. And as this invisible washing in Christ's blood representeth unto our minds the blood of Christ, that was visibly shed for us; so the flesh of Christ, that is eaten invisibly, representeth unto us that very flesh of Christ that was visibly and sensibly nailed and torn upon the cross. And thus St Augustine's meaning may well stand upright without any new secrecy or real or fleshly presence.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

And therefore in another place he writeth thus: Sicut ergo cœlestis panis, qui caro Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum revera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, illius videlicet, quod visibile, [quod] palpabile, mortale in cruce positum est; vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei[21] veritate, sed significante mysterio: sic sacramentum fidei, quod baptismus intelligitur, fides

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est quod dicimus.

---

[13] ... sic enim litera cooperit spiritum, sicut palea tegit frumentum.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Sup. Cant. Canticor. Expos. Procem. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 399.]

[14] August. Op. De Bapt. Contr. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. xv. 24. Tom. IX. col. 92. See before, page 595.]

[15] Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 47. col. 1936.]

[16] Id. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[17] Id. ibid. 12. col. 498.]

[18] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51.]

[19] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Spir. Sanct. Lib. III. cap. x. 68. Tom. II. col. 678. See before, page 595.]

[20] Orig. Op. In Luc. Hom. xxiv. Tom. III. p. 961. See before, page 596.]

[21] Res, 1611.]

Heavenly bread.

est[1]: "*As the heavenly bread,*" *saith St Augustine,* "*which is the flesh of Christ, in his manner is called the body of Christ, when as in very deed it is the sacrament of Christ's body, even of that which is visible, which is palpable, and being mortal was put on the cross; and the sacrificing itself of his flesh, which is done by the priest's hands, is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying; so the sacrament of faith, which is understanded to be baptism, is faith.*" *By heavenly bread he understanded not wheaten bread, but that heavenly meat which he saith to be the flesh of Christ, and thus*[2] *far he affirmeth the truth of his flesh itself, which he saith to be called,* suo modo, "*in his manner,*" *the body of Christ; as who should say, whose truth notwithstanding if ye behold on the behalf of the manner of exhibiting, in very deed it is a sacrament of Christ's body, which is in visible shape, so as he speaketh of Christ's body that hath suffered.*

The hundred and ninety-sixth untruth. For this heavenly bread must needs be taken for the sacrament, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding allegeth good matter against himself. For by these words St Augustine saith, the bread is so Christ's body, as the breaking of the same bread is Christ's death. But the breaking of the bread is not really and indeed the death of Christ: wherefore it followeth that the bread is not really or indeed the body of Christ. And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to stay altogether upon these two words, *cœlestis panis,* thinking that thereby is meant only the supernatural bread of Christ's very body, it may like him nevertheless to understand that not only Christ's very body, but also the sacrament itself, may well be called *cœlestis panis,* "heavenly bread;" for that it is a sacrament of that heavenly bread. So Gregorius Nyssenus calleth the water of baptism τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν[3], "the divine or heavenly bath." So St Ambrose calleth the words of baptism *verba cœlestia*[4], "heavenly words." So Dionysius calleth the oil consecrate *divinissimum oleum,* τὸ θεουργικώτατον μύρον[5]. So Cyrillus calleth manna "spiritual bread." Thus he saith: *Quomodo est manna panis angelorum spiritualis?... Quia, quod umbra veritatis erat, veritatis nomine in spiritu appellavit*[6]: "How is manna called the spiritual bread of angels? That thing that was a shadow of the truth, in spirit or spiritually he uttered by the name of the truth itself." And, albeit only Christ's very body itself be indeed that heavenly bread, yet in these words of St Augustine it cannot in any wise so be taken; as to the learned and discreet reader it may soon appear. For first, St Augustine saith, that heavenly bread, whereof he speaketh, is a sacrament. But the very body of Christ cannot in any respect be called a sacrament, as it is easy to understand. For a sacrament, by St Augustine's definition, is *signum visibile*[7], "a sign or a token that may be seen." But the body of Christ, that M. Harding imagineth to be present, cannot be seen; for St Augustine saith it is spiritual and invisible. Hereof it necessarily followeth that the very body of Christ cannot in any wise be called a sacrament; and therefore is not that kind of heavenly bread that is here mentioned by St Augustine.

Gregor. Nyss. de Sanct. Baptism. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. ii. cap. v. Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. x.

Moreover, St Augustine saith: "The same heavenly bread is the body of Christ;" howbeit, he addeth, not verily and indeed, but *suo modo,* "in a manner, or kind of speech." But Christ's very body is indeed and verily in all respects the body of Christ, without any such qualifying or limitation: and it were great fondness, or rather mere madness, to say the very body of Christ is after a certain manner or in a sort the body of Christ.

These things first considered, for further understanding of St Augustine's mind

[1 August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937; where *qui vere Christus caro est,* and *cruce est suspensum.*]

[2 This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[3 Διὸ μὴ καταφρονήσῃς τοῦ θείου λουτροῦ.—Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Baptism. Christ. Tom. III. p. 369.]

[4 ... utitur verbis cœlestibus.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. II. cap. v. 14. Tom. II. col. 358.]

[5 ... τῷ θεουργικωτάτῳ μύρῳ, κ.τ.λ.—Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. 2. Tom. I. p. 254.]

[6 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 351.]

[7 Sacramentum...visibile verbum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703. Conf. Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. i. B. foll. 330, 1. See also before, page 515.]

herein, I remit the reader unto the gloss upon the same, the words whereof are these: *Cœlestis [panis], id est, cœleste sacramentum, quod vere repræsentat carnem Christi, dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie. Unde dicitur, Suo modo; sed non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio; ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat [corpus Christi]*[8]: "The heavenly bread, that is to say, the heavenly sacrament, which verily representeth the flesh of Christ, is called Christ's body, but unaptly and unfitly. Therefore it is said, 'in a peculiar manner belonging unto itself;' not in truth of matter, but by a signifying mystery; that the sense may be this, It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ." De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Gloss.

But here mark thou, gentle reader, into what straits these men be driven. To maintain the inconveniences and absurdities of their doctrine, they are fain to say, that the very body of Christ is not *rei veritate*, "verily and indeed," but *improprie*, "unaptly and unfitly," called the body of Christ.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

Again, St Augustine saith in another place: Non hoc corpus quod videtis comesturi estis[9]: "*Not this body which ye see shall ye eat.*" *And St Hierome saith:* Divinam et spiritualem carnem manducandam dare, aliam quidem ab ea quæ crucifixa est[10]: "*That divine and spiritual flesh is given to be eaten, other beside that which was crucified.*" *Wherefore in respect of the exhibiting the flesh is divided, that in itself is but one; and the flesh exhibited in mystery is in very deed a sacrament of Christ's body visible and palpable, which suffered on the cross. And thus it followeth of convenience, whereas the flesh is not the same, according to the qualities of the exhibiting, which was crucified, and which now is sacrificed by the hands of a priest; again, whereas the passion, death, and resurrection are said to be done, not in truth of the thing, but in mystery signifying; it followeth, I say, that the flesh is not the same in qualities, so as it was on the cross, though it be the same in substance.*

In Psal. xcviii. *In i. Cap. Ephes.* * This place is answered before in the fifth article, and in the seventh division.

Many more authorities might be alleged for the opening of this matter; but these for this present are enough, if they be not too many, as I fear me they will so appear to the unlearned reader, and to such as be not given to earnest study and diligent search of the truth. By these places it is made clear and evident that these names, figure, image, sign, token, sacrament, and such other the like, of force of their signification do not always exclude the truth of the[11] *things, but do only shew and note the manner of presence. Wherefore, to conclude this matter, that is somewhat obscure to senses little exercised, the figure of the body, or sign*[12] *of the body, the image of the*[13] *body, doth note the covertness and secretness in the manner of the exhibiting, and doth not diminish any whit the truth of the presence. So we do accord with M. Jewel in this article touching the form of words; but withal we have thought it necessary to declare the true meaning of the same, which is contrary to the doctrine of the sacramentaries.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding, as in his words he pretendeth great store of authorities, so in his choice he bewrayeth great want. For, to pass by the place of Hierome[14], which is answered before in the fifth article and seventh division[15], the words of St Augustine seem utterly to overthrow all these his gross and fleshly fantasies. For better understanding whereof it is to be noted that, when Christ had opened that heavenly doctrine of the eating of his body and drinking of his blood, the Capernaites, hearing his words, imagined, even as M. Harding now doth, that he

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937; where we read *Christi carnem, significati,* and *Christi corpus.*]

[9 See below, page 622, note 1.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 328. See before, page 460.]

[11 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *the.*]

[12 The sign, H. A. 1564.]

[13 1611, omits *the.*]

[14 St Hierome, 1565.]

[15 See before, pages 462, &c.]

meant a very fleshly eating with their bodily mouths, and therefore began to be offended, and said his speech was over hard, and departed from him. Upon occasion hereof St Augustine writeth thus: *Ipsi erant duri, non sermo... Christus instruxit eos, [qui remanserant], et ait illis: Spiritus est, qui vivificat: caro autem nihil prodest. Verba, quæ locutus sum vobis, spiritus sunt, et vita. Spiritualiter intelligite, quod locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis, nec bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos*[1]: "They were hard: Christ's word was not hard. Christ instructed them that remained, and said unto them, 'It is the Spirit that giveth life: the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken are spirit and life.' Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see; neither shall ye drink that blood that they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament: being spiritually understanded, it will give you life." These words be plain of themselves[2], and need no long construction.

The difference that M. Harding hath devised, between Christ's body in substance and the self-same body in respect of qualities, is a vain gloss of his own, without substance. For St Augustine saith not, as M. Harding would fain have him to say, Ye shall not eat this body (with your bodily mouth) *quale videtis*, under such conditions and qualities of mortality and corruption as you now see it; but *quod videtis*, that is, you shall not eat the same body in nature and substance that now ye see.

Neither was the body of Christ at that time, when he ministered the holy communion, and spake these words to his disciples, endued with any such qualities. For it was neither spiritual, nor invisible, nor immortal; but contrariwise, earthly, visible, and subject to death.

To be short, St Augustine speaketh not one word, neither of this carnal presence, nor of secret being under covert; nor saith, as M. Harding saith, that the very body of Christ is a figure of Christ's body; nor imagineth in Christ two sundry sorts of natural bodies; nor knoweth any one of all these M. Harding's strange collections. Thus only he saith: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis:* touching your bodily mouth, "ye shall not eat this body of mine that ye see." Of which words M. Harding, contrary to St Augustine's express and plain meaning, as his common wont is, concludeth the contrary; *ergo*, with your bodily mouth ye shall eat this self-same body in substance that ye see.

Now, forasmuch as M. Harding will say, we devise figures of ourselves without cause, and that Christ's words are plain, and ought simply to be taken as they sound, without any manner figure; I think it therefore necessary in few words to shew, both what hath led us and all the ancient writers and old doctors of the church thus to expound the words of Christ, and also how many and how strange and monstrous figures M. Harding with his brethren are driven to use in the exposition of the same. And, to pass over all the old learned fathers, 1. which in their writings commonly call the sacrament a representation, a remembrance, a memory, an image, a likeness, a sampler, a token, a sign, and a figure, &c.; Christ himself, before all others, seemeth to lead us hereunto, both for that 2. at the very institution of the holy mysteries he said thus, "Do ye this in remembrance of me;" and also for that in the sixth chapter of St John, speaking of the 3. eating of his flesh, he forewarned his disciples of his ascension into heaven, and 4. shewed them that his very natural flesh, fleshly received, can profit nothing.

Moreover, it is not agreeable, neither to the nature of man[3], really and indeed 5. to eat a man's body, nor to a man's body really and indeed, without figure, to be eaten; for that, St Augustine saith, were *flagitium et facinus*[4], "an horrible wickedness." And again he saith: *Horribilius est humanam carnem manducare,*

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

August. contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. ix.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 1065, 6; where we have *ille autem instruxit, spiritus est*, and *et bibituri.*]

[2 Themself, 1565.]

[3 A man, 1565.]

[4 Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo.—Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 51.]

quam perimere; et sanguinem humanum[5] *bibere, quam fundere*[6]: "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh, than it is to kill it; and to drink man's blood, than it is to shed it." For this cause he concludeth: *Figura ergo est:* "Therefore it is a figure." And in like manner Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum non asseverat hominis manducationem*[7]: "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man." August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. Cyril. contr. Object. Theodor.

6. Again, in these words of Christ we find *duo disparata*, that is, two sundry terms of sundry significations and natures, *panis* and *corpus*; which, as the learned know, cannot possibly be verified the one of the other without a figure. Besides all this, in every of these clauses, which so nearly touch Christ's institution, there 7. is a figure: "To drink the cup of the Lord," instead of the wine in the cup, it is 8. a figure. "To drink judgment:" judgment is a spiritual thing, and cannot be 9. drunken with the mouth; therefore it is a figure. "My body that is given, that is broken," instead of, That shall be given, and that shall be broken, is a figure. 10. "I am bread:" Christ really and indeed was no material bread; it is a figure. 11. "The bread is the communication of the Lord's body," instead of these words, 12. It representeth the communication of the Lord's body; it is a figure. "The cup is the new testament:" the cup indeed and verily is not the new testament; therefore it is a figure. In every of these clauses M. Harding must needs see and confess a figure; and so it appeareth that, in the very institution of Christ's holy mysteries, there are used a great many and sundry figures; all notwithstanding both consonant to reason, and also agreeable to God's holy word.

But now, mark well, I beseech thee, good christian reader, how many and what kinds of figures M. Harding and the rest of his company have been forced to imagine in these cases.

1. First, they say this pronoun *hoc*, "this," signifieth not "this bread," as all the old writers understand it, but *individuum vagum*, which is neither bread nor any certain determinate[8] thing else, but only one certain thing at large in generality.

2. This verb *est* they expound thus: *Est, hoc est, transubstantiatur;* such a figure as never was used of any old author, either holy or profane, or heretic or 3. catholic, or Greek or Latin. In these words, "Take ye, eat ye: this is my body," they have found a figure called *hysteron proteron*, which is, when the whole speech is out of order, and that set behind that should go before. For thus they are driven to shift it and turn it: "This is my body: take ye, eat ye."

In these four words, lying in order all together, "he took," "he blessed," "he brake," "he gave," they imagine three sundry figures, and expound the same in 4. this wise: "He took" the bread: "he blessed," he transubstantiated or turned the 5. bread: "he brake" the accidents or shews: "he gave" his body. *Hoc facite,* 6. "Do ye this in remembrance of me," they expound thus: Sacrifice this. Which 7. also they flourish out with other figures in this wise: "Sacrifice me in remem- 8. brance of me." In this one word *panis*, "bread," they have found a swarm of figures. 9. Sometimes, they say, it is called bread, because it was bread before; sometimes, 10. because the infidel taketh it to be bread; sometimes, because there remain still 11. the accidents and forms of bread; sometimes, because the same accidents feed 12. the body miraculously, as it[9] were bread; sometimes, because it is that supernatural bread that came from heaven.

Likewise in this one word *frangimus*, or *frangitur*, they have a number of 13. figures. For sometimes they expound it thus: "The bread that we break," that 14. is, the accidents that we break; sometimes, "the bread that we break," that is to say, the bread that we take to be broken; sometimes this word *frangere* is not 15. "to break," but only to make a feast. In their masses they say, *Frangitur, id* 16. *est, frangebatur*, "It is broken, that is to say, it was broken;" sometimes they 17. say, *Frangitur, id est, videtur frangi*, "It is broken, that is to say, it seemeth

---

[5] Humanam, 1609, 1611.]

[6] Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. II. cap. ix. 33. Tom. VIII. col. 599; where *videatur* for *est*, and *humanum sanguinem potare*.]

[7] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193. See before, page 454.]

[8] Determined, 1565.]

[9] As if it, 1565.]

to be broken.* The meaning whereof is this, *Frangitur, id est, non frangitur,* "It is broken, that is to say, it is not broken."

In these words, *Non bibam amplius de hoc fructu vitis,* "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine;" the fruit of the vine, which is a substance, they expound the accidents. And, to leave that miraculous figure of all figures, *concomitantia,* whereby one is made two, and two are made one; consider, good reader, the strangeness of the figures, and the wonderful shifts that M. Harding hath imagined in this little treaty, to defeat and avoid the manifest words of the holy fathers. Sometimes the forms and accidents are the sacrament; sometimes Christ's body itself is the sacrament; sometimes both together are the sacrament; sometimes the bread is a figure of Christ's body before consecration; and so, by mean of M. Harding's figures, there is a sacrament before it be a sacrament, and a figure before it be a figure. Sometimes the holy accidents and outward holy shews are a figure of Christ's body invisible, under them secretly contained; sometimes the same body invisible is a figure of the body of Christ visible. And so there is figure upon figure, and a kind of demonstration, which they call *notum per ignotum,* or rather *verum per falsum.* Sometimes the sacrament is a figure of the life to come; and sometimes, as Hosius fancieth, it is a figure of the church[1]; sometimes Tertullian understood not, no, not so much as the grammatical sense of Christ's words; sometimes Christ's very body is not aptly and fitly called the body of Christ, but only *improprie,* and after a manner.

Thus M. Harding roameth and wandereth up and down, as a man that had lost his way. Such shadows and colours he can cast; into so many forms and shapes and figures he can turn himself. So many and so monstrous figures may he forge in the institution of the holy sacrament, only to avoid one simple, plain, usual, and known figure. And yet he abuseth not the simplicity of the people! There he forceth his figures, where as is no need of figures; and without such vain figures this vain doctrine cannot hold. That one figure that we use is plain and clear, used by all the ancient learned fathers, and agreeable to the tenor of God's word. But M. Harding's figures, as they be many, so be they unnecessary and fantastical, never used or once mentioned by any ancient doctor of the church, and serve only to breed darkness, and to dim the light.

How much better were it for him to leave these shifts and childish fables, and plainly and simply to say, as Tertullian saith: *Hoc est corpus meum, ... hoc est, figura corporis mei*[2]: "This is my body; that is to say, this is a figure of my body." Or, as Maximus the Greek scholiast saith: Σύμβολα ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀλήθεια[3]: "These be tokens, but not the truth." Or, as St Augustine saith: *Figura est, ... præcipiens passioni Domini communicandum* [esse,] *et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit*[4]: "It is a figure, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

Tertull. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv.

Max. Schol. in Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii.

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi.

---

[1] Ecce quomodo cibum et potum altaris dixit esse quodammodo societatem corporis, quod est ecclesia: non quod ipse cibus et potus sit ipsa societas, sed ipsius societatis sacramentum, &c.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. Confess. Cath. Fid. cap. xxxix. Tom. I. p. 99. See also before, page 593.]

[2] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571; where *id* for *hoc*.]

[3] Max. Schol. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 306. See before, page 611, note 10.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xvi. 24. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 52; where *passioni dominicæ*.]

OF PLURALITY OF MASSES.

THE THIRTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five masses said in one church in one day.

[OF PLURALITY OF MASSES IN ONE CHURCH IN ONE DAY.—
ARTICLE XIII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

As M. Jewel here descendeth by divers proportions and degrees from thirty to five, first by taking away ten, the third part of the whole, and then five from the rest three times; so it might have pleased him also to have taken away three from five, the last remnant[5]*, and so to have left but two in all. Which if he had done, then should we have*[6] *made up that number, as in this audit he might not otherwise do, in regard of his own free promise, but allow our account for good and sufficient. For that number we are well able to make good. And what reason hath moved the ancient fathers, governors of the church, to think it a godly and a necessary thing to have two masses in one church in one day, the same reason in cases either hath or might have moved them, and their successors after them likewise, to allow three or four masses, and in some cases five or more.*

Two masses in one day, M. Harding offereth to prove, but no more.

A simple guess.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding of his courtesy should give us leave to lay out our own reckonings, as we think best, having himself the advantage of controlment, if error happen to fall out. Of so great a number of masses as they have this day in their churches, and say they have had and continued from the beginning, even from the apostles' time, if I require of him only the proof of five, I offer him no wrong: but, if he of that whole number be able to shew but only two, and if the same two in the end be found no masses neither, but only public communions, such as be now used in reformed churches, then is he a great dissembler, and doth no right. Upon what occasion M. Harding's masses grew first to this plenty, and to so great waste, Cochlæus, one of the chief patrons of that cause, declareth it thus: *Quod olim tam frequentes non fuerint missæ, neque tot sacerdotes, quot hodie, inde accidisse arbitror, quod olim omnes tum sacerdotes, tum laici, quicunque intererant sacrificio missæ, peracta oblatione, cum sacrificante communicabant: sicut ex canonibus apostolorum, et ex libris atque epistolis antiquissimorum ecclesiæ doctorum perspicue cognoscitur*[7]: "That in old times there were not so many masses nor so many priests as be now, I reckon the cause thereof to be this, for that in old times all that were present at the sacrifice of the mass, as well priests as lay-men, did communicate together with the minister; as it is plain to be seen by the canons of the apostles, and by the books and letters of the most ancient doctors of the church." He addeth further: *Nunc vero, &c.*: "But now, seeing the order of communion is no more observed amongst us, and that through the negligence and slothfulness as well of the lay-people as of the priests, the Holy Ghost, by the often saying of private masses, hath found out a godly remedy for this want." Here we see that negligence and slothfulness and

Joan. Cochl. de Sacrif. Missæ.

[5] Remanent, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[6] So have, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[7] Cochl. Sacerd. ac Sacrif. Nov. Leg. Def. Ingolst. 1544. cap. iii. De Applic. Miss. fol. Hh. iii. b.]

lack of devotion, both in the people and in the priest, is a good leare[1] to breed masses. And that the priests, as many as were present, did then communicate with the priest that ministered, it is plain by the canons of the apostles[2], and by sundry other good authorities, which now I purposely pass by. And to this purpose it is written thus in a little book set abroad under the name of St Hierome: *Non debet episcopus repudiare eucharistiam presbyteri*[3]*:* "The bishop ought not to refuse the sacrament of a priest." But M. Harding's priests utterly refuse to communicate one with another; and, be they never so many in one church together, yet will they say several masses at sundry altars. And not only thus, but also (as it appeareth by the council of Toledo in Spain) one priest hath sometimes said four, five, or more masses in one day[4]. Pope Leo said some days seven, some days eight masses, and some days more[5]. The excess and outrage whereof was so great, that they have been forced to provide laws and canons to the contrary. For thus they have decreed: *Presbyter in die non amplius quam tres missas celebrare præsumat*[6]*:* "Let not any one priest presume to say more than three masses in one day." We may well think that priests then said good store of masses, when it was thought sufficient to stint them at three. The cause, that moved Leo[7] and other ancient fathers to appoint two communions to be ministered in one day, was, as it shall well appear, that the whole people might communicate all together, quietly, and without disturbance. Which thing of itself utterly overthroweth the whole abuse of private masses.

Canon. Apost. can. 9.

De Sept. Ordin. Eccles. Grad. 6.

Concil. Tolet. xii. cap. 5.

Beat. Rhenan. in Annot. in Tertull. de Cor. Mil.

Concil. Salesgunstad. can. 5.

Leon. Epist. 81.

But the causes that have increased the number of M. Harding's private masses, as they are alleged by Innocentius the third and others, are these: "That there may be one mass said of the day, and another for the dead; and that there may be regard had to honesty and profit." For so they say: *Causa honestatis, vel utilitatis: ut si, dicta missa de die, superveniat aliqua magna persona, quæ velit audire missam*[8]*:* "As if any notable personage happen to come to church, after that mass is done, and be disposed to hear mass." These be very easy causes: upon the same the priest may say twenty masses as well as three.

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Sufficit. De Celebr. Missar. et aliis, &c.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Now, if that reckoning could duly be made of our part, M. Jewel perhaps would then say, as commonly they say that confess their error in numbering, that he had mistold himself. Albeit, here it is to be marvelled that he appointeth us to prove a number of masses in one church in one day, that utterly denieth the mass, and would have no mass in any church any day at all. And standing in the denial of the whole so peremptorily as he doth, it may seem strange that he should thus frame this article. For what reason is it to challenge us for proof of so great a number, sith he taketh away all together?

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I have kept my reckoning well enough, as, I trust, it will well appear. But if M. Harding, of so great a number of his masses, be able to prove no more but two, and the same two in the end be found public communions, and no private masses at all; then may we justly say, that he hath both much misreckoned the people, and also shamefully mistold himself.

As before I utterly denied that any private mass was ever used within six hundred years after Christ, so in this article, that the simple, that so long have

---

[1] Leare: learning, lore, skill.]

[2] Canon. Apost. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 25.]

[3] ... non debere episcopum repudiare eucharistiam presbyterorum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. De Sept. Ord. Eccles. 6. Tom. V. col. 104. This treatise is not genuine.]

[4] ... uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, &c.—Concil. Tolet. XII. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 421.]

[5] Beat. Rhenan. Annot. in Lib. de Cor. Mil. ad calc. Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. p. 42.]

[6] Concil. Salegunst. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. p. 800.]

[7] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. 2. col. 436.]

[8] Alex. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 53. col. 1904.

Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. cap. 3. et Gloss.; where *missam audire.*]

been deceived, might the better understand both the great disorder that M. Harding maintaineth, and also how far the church of Rome is grown from the primitive church of God, I thought it not amiss to set out the matter by parts, in such plain division. Therefore the marvel that M. Harding raiseth hereof is not so great. The matter considered, his reader will rather marvel at his marvel.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

It appeareth that, being not unwitting how good proofs we have for the mass itself, he thinketh to blank us by putting us to the proof of his number of thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five.

Verily this kind of men fareth with the church much like unto strong thieves, who, having robbed an honest wealthy man of his money[9]*, say afterwards unto him uncourteously: Ah, carle, how camest thou by so much old gold? Or if it like not them to be compared with thieves, in regard of the room they have shuffled themselves into, they may not unfitly be likened to a judge of the stannary*[10] *at Lydford in Devonshire, who (as I have heard it commonly reported) hanged a felon among the tinners in the forenoon, and sat upon him in judgment at afternoon. And thereof to this day such wrongful dealing in a common proverb is in that country called Lydford law*[11]*. Sith that you, M. Jewel, and your fellows that now sit on the bench, require of us the proof of more masses in one church in one day, as it were a verdict of twelve men, of equity and right ye should have heard our verdict ere ye had given sentence and condemned the mass.*

[*Lydford law used by the gospellers.* H. A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

How good cause M. Harding hath to make these vaunts of his proofs for his private mass, it may soon appear unto the discreet reader upon the view. But here he thought it proof sufficient for the multitude of his masses to call us thieves and wicked judges, and to charge us with the law of Lydford, and so to solace himself with an old wives' tale, and to make holy-day out of season. Howbeit, this comparison of his thieves is not so greatly agreeable to his purpose. For the coin that is taken from him was neither gold, nor so old as he maketh it, nor was it touched with Cæsar's stamp. We may rather say unto him: "Sometime ye had gold; but how is it now become dross! ye had good seed; but how is it now become cockle! thou wert[12] sometime a faithful city; how art thou now become an harlot! thou wert[12] sometime the house of God; how art thou now turned into a cave of thieves! how have ye lost the holy communion that the apostles had from Christ, and you from them! how came ye by your private masses, that the apostles had never?" Thus, thus, M. Harding, we may appose you. For it were but lost labour to trouble you with questions of your old gold. Ye are not that rich wealthy carle that ye would be taken for, but even as it is written in the Apocalypse of St John: *Dicis, Dives sum, et ditatus, et nullius egeo; et nescis quod tu es miser, et miserabilis, et pauper, et cæcus, et nudus:* "Thou sayest, I am rich and wealthy, and need nothing; and thou knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Isai. i. Mark iv. Isai. i. Rev. iii.

Neither are they always thieves that spoil a thief. Oftentimes the true man forceth the thief to lay down that he hath untruly gotten. Cicero saith: *Fures earum rerum, quas ceperunt, nomina commutant:* "Thieves use to change the names of such things as they have stolen:" even as these thieves use to do, that call the communion the mass, and their mass the communion; private public, and public private; and, as the prophet Esay saith, good evil, and evil good; light darkness, and darkness light; and thus by subtle shift of words miserably spoil and rob the people. To be short, the thief flieth the trial of the light, even as you, M. Harding, and your fellows fly[13] the trial of God's holy word.

Cicero. Isai. v. John iii.

[9] All his money, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[10] Old editt. *stemery.*]

[11] See Nares, Gloss. "Lydford law." There is a reference to this in the works of a poet somewhat later than Jewel. See Original Poems by William Browne, edited by Sir Egerton Brydges, Lee Priory Press, 1815, p. 9.]

[12] Were, 1565.]

[13] Flee, 1565.]

But how ye came to all that ye had, and, being but copper, uttered the same for old gold, it is an easy matter to be answered. For you yourselves will not say ye had it either from Christ, or from the apostles, or from any the ancient fathers. It were double robbery to make any of these the authors and fathers of your robberies. Your own doctor Cochlæus confesseth, as it is said before, that the multitude of your masses sprang not from God, but from the negligence, and slothfulness, and want of devotion, that grew both in priest and people[1]. Then ye began to tell the simple, that it was sufficient for them to sit by; that your mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for their sins; that it was available unto them *ex opere operato*, although they understood not what it meant; that you had power to apply it to quick and dead, and to whom ye listed; and that the very hearing thereof of itself was meritorious. Upon this foundation ye erected up your chantries, your monasteries, your pardons, your supererogations, and I know not what. Thus was the holy communion quite forgotten; thus were your masses multiplied above number; thus ye came by that ye would have called your old gold. Then this doubt first grew in question, whether Christ, being in one of your hosts, might see himself, being at the same time in another host[2]. Then ye began to devour up poor widows' houses. In consideration hereof your own gloss saith of your soul-priests: *Malus presbyter æquiparatur corvo in nigredine vitiorum,... in raucedine vocis,... in voracitate... oblationum mortuorum,... in fœtore spiritus,... in garrulitate, et in furto*[3]: "An evil priest is resembled unto a raven for the blackness of his vices, for the hoarseness of his voice, for his ravening of the oblations of the dead, for the stench of his breath, for his unpleasant voice, and for his theft." Unto such chevisance these words of St Augustine may be well applied: *Si... [presbyter]... intercessiones vendit, viduarum munera libenter amplectitur,... negotiator magis videri potest, quam clericus. Nec dicere possumus, Nemo nos invasores arguit, violentiæ nullus accusat; quasi non interdum majorem prædam a viduabus blandimenta illiciant, quam tormenta. Nec interest apud Deum, utrum vi an circumventione quis res alienas occupet*[4]: "If a priest make sale of his prayers, and gladly receive the rewards of widows, he ought rather to be called a merchant than a clerk. Neither may we say, No man chargeth us with extortion. For of a widow a man may get a greater prey by flattery than by violence. And before God there is no difference whether a man withhold another man's goods by might of hand or by crafty dealing." These be the things that M. Harding complaineth are taken from him. Julius Cæsar conveyed three thousand pounds weight of pure gold out of the treasury in Rome, and laid in the like weight of copper gilded. Lysander picked a great sum of gold out of the bottom of a bag (for the mouth was sealed), and sewed it skilfully up again. But Cæsar's copper was bewrayed by the touch: Lysander's theft was espied by a billet, that was still remaining in the bag. Even so, whatsoever they of M. Harding's side, that so bitterly complain they are robbed of their robberies, and would so loth be called thieves, either have conveyed into the church, as into God's great treasury, or else have privily picked thence, the billet doth espy them, the touch doth bewray them; it cannot be hidden.

In his fable of Lydford, which in all respects is as good as his other fable of Amphilochius, as he compareth us to the over-hasty judge, so he compareth his mass unto the felon. Wherein notwithstanding we might easily and truly say, we needed no law to abolish such things as they by force and violence had usurped against all laws, and that their mass of itself fell down and fled away before the holy communion, even as the darkness fleeth before the light, and as the idol Dagon fell down at the presence of the ark of the God of Israel; yet M. Harding well knoweth, that in these cases of religion there was nothing at any time done either hastily and upon the sudden, or by any small assembly; but

Cochl. de Sacrif. Missæ.

R. Holkot. Lib. iv. Quæst. 3.

ii. Quæst. 7. Non omnes. In Glossa.

De Verb. Dom. in Evang. M Serm. 19.

Sueton. in Julio.

Plut. in Lysand.

1 Sam. v.

[1] See before, page 625, note 7.]

[2] R. Holkot sup. Quat. Lib. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. IV. Quæst. iii. fol. m. vi. n. ii.]

[3] Corvo æquiparatur malus prælatus, vel presbyter in, &c. ... mortuorum oblationum, &c.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. II. Quæst. vii. Gloss. in can. 30. col. 696.]

[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxii. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 150; where we have *potest videri, viduis,* and *eliciant.* The Benedictine editors do not consider this a genuine work of Augustine.]

in the open parliament of the whole realm, with great and sober deliberation, with indifferent and patient hearing what might be said and answered and replied of both sides, and at last concluded with public authority, and consent of all states and orders of this most noble kingdom. I judge him not well advised, nor worthy to rest in England, that will compare the state and majesty of that most high and honourable court to the law of Lydford. Lydford law.

But it were long to shew in particular what laws M. Harding's friends used when they sat upon the bench. They caused dead men and women to be digged out of their graves, and so sat upon them solemnly in judgment, and condemned them. Their holy one of Rome, much like that speedy judge of Lydford, burnt that most reverend father D. Cranmer at Rome in a mummery, before he ever saw him or heard him speak; and yet, that notwithstanding, they arraigned him in Oxford, and judged him afterward to be burnt. They first took and imprisoned the innocent, that had broken no law, and afterward devised a law to condemn him. With such courtesy, Cyrillus saith, Christ was entreated of the Jews: *Primum ligant: deinde causas in eum quærunt*[5]: "First they bind him; and afterward they imagine matter against him." And to pass by many other like disorders, and horrible extremities of that time, first they scattered and forced their masses through the realm against the laws; afterward they stablished the same by a law; last of all, the next year following they summoned and had a solemn disputation in Oxford, to try whether their law were good or no. Verily this seemeth much like the law of Lydford. For in order of nature the disputation should have been first, and then the law, and last of all the execution of the same among the people. But Tertullian saith: *Hæretici, ex conscientia infirmitatis [suæ], nihil unquam tractant ordinarie*[6]; "Heretics, for fear of their own weakness, never proceed in due order." Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xii. cap. xlv. Tertull. de Resur. Carn.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

[*Plurality of masses in one church in one day.* H. A. 1564.] *Now touching the number and iteration of the mass, first we have good and ancient authority for* (197) *two masses in one church in one day. That eloquent and holy father, Leo the first, writeth thus to Dioscorus the*[7] *bishop of Alexandria:* Volumus illud quoque custodiri, ut cum solennior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit, et ad eam tanta . . . multitudo convenit, quæ recipi basilica simul una non possit, sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur; ne, iis tantum admissis ad hanc devotionem, qui primi advenerint, videantur ii, qui postmodum confluxerint, non recepti: cum plenum pietatis atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia novæ plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur[8]: "*This order we will to be kept, that, when a number of people cometh to church together at a solemn feast, if the multitude be so great as may not well be received in one church at once, that the oblation of the sacrifice hardly be done again; lest, if they only should be admitted to this devotion who came first, they that came*[9] *afterward may seem not to be received; forasmuch as it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how oftentimes*[10] *the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so oftentimes the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered.*" The hundred and ninety-seventh untruth. For these two masses were two communions. Church filled.

By this father, whom the great (198) *general council of Chalcedon agnised for supreme governor of the church of Christ, and honoured with the singular title of universal*[11] *bishop, it is ordained that, if any where one church could not conveniently hold all the people together at one time, they that came after the first company should have their* devotion served by having another mass celebrated again. And lest perhaps some might doubt whether that were lawful so to be done* The hundred and ninety-eighth untruth. For there is no such canon in all that council. * This devotion was, that the whole people should receive the communion; which thing is contrary to private mass.

[5 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xii. Tom. IV. p. 1025.]

[6 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resur. Carn. 2. p. 380; where *nunquam ordinarie tractant.*]

[7 H. A. 1564, omits *the.*]

[8 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. 2. col. 436; where we read *illud quoque volumus, convenerit, quam recipere basilica, ne his tantum,* and *videantur hi.*]

[9 Come, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[10 Oftetimes, H. A. 1564.]

[11 The universal, H. A. 1564.]

or no, or because then some doubted thereof, as now likewise some seem to doubt of it; to put the matter out of doubt, he saith assuredly: Sacrificii oblatio indubitanter iteretur: "*Let them not stick to iterate or do again the oblation of the sacrifice;*" *that is to say, let the mass be celebrated again* indubitanter, *without casting peril, without sticking, staggering, or doubting. In that epistle he sheweth two great causes why more masses than one may be done in one church in one day. The one is, lest the after-comers should seem rejected,* non recepti, "*not received**;" *the other is, that the one part of the people be not defrauded of the benefit of their devotion; as himself saith:* Necesse est autem ut quædam pars populi sua devotione privetur, si, unius tantum missæ more servato, sacrificium offerre non possint, nisi qui prima diei parte convenerint[1]: "*It must needs be that a part of the people be bereft of their devotion, if, the custom of having one mass only kept, none may offer the sacrifice but such as came to church together in the morning or first part of the day.*" *Now, the people may neither be rejected whom God hath chosen, nor sparkled abroad whom our Lord hath gathered together; neither ought they to be defrauded of their devotion by withdrawing the mass from them, but rather to be stirred thereunto by their devout presence at the celebration of the same, where the death and passion of our Lord is lively represented before their eyes, the very same body that suffered on the cross, of them by the ministry of the priest offered to the Father, in a mystery, but truly, not to be a new redemption, but in commemoration of the redemption already performed.*

* To the communion.

The people offer the sacrifice.

A blind commentary, contrary to the text.

By this testimony we find that it was lawful within six hundred years after Christ (for Leo lived about the year of our Lord 450*) to have two masses in one church in one day; for so much the word* iteretur *doth import at least, and, if there were more, the case so requiring, the word will bear it well enough.*

Now by this holy bishop's godly will the custom of having one mass only in one day was abrogated, and this decreed, that, in time of two sundry resorts of people to church, two sundry masses should be celebrated, for the avoiding of these two inconveniences; lest the after-comers should seem not received, but rejected like excommunicate persons, and that a part of the faithful people should not be put beside their devotion. Whereupon I make this reason: The causes standing, the effects follow; but the danger of the people's seeming to be rejected, and the defrauding of their devotion, which are causes of iterating the mass in one day, did in that age in some holy-days of likelihood thrice, yea, four or five times, happen, and in our time certainly[2] *doth commonly so often or oftener happen; wherefore the mass may so many times be said in a day in one church.*

A guileful fallax, a non causa ut causa.

Where great multitude of christian people is, as in towns, we see some resort to church early in the morning, making their spiritual oblations to the intent to serve God ere they serve man in their worldly affairs: all cannot come so early. Others come at their convenient opportunity, some at six, some at seven, some at eight, some at nine or ten of the clock. If they, which through lawful lets cannot come at the first hours, coming afterward be roundly told by the priest, Come ye at such or at such hours, or else ye get no mass here; shall not they, according to Leo his saying, seem to be rejected, and defrauded of their devotion? All well-disposed people about Paul's cannot come to postles'[3] *mass at four or five of the clock in the morning, neither at high mass there. Shall all such in a term or parliament time, when great resort is, be denied that spiritual comfort? And if they be, shall they*[4] *not seem rejected, and put from their devotion? Which inconvenience that it might not happen, Leo willeth not only two, but three, four, or more masses to be done on a day; for his words report no less:* Cum plenum pietatis atque rationis sit, ut quoties basilicam, in qua agitur, præsentia novæ plebis impleverit, toties sacrificium subsequens offeratur[5]: "*Let there be no sticking at the iterating of the mass; forasmuch as,*" *saith he,* "*it is a thing full of godliness and reason, that how often the church, where the service is done, is filled with a new company of people, so often the sacrifice there eftsoons be offered.*" *Here he willeth plainly that mass be done* toties quoties, *at every new resort of the well-disposed*

The church filled.

[1 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad. Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. 2. col. 436.]

[2 Most certainly, H. A. 1564.]

[3 Postles': apostles'.]

[4 Shall not they, H. A. 1564.]

[5 See above, note 1.]

people, and that for these weighty causes, lest part of the people should seem not received, and that they be not defrauded of their devotion.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I marvel with what honest countenance M. Harding could allege this godly father so unadvisedly to prove his mass. For he knoweth well, and being learned cannot choose but know, that Leo both elsewhere in all other places, and also specially in this same place, beareth witness directly against his mass. But as alchymists profess a skill to turn all manner metals into gold, so these men seem to have learned a skill to transubstantiate and to turn all things whatsoever into their mass. It is evident by St Augustine[6] and St Hierome[7], that lived not long before Leo, that then in Rome, where Leo was bishop, the whole people received the holy communion every day; which communion Leo calleth *missa*, by a Latin word then newly received in the Latin church: in which church, like as also in the church of Græcia and Asia, there was only one such mass or communion said upon one day, unless it had otherwise been thought necessary upon occasion of the multitude of communicants, until the time of pope Deusdedit, which was in the year of our Lord six hundred and fifteen; as it shall appear in the next division of this article.

August. de Verb. Dom. secundum Luc. Serm. 28. Hieron. in Apol. adv. Jovin. August. de Bon. Persev. Lib. ii. cap. iv.

Verily in these words of Leo there appeareth no manner token, neither of private mass, nor of sole receiving, nor of single communion, nor of sundry altars, nor of more priests than one in one church. And, notwithstanding these words of Leo be plain enough of themselves[8], yet by conference and sight of other places we may the better be assured of his meaning. In the council holden at Agatha in the time of Cœlestinus the first, which was about the year of our Lord four hundred and forty, it was decreed thus: *In Paschate, natali Domini, Epiphania, Ascensione, Pentecoste, natali S. Johannis Baptistæ, et si qui maximi dies in festivitatibus habentur, non nisi in civitatibus aut parochiis missas teneant*[9]: "Upon Easter-day, the day of our Lord's birth, the Epiphany, the Ascension, Whit-Sunday, the nativity of St John Baptist, and likewise upon other great solemn feasts, let the country people hold their masses or communions no where else, but only either in great parishes or in the cities." The like decree was made in the council of Arverne, that "all country priests, and all wealthy and chief citizens, should upon solemn feasts resort to the cities, and communicate together with their bishops[10]." Upon such solemn days the resort oftentimes was so great, that the church was not able to receive the whole company. Therefore order was taken, and that agreeable to natural courtesy, to the intent no part should be excluded from the holy mysteries, that the whole people should come in parts, in such wise as the church might easily receive them; and that to that end it should be lawful for the priest to minister the communion twice or oftener upon one day. Upon like occasion, to increase the number of M. Harding's witnesses, St Augustine saith, the communion in some places was twice said in his time. Thus he writeth: *In quibusdam locis, ubi major et frequentior est populus Dei, quinta sabbati hebdomadæ ultimæ quadragesimæ bis offertur, et mane et ad vesperam: aliis autem in locis ad finem tantum diei mos est offerri*[11]: "In certain places, where as the resort

Concil. Agath. can. 21, anno 440.

Concil. Arvern. can. 14, anno 557.

August. Epist. 118. ad Januar.

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. lxxxiv. 3. Tom. V. Append. cols. 152, 3. See before, page 168. Id. Lib. de Don. Persev. cap. iv. 7. Tom. X. col. 825. Conf. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 147.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. xxx. pro Libr. adv. Jovin. Apol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 239. See before, p. 156.]

[8 Themself, 1565.]

[9 Concil. Agath. can. 21. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 1386. See before, page 180, note 6.]

[10 Si quis ex presbyteris aut diaconis...in villulis habitans &c.... Quicumque etiam sunt cives natu majores, pari modo in urbibus ad pontifices suos in prædictis festivitatibus veniant.—Concil. Arvern. in eod. can. 15. Tom. IV. col. 1806. Different authorities assign different dates to the councils here referred to.]

[11 Si vero etiam in aliena patria cum peregrinaretur, ubi major et frequentior et ferventior est populus Dei, vidit, verbi gratia, bis offerri quinta sabbati hebdomadæ ultimæ quadragesimæ, et mane et ad vesperam, veniensque in patriam suam, ubi in fine diei mos est offerri, male atque illicite fieri contendat, &c.—August. Op. Ad Inquis. Januar. Lib. I. seu Epist. liv. 5. Tom. II. col. 126.]

of people is greater, upon Shire-Thursday the oblation is twice made, first in the morning, and after towards night; but in other places (where as the people is not so great) the same oblation is made only before night." And this M. Harding cannot deny, St Augustine speaketh of the communion, and not of the mass. To the same end St Gregory ministered the holy communion at three sundry times upon Christmas-day[1]. Thus upon occasion of great resort the mass or communion that day was twice, or thrice, or oftener said; not that the people should hear mass, as M. Harding wittingly mistaketh it, but that the whole people might communicate. Which thing of late years, because through disuse they knew not what it meant, they turned it only to a fantastical mystery, that the first mass signified the time of ignorance before the law; the second, the time in the law; the third, the time of grace[2].

Gregor. in Evang. Hom. 8.

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Nocte sancta.

Thus hast thou, good christian reader, this learned father's undoubted meaning, confirmed plainly both by the known story and circumstance of that time, as may appear by the two councils of Arverne and Agatha, and also by the evident witness of St Augustine and St Gregory.

Now let us see what large commentaries and conjectural guesses M. Harding hath here devised to transform the holy communion into his private mass. First he saith: The great universal council of Chalcedon offered the title of universal bishop unto this Leo, being then the bishop of Rome. This note is both impertinent to the cause, and also worthily suspected of great untruth. For that great council is extant whole and perfit; and yet in the same no such canon or title to be found. Only Gregory reporteth it; but the same Gregory reporteth further withal, that Leo would never suffer himself to be called the universal bishop, and saith it was a proud and glorious[3] title, and meet for antichrist[4].

Superbum, arrogans, antichristianum.

Whereas Leo saith, "The after-comers should seem rejected," he meaneth, from the receiving of the holy communion, and not, as M. Harding imagineth, from the hearing of mass. And here we have by the way specially to note these words of Leo: *Sacrificium offerre non possunt.* By which words Leo teacheth us plainly that the sacrifice, whereof M. Harding maketh so great account, is offered no less by the people than by the priest.

Iteretur.

And whereas M. Harding noteth further, that this Latin word *iteretur* may stand as well with three, or four, or more masses, as with two, which thing is not denied; he might also as well have noted, that the same word *iteretur* importeth likewise one and the self-same minister, and none other. For if the second communion be ministered by another priest, and not by the same, it cannot rightly be said *iteratur.* And further, the same word necessarily signifieth that one communion was then in such cases ministered successively, and in order after another; and not two masses, or three, or four, or six, or ten together, all at once, as the manner is now in the church of Rome.

Hereof M. Harding frameth us this formal syllogism[5]: "The cause that moved Leo to take this order was, that all and every of the devout people might hear mass: but it is likely the people resorted to the church at sundry times, some rather[6], some later, and not all at once; *ergo*, it is likely that, to satisfy the people's devotion, there were sundry masses said in one day."

It is likely that M. Harding never examined the parts and likelihood of this argument. For first, the major or head proposition is apparent false, grounded, as it is termed in logic, *a non causa ut causa,* presuming that thing to be the cause which indeed is no cause. For the cause that moved Leo was not the hearing of mass, as it is already proved, but the receiving of the holy communion.

[1 Quia, largiente Domino, missarum solemnia ter hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui diu de evangelica lectione non possumus.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. 1. Hom. viii. (hab. in die Natal. Dom.) Tom. I. col. 1460.]

[2 Tres missæ in die natalis Domini celebrantur. Una ante diem: quæ significat tempus ante legem... Secunda....significat tempus in lege....Et tertia... significat tempus gratiæ.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1902.]

[3 A glorious, 1565, 1609.]

[4 See before, pages 47, 344, 5.]

[5 Syllogismus, 1565, 1609.]

[6 Rather: earlier.]

The minor or second proposition, notwithstanding in some part it may seem true, yet it is nothing agreeable to Leo's meaning. For Leo speaketh not of one man, or two, nor of the ordinary course of every day, but only of great solemn feasts, and of such resort of people as might fill up the whole church. His words be plain: *Cum solennior festivitas conventum populi numerosioris indixerit;* and, *Quoties basilicam... præsentia novæ plebis impleverit*[7]*:* therefore, to bear us thus in hand, that Leo had such a special care either for the term-time in London, or for the people about Paul's, or for hearing the postles' mass, it is a very vain and a childish fantasy; like as this also is that he addeth: The people should be denied that spiritual comfort. For, alas! what comfort can the people receive, where as they can neither see, nor hear, nor understand, nor know, nor learn; but stand only as men amazed, utterly bereft of all their senses? Let M. Harding once lay apart dissimulation, and tell us by what ways or means the people at his mass can possibly receive this spiritual comfort. If he would speak truly, and that he knoweth, as he seldom doth, he should rather call it spiritual blindness.

And whereas he pleadeth his *toties quoties*, and thereby would erect a whole *totquot* of masses sans number, if he had advisedly considered out the whole sentence, he should better have espied out his own folly, and have had less occasion to deceive the people. For Leo saith not, as M. Harding would force him to say, As often as any devout people cometh to church, but, as it is said before, *Quoties basilicam... præsentia novæ plebis impleverit:* "As often as the presence of a new company shall have filled up the whole church." In such cases it was lawful to begin again the whole communion, and not otherwise. By these words M. Harding's *totquot* is much abridged.

In the end he concludeth, not only against Leo his author, but also against the very express order of his own church, that one priest (for Leo speaketh only of one, and of no more) may say mass boldly without sticking or staggering, as often as any people resorteth to him. For now it is thought sufficient for one priest to say one mass upon one day, and no more. So it is determined by pope Alexander: *Sufficit sacerdoti unam missam in uno die celebrare*[8]*:* "It is sufficient for a priest to say one mass upon a day." Unless it be in case of great necessity, which the gloss, as it is before alleged, well expoundeth *causa honestatis, vel utilitatis*[9], "in case of honesty or of profit;" as if some great personage happen upon the sudden to come to church. Likewise the council of Salesgunstadium hath straitly charged, that no priest presume to say more than three masses upon one day, the one in course of the day present, the other for the dead, the third to pleasure some noble personage[10]: which also is a great stopple to M. Harding's *totquot*. In these provisos there is no manner consideration had to the devotion of the people; but, contrary to M. Harding's new canon, they are utterly left without their spiritual comfort. And therefore pope Clement the seventh caused one friar Stuppino in Rome to be whipped naked through the streets, for that he had said five or six or more masses in one day to satisfy the devotion of the people.

De Consecr. Dist. 1. Sufficit.

De Celeb. Miss. Consuluisti. In Glossa. Concil. Salesgunst. cap. v.

Thus, good reader, thou mayest see both the parts and the force of M. Harding's *syllogismus:* the major is false, the minor far from Leo's purpose, the conclusion contrary to himself. Certainly, if it had then been thought lawful to say so many corner-masses as sithence that time have been used in the church of Rome, it had been great folly either for Dioscorus to move this question, or for Leo to take this order.

M. Harding's syllogismus.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Wherefore they that reprove the plurality of masses in one church in one day, after the judgment of this worthy father, be rejecters of the faithful people, and

[7 See before, page 629.]

[8 Alex. II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 53. col. 1904; where *in die una.*]

[9 Innoc. III. in eod. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. III. Tit. xli. Gloss. in cap. 3. See before, page 626.]

[10 Concil. Salegunst. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 800.]

robbers of their devotion. But they that have utterly abrogated the mass, which is the outward and ever-enduring[1] *sacrifice of the new testament,* (199) *by verdict of scripture be no less than the forerunners of antichrist.*

The hundred and ninety-ninth untruth, without any honest shame. For M. Harding knoweth there is no such commendation given to his mass in the whole body of the scriptures.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The former part of this conclusion is already answered. But for the second part, if they that have reformed the horrible abuses of the mass be the forerunners of antichrist, what then may we think of them that have wilfully and of purpose invented and erected all those abuses? that have taken from the people of God, not only the holy communion, but also the understanding, and sweetness, and comfort of the same? that have spoiled God's children of the bread of life, and have fed them with the bread of confusion, that is, with ignorance, superstition, and idolatry? that have mangled and corrupted Christ's blessed mysteries, and have wickedly defiled the camp of the Lord? and having thus done, yet, notwithstanding, have faces to maintain and uphold all their wilful doings? What may God's people think of them? And before whom do they run? Verily Gerardus Lorichius, M. Harding's own doctor, saith thus: *Missæ .... privatæ, quæ absente populo catholico fiunt, abominatio verius quam oblatio dicendæ* [*sunt*][2]: "Private masses, which are said without presence of the people, are rather an abomination than a sacrifice." And St Augustine saith: *Si ... [Johannes] ita diceret, ... Si quis peccaverit, me habetis Mediatorem apud Patrem, et ego exoro pro peccatis vestris, ... quis eum ferret bonorum et fidelium christianorum? Quis sicut apostolum Christi, et non sicut antichristum intueretur*[3]? "If St John would say thus, If any man sin, ye have me your Mediator with the Father, and I obtain pardon for your sins; what good and faithful christian man could abide him? who would look upon him as upon the apostle of Christ, and not rather as upon antichrist?"

Ger. Lorich. de Miss. Pub. Prorogand. Lib. iii.

August. contr. Parmen. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

M. Harding groundeth his guess without his compass. For this council was holden anno 613.

Here, that I may add somewhat more for proof of this article, if the plurality of masses in one church in one day had been utterly unlawful, the fathers of the council of Antisiodorum would not have decreed, that it should not be lawful to celebrate two masses upon one altar in one day; neither, where the bishop had said mass, that a priest might not say the same day at the same altar[4]. *For, beside that the prohibition pre-supposeth the thing prohibited to have been before used (else prohibition had been superfluous, and so far forth it appeareth that before the making of that decree more masses were said at one altar in one day), the argument of this decree serveth very well for proof that by force of this council it was then lawful to say more masses in one church in one day. For this prohibition of the council is not general, but special, restricted to a particular place of the church,* in uno altario, "*at one altar,*" *which includeth not of any reason a more general and larger matter than itself, as, neither at any other altar in the same church the same day it shall be lawful to say mass; but of consequent this being but one special case forbidden inferreth a permission and good leave in the rest* ejusdem generis et subjecti, "*that be of the same kind, and about the same matter,*" *and not included by words of reason in that prohibition. So that we may not argue by reason in this sort: It is forbidden to say more masses at one altar in one day;* ergo, *it is forbidden to say many masses at all in one church in one day upon divers altars: but the contrary reason followeth;* ergo, *ye may say many masses upon divers altars in one day. And likewise, ye may not say mass that day on the altar where the bishop hath said;* ergo, *ye may lawfully say at*[5] *another altar: for otherwise the law would have forbidden generally, ye shall not say mass in the church where the bishop hath*

Non licet super uno altario in una die duas missas celebrare: nec in altario ubi episcopus missas dixerit presbyter ... illa die missas dicat. Concil. Antisiodoren. can. 10. Anno Dom. 613.

[1] The ever-enduring, H. A. 1564.]

[2] Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. III. cap. iii. p. 280. See before, page 513.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. viii. 15. Tom. IX. col. 34; where *mediatorem me habetis ad Patrem,* and *atque fidelium.*]

[4] Concil. Antis. can. 10. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 185; where *missas dicere.*]

[5] That day at, H. A. 1564.]

said that day; and then ye had been forbidden that altar, and all altars there at one word. But, in forbidding the one altar, the law granteth you the use of the rest there.

And this kind of reasoning and arguing, of the law that forbiddeth one case specially to affirm the rest that is not mentioned in the prohibition, the lawyers will defend by their principles against M. Jewel, who, I think, will not wade far to stand against them in this match. For they say, an edict prohibitory in such things which are not wholly in their kind unlawful, forbidding special cases, granteth the rest, and doth permit all that which is not specially forbidden. And by that all may be witnesses which are not specially forbidden: all may make their proctors to answer for them in judgment, which are not forbidden in the special prohibition; for that the edicts of proctors and witnesses are prohibitory. And because lex Julia *did forbid a woman condemned for adultery to bear witness in judgment, thereof the text of the civil law concludeth, that women may bear witness in judgment*[6].

In genere permissorum omnia intelliguntur permissa, quæ specialiter non reperiuntur prohibita. L. Julia. ff. de testibus.

And they say further, that exception in one case confirmeth the general rule, and maketh the rest, that is not excepted, more sure and stable, and to be in force in contrary sense to the exception.

Exceptio confirmat regulam in non exceptis.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This long discourse may well be granted without great prejudice. For this council was holden at Antisiodorum, as M. Harding hath also noted in the margin, in the year of our Lord six hundred and thirteen; and therefore neither furthereth him, nor hindereth me, as standing without the compass of the first six hundred years. And whoso listeth to peruse the acts of that council shall soon find that many great disorders and horrible abuses, and, as they are termed there, *incestæ consuetudines,* "wicked and abominable customs," were by that time grown into the church of Rome: as *strenæ diabolicæ,* "devilish new-year's gifts; heathenish vows; to pray in groves and at the water-sides, as the heathens had used to pray; to consecrate and minister the Lord's cup in metheglin; to put the sacrament into dead men's mouths[7];" and such other like. And that, among these and other like disorders, the plurality of masses first began at that time, and not before, it may appear by the pontifical itself, in the life of pope Deusdedit, where it is written thus: *Deusdedit constituit secundam missam in clero*[8]. And Petrus Urbevetanus, in his scholies upon the same place, writeth thus: *Quia tunc, ad instar Græcorum, non cantabatur in una ecclesia, nisi forsan una missa: quod magis ædificabat, secundum antiquos*[9]: "For then there was but one mass (or communion) said, after the manner of the Greeks; which thing, as the ancient writers think, was more profitable to the people." Likewise Thomas Valdensis saith: *Græci adhuc unicam tantum missam in die celebrant*[10]: "The Greeks hitherto say but one mass (or communion) in one day." So likewise Francis the friar writeth unto his brethren: *Moneo... et exhortor* [*vos*] *in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, una tantum celebretur missa in die, secundum formam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ*[11]: "I warn you and exhort you in the Lord, that in the places where our brethren dwell there be only one mass a day said, according to the order of the holy church of Rome." So St Ambrose declareth the order of the church of Milan in his time: *Omni... hebdomada offerendum est; etiam si non quotidie peregrinis, incolis*

Canon 1. Canon 3. Canon 8. Mellitum vel mulsum. Canon 12.

In 2 Tom. Concil. in vita Deusd. anno 614. Petr. Urb.

Thom. Vald. Lib. vi. cap. xxxiv.

Francisc. in Epist. ad Fratr.

Ambros. 1 Tim. cap. ii.

[6 Ex eo, quod prohibet lex Julia de adulteriis testimonium dicere condemnatam mulierem, colligitur, etiam mulieres testimonii in judicio dicendi jus habere.—Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. XXII. Tit. v. 18. Tom. I. p. 326.]

[7 Concil. Antis. cans. 1, 3, 8 (where *mellitum quod mulsum appellatur*), 12, in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 184, 5. The date of this council is 578 as given by Labbe and Cossart.]

[8 Decret. Deusd. in eod. Tom. II. p. 184; where for *Deusdedit* we find *hic.*]

[9 The editor has not been able to meet with these scholies. But see Bonæ Op. Venet. 1764. Rer. Liturg. Lib. I. cap. xiv. 4. p. 206; where, after a reference to Deusdedit, this passage is quoted with a very slight verbal difference.]

[10 ... Græci, quantum recolo, unicam missam die concelebrant.—Wald. Doctrin. Fid. Par. 1521-32. Lib. VI. Tit. IV. cap. xxxiv. Tom. III. fol. 83.]

[11 Francisc. Lit. ad Sacerd. Ord. Sui, in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. XIII. p. 351.]

Only altar[1].

tamen, vel bis in hebdomada[2]: "Every week the oblation must be made, although not every day for comers and strangers, yet at least twice in the week for the citizens." St Ambrose saith, the communion in his time was ministered once or twice in the week, and at the furthest upon great occasion once a day; but not twenty or thirty times in one day.

And, whereas M. Harding seemeth to warrant his multitude of masses by that in this council of Antisiodorum there is mention made of sundry altars; it may like him to understand, that before the time of that council there appeareth no such multiplication or increase of altars. One altar was thought sufficient for the whole church[3], and the same altar placed in the midst of the congregation, that all the people might come round about it. So saith Eusebius: *Absoluto templo, ... et altari in medio constituto*[4]: "The church being finished, and the altar (or communion-table) placed in the midst." St Augustine likewise saith thus: *Mensa Domini est illa in medio constituta*[5]: "That is the Lord's table that standeth here in the midst." In like manner it is written in the council of Constantinople: *Tempore diptychorum cucurrit omnis multitudo cum magno silentio circum altare, et audiebant*[6]: "When the lesson or chapter was in reading, all the people drew together with silence round about the altar, and gave attendance." If M. Harding will contend for that hitherto there is no mention made of one altar alone, and therefore will say there might be many, he may also remember that Eusebius saith in the place before alleged: *Augustum, et magnum, et unicum altare*[7]: "The reverend, the great, and the one only altar." So Ignatius: *Unum est altare toti ecclesiæ*[8]: "There is but one altar for the whole church." So St Chrysostom: *Baptismus unus est, et mensa una*[9]: "There is one baptism, and one table." So likewise Gentianus Hervettus, describing the manner of the Greek church as it is used at this day, saith thus: *In Græcorum templis unum tantum est altare, idque in medio choro aut presbyterio*[10]: "In the Greek church there is but one altar, and the same standing in the midst of the quire." And the quire also was in the midst of all the people. By these it may appear that M. Harding is not able to find his plurality of masses before the council of Antisiodorum, which was without the lists of the first six hundred years, and therefore can stand him in little stead.

Ignat. ad Philadelph. Euseb. Lib. x. cap. iv. In Encæniis.

August. de Verb. Domin. secund. Joh. Serm. 47. Concil. Constant. v. Act. 1.

Euseb. Lib. x. cap. iv.

Ignat. ad Philadelph.

Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. 18.

Gent. Hervet.

As for these principles of the law, that are here brought in as a surcharge unto the rest, they may be safely received without danger. I grant, the law, that forbiddeth in special case, generally granteth all that is not specially forbidden. This, I say, may well be granted. It is commonly called in schools *argumentum a contrario sensu*. Notwithstanding, this rule, being so general, may receive exception, although perhaps not in law, yet in some cases of divinity. For example, God saith: "Thou shalt not commit usury to thy brother;" "Let there be no harlot of the daughters of Israel;" "Thou shalt not marry thy wife's sister, whiles thy wife liveth;" "Thou shalt not commit advoutry;" St Paul saith: "Be ye not drunken with wine."

Deut. xxiii. Ibid. Lev. xviii. Exod. xx. Eph. v.

Of these special prohibitions, by M. Harding's rule or principle, we may reason thus: These cases are specially forbidden; and whatsoever is not excepted in special prohibition as unlawful is permitted as lawful; *ergo, ex contrario sensu*, "by the contrary sense," it is left as lawful to commit usury to

---

[1 One altar, 1565.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in I. Epist. ad Tim. cap. iii. Tom. II. Append. col. 295.]

[3 Ignat. ad Philadelph. cap. iv. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 378. Conf. Interp. Epist. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Tom. II. p. 77.]

[4 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. x. cap. iv. p. 312.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cxxxii. 1. Tom. V. col. 645; where *ipsius* for *Domini*.]

[6 Concil. Constant. sub Menna, Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. col. 185.]

[7 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. x. cap. iv. p. 316.]

[8 See above, note 3.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 569.]

[10 This author seems to state the contrary: Porro autem in ea duo sunt altaria, quorum majus in medio illius partis ædis situm est: alterum minus, ad sinistram majoris.—Gent. Hervet. ad calc. Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. fol. 35. 2. But then he explains that this smaller altar was but a kind of credence-table: ... panis qui est a sacerdote consecrandus, in eo primo ponitur. Conf. Bonæ Op. Venet. 1764. Rer. Liturg. Lib. I. cap. xiv. 3. p. 206. Græcorum est alia consuetudo; unicum enim altare in singulis ecclesiis habent.]

a stranger; it is left as lawful to have a harlot, so that she be not of the daughters of Israel; it is left as lawful to marry thy wife's sister, if thy wife be dead; it is left as lawful to commit fornication, for fornication in this special prohibition is not forbidden, but only advoutry; it is left as lawful to be drunken with ale or beer, for only wine is excepted. And why so? for M. Harding's principle must needs stand, that a prohibition forbidding special cases permitteth all the rest, and generally leaveth all that as lawful that is not specially forbidden. I speak not this to the intent to reprove the principle of the law, that here is alleged, but only to shew that general rules must sometimes and in some cases be taken with exception.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

But I will not bring M. Jewel out of his professed study too far to seek laws. For indeed we need not go to law for these matters, wherein the church hath given sentence for us, but that our adversaries refuse the judge after sentence. Which if they had done when order permitteth it, at the beginning, and had plainly (as I fear me some of them think) denied themselves to be Christians, or at least of Christ's court in his catholic church; we should not have strived so long about these matters. We would have embraced the truth of God in his church quietly, whiles they sought another judge according to their appetites and fantasies, as Turks and infidels do.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It were more for M. Harding's purpose, for proof of these matters, to go rather to divinity than to law. Howbeit, the state of his case being so feeble and so deadly diseased, it were good counsel for him to leave both professions, and to go to physic.

But here once again in his impatient heats he uttereth his inordinate and unadvised choler, and thinketh to prove himself a good catholic man, only by comparing others with Turks and infidels. Notwithstanding herein we shall need no long defence. For, God's holy name be blessed, it is now open to the hearts and consciences of all men, that both in life and doctrine we profess the same gospel of Jesus Christ that they of M. Harding's side have of long time oppressed and burnt for heresy.

Neither do we refuse the judge, either after sentence or before. Him only we refuse, as no competent judge in these cases, that teacheth the commandments and doctrines of men, and hath infected the world with the leaven of the scribes and Pharisees; and we appeal unto Christ, the only Judge of all judges, unto whom God the Father straitly bade us to give ear: *Ipsum audite:* "Hearken unto him:" *Unus est Magister noster Christus:* "Christ is our only Master and only Judge." Matt. xv. Matt. xiii. Matt. xvi. Matt. xvii. Matt. xxiii.

And[11] for the determinations of the church, they are sundry, and variable, and uncertain, and therefore sometimes untrue; and for that cause may not always stand of necessity as matter of judgment. The Greek church never used the private mass, but only the communion: the Latin church hath utterly abolished the holy communion, saving only at one time in the year, when also she useth it with foul disorder, and, as Gelasius saith, with open sacrilege[12], and useth only the private mass. The same Latin church for the space of six hundred years and more from the beginning, unless it had been upon great occasion of many communicants, used only one communion, or, as M. Harding rather delighteth to call it, one mass in one day; but the Latin church, that now is, hath in every corner of the temple erected altars, and therefore now is full of corner-masses. In the old Latin church it was not lawful to say the second communion, but only when the church was full of people: in M. Harding's new Latin church there be oftentimes more masses said together than there be hearers of the people to gaze upon them. Thus the judgment of the Latin church disagreeth from the Greek; and the new Latin church

[11] As, 1565.]

[12] Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918.]

likewise disagreeth in judgment from the old. Touching this new Latin church, St Bernard mourneth and complaineth thus: *Nunc... ipsi Christum persequuntur, qui ab eo... Christiani dicuntur. Amici tui, Deus, et proximi* [*tui*] *adversus te appropinquaverunt et steterunt. Conjurasse videtur contra te universitas populi christiani, a minimo usque ad maximum. A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus judicibus vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum.... Arcem Sion occupaverunt, apprehenderunt munitiones, et universam deinceps libere et potestative tradiderunt incendio civitatem*[1]: "They are now become the persecutors of Christ, that of his name are called Christians. O God, thy friends that are nearest about thee approach near and stand against thee. The whole universal body of christian people seemeth to have conspired against thee, even from the lowest unto the highest. Wickedness proceedeth forth from thy vicars, the elder judges that seem to govern thy people. (Like heathens and infidels) they have invaded thy castle of Sion (which is thy holy church), and have taken all her holds, and freely and by authority have thrown thy whole city into the fire." Again he saith: "There remaineth now nothing but that antichrist, the man of sin, the child of perdition, be revealed[2]."

D. Bernard. in Convers. Paul.

Bernard. in Psal. Qui habitat. Serm. 6.

Seeing therefore the resolution of these judges is oftentimes uncertain and doubtful (I will not say, as St Bernard seemeth to say, ungodly and wicked), we may the more indifferently and the better say now to M. Harding, as St Augustine sometimes said to the heretic Maximinus: *Nec ego Nicenam synodum tibi, nec tu mihi Ariminensem debes, tanquam præjudicaturus, objicere. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius teneris. Scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumcunque propriis, sed quæ utriusque sint communes, res cum re, causa cum causa, ratio cum ratione decertet*[3]: "Neither will I prescribe against thee by the council of Nice: nor mayest thou prescribe against me by the council of Ariminum. Neither am I bound to this council, nor thou to that. By the authority of the scriptures, which are neither thine nor mine, but indifferent and common to us both, let us compare matter with matter, cause with cause, and reason with reason." Again he saith in like sort to the heretic Cresconius: *Non... debet se ecclesia Christo præponere, &c. Cum ille semper veraciter judicet; ecclesiastici autem judices, sicut homines, plerunque fallantur*[4]: "The church," saith St Augustine, "may not set herself above Christ, &c. For Christ evermore judgeth truly; but the ecclesiastical judges, as being men, are often deceived." Therefore we appeal from the church to Christ; from the party to the judge; from the church deformed to the church reformed; from a church particular to the church catholic; from the false to the true; from the new to the old; from a doubtful, variable, uncertain, unadvised sentence, to a sentence most firm, most stable, most certain, most constant, that shall stand for ever.

August. adv. Maxim. Lib. iii.

August. contr. Crescon. Gram. Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, if M. Jewel be not so precise in his judgment of allowing the first six hundred years after Christ, as to condemn the church that followed in the next generation; then we may allege unto him the twelfth council of Toledo in Spain, holden in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighty, for proof that many masses were celebrated in one church in one day. For the same appeareth plainly by this decree of the fathers there: Relatum nobis est, quosdam de sacerdotibus non tot vicibus communionis sanctæ gratiam sumere, quot sacrificia in una die videntur offerre; sed in uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione suspendunt, et

Can. 5.

[1 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956; where *adversum* and *tradunt.*]

[2 Superest jam ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis, &c.—Id. in Psalm. Qui habitat, Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838.]

[3 Sed nunc nec ego Nicænum, nec tu debes Ariminense tamquam præjudicaturus proferre concilium. Nec ego hujus auctoritate, nec tu illius detineris: scripturarum auctoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utriusque communibus testibus, res cum re, caussa cum caussa, ratio cum ratione concertet.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704.]

[4 Id. Contr. Crescon. Donat. Lib. II. cap. xxi. 26. Tom. IX. cols. 422, 3; where *ecclesia se.*]

in sola tantum extrema sacrificii oblatione communionis sanctæ gratiam sumunt. Quasi non sit toties illis vero et singulari sacrificio participandum, quoties corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi immolatio facta constiterit. Nam ecce apostolus dicit: Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris? Certum est, quod hi qui sacrificantes non edunt rei sunt dominici sacramenti. Quicunque ergo sacerdotum deinceps divino altario sacrificium oblaturus accesserit, et se a communione suspenderit, ab ipsa, qua se indecenter privavit, gratia communionis anno uno repulsum se noverit. Nam quale erit illud sacrificium, cui nec ipse sacrificans particeps esse cognoscitur? Ergo modis omnibus est tenendum, ut quotiescunque sacrificans corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi[5] in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi se participem præbeat[6]: *"It is shewed unto us, that there be certain priests who do not receive the grace of the holy communion so many times, how many sacrifices they seem to offer in one day. But, if they offer up to God many sacrifices by themselves in one day, in all those oblations they suspend themselves from the communion, and receive the grace of the holy communion only at the last oblation of the sacrifice; as though they ought not so oftentimes to be partakers of that true and singular sacrifice, as the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath been done. For behold the apostle saith: 'Be not they which eat sacrifices partakers of the altar?' It is certain, that they, who doing sacrifice do not eat, be guilty of our Lord's sacrament. Wherefore what priest soever hereafter shall come unto the holy altar to offer sacrifice and suspend himself from the communion, be it known unto him, that he is repelled and thrust away from the grace of the communion, whereof he hath unseemly bereaved himself (whereby is meant, that he standeth excommunicate) for the space of one year. For what a sacrifice shall that be, whereof neither he himself that sacrificeth is known to be partaker? Wherefore by all means this is to be kept, that, how oftentimes soever the priest doth sacrifice the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord on the altar, so oftentimes he receive, and make himself partaker of the body and blood of Christ."*

1 Cor. x.

1 Cor. x.

Here by the word "sacrifice," and "offering of the sacrifice," the fathers understand the daily sacrifice of the church which we call the mass. For though the word missa *be of great antiquity, and many times found in the fathers, yet they use more commonly the word sacrifice. Neither can the enemies of this sacrifice expound this canon of the inward sacrifices of a man's heart, but of that sacrifice which the priest cometh to the holy altar to offer, of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ our Lord offered on the altar (for so be their words), where he receiveth the grace of the holy communion, which is the participation of the body and blood of our Lord. Thus*[7] *much granted, as by any reasonable understanding it cannot be drawn, nor by racking can be stretched to any other sense; we have here good authority for the having of many masses in one church in one day. And whereas the fathers of that council allowed many masses in one day said by one priest, there is no reason why they should not allow the same said by sundry priests in one day. If our adversaries say this might have been done in sundry places, whereby they may seem to frustrate our purpose touching this article; we answer that, beside the approving of the mass by them so confessed, it were vain and frivolous to imagine such gadding of the priests from church to church for sdying many masses in one day. Doubtless the fathers of that Toletane council meant of many masses said in one place in a day, as Leo did, for serving the faithful people's devotion that resorted to church at sundry hours, as we see the people do now, that so all might be satisfied; which should not have been, if one mass only had been said.*

[*Sacrifice taken for the mass.* H. A. 1564.]

This word "missa" is found sometimes in the fathers. But it is used evermore for the communion.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We condemn not the church of God in any generation, be the abuses thereof never so great. God resembleth it unto a vine, unto a corn-field, and unto a flock

[5] Jesu Christi Domini nostri, H. A. 1564.]

[6] Concil. Tolet. XII. cap. 5. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 421; where *dominicis sacramentis* in the text, and *Jesu Christi Domini nostri in altario.*]

[7] This, H. A. 1564.]

Missa.

of sheep. Notwithstanding the vine be spoiled and torn down, yet is it the vine of the God of Sabaoth. Notwithstanding the field lie waste and be overgrown with weeds, yet is it still the Lord's field. Notwithstanding the flock be forsaken of the shepherds, and run astray and perish in the wilderness, yet is it still the flock of Christ. And herein we have great cause to glorify the name of God, that, when he seeth it good in his sight, sendeth forth labourers to rear up and to dress his vine, to labour and to weed his ground, to gather in and to feed his flock.

Isai. i.

This allegation of the council of Toledo serveth M. Harding only to bewray[1] his want. For, if he could have found any other council of antiquity, I trow he would not have alleged this. It was holden well near seven hundred years after Christ; by which time many great disorders and deformities were privily cropen into the church, as may appear both otherwise, and also by this same example, that one priest used then to say many masses in one day, and yet himself not to communicate, contrary both to the institution of Christ and also to the laws and canons of the church; and therefore the gloss upon the decrees calleth it a most naughty custom[2]; and this council itself saith: "Whosoever so doth is guilty of the Lord's sacrament." Thus, both the computation of the time and also the disorder and abuse of the thing itself considered, this authority needeth no further answer.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Relatum est. In Glossa.

It was impertinent in this place for M. Harding to move matter of the sacrifice. Howbeit, for short answer thereto, the sacrifice, that in the old writers is called "daily," is that everlasting and only sacrifice that Christ once offered upon the cross, being there a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech: and whosoever thinketh not that sacrifice sufficient, but imagineth some other sacrifice for sins to be made by man, is an enemy of the cross of Christ, and of his sacrifice, and treadeth down the Son of God under his feet, and counteth the blood of the testament to be unholy. In what sense the mystery of the holy communion is of the old fathers called a sacrifice, it shall be shewed at large in the seventeenth article hereof, serving wholly to that purpose.

Heb. x.

Phil. iii.

Heb. x.

Touching this word *missa*, neither is the name nor the meaning thereof of such antiquity as it is here supposed by M. Harding. It grew first in use about four hundred years after Christ, and is very seldom used of the old Latin writers; of St Augustine, St Hierome, Tertullian, St Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, and others of that age, never; unto St Chrysostom, St Basil, Nazianzene, Gregory Nyssene, and all other Greek writers, utterly unknown. It is found in two sundry places under the name of St Augustine[3], and once under the name of St Hierome[4]. But it is certain that these books were neither St Augustine's nor St Hierome's.

August. in Serm. de Tempore. Hieron. in Prov.

Howbeit, we make no great account of the name. The natural sense and meaning thereof, contrary to M. Harding's surmises, necessarily importeth a communion, and not a private mass. For this Latin word *missa* is as much as *missio*, that is, a commanding away, or licence to depart. So St Cyprian saith *remissa peccatorum*[5], instead of *remissio;* and the order of the church then was this, that novices that were not yet christened, and were called *catechumeni*, and others that were called *pœnitentes*, that for some offence were enjoined to do penance, notwithstanding they might lawfully hear the sermons, and pray together with the rest, yet might they neither be present at the baptism, nor receive the holy mysteries. And therefore, after the gospel was read, and the sermon ended, the deacon said unto them: *Ite, missa est:* "Go ye hence: ye may depart." Likewise in St Gregory's time the deacon used thus to say: *Qui non communicat, det*

Cypr. Lib. iii. Epist.

Gregor. Dial. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

[1 Betray, 1565, 1609.]

[2 Hanc pessimam consuetudinem concilium redarguebat.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]

[3 The word is repeatedly found in works falsely ascribed to Augustine. See also August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. xlix. 8. Tom. V. 275....post sermonem fit missa catechumenis. Conf. Du Cange, Gloss. in Voc.]

[4 ... sunt tamen qui de levioribus peccatis... post mortem possunt absolvi, vel pœnis...vel suorum precibus et eleemosynis, missarumque celebrationibus.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Proverb. cap. xi. Tom. V. col. 545. This commentary is spurious.]

[5 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii. p. 204; where *remissam.*]

locum[6]: "Whoso doth not communicate, let him give place." Thus all they that either would not or might not communicate with the rest of their brethren, were willed to depart; whereof it necessarily followeth, that all they that remained did communicate.

Of this departure away and proclamation of the deacon, the action itself, which was the holy communion, was called *missa*. Afterward, when either through negligence of the people, or through avarice of the priests, the whole order hereof was quite altered, and the thing that had been common was become private, yet, as it happeneth often in other the like things, the former name remained still. For example, the vigils or night-watches were turned into fastings; altars, that served for offering up of calves and goats, were turned into the Lord's table; the sabbath-day was turned into the Sunday. Yet, the things being thus altered, the names notwithstanding of vigils, altars, and sabbath-days remain still in use, as they did before. Therefore M. Harding herein, as commonly elsewhere, thought it best to deceive his reader by the mistaking and error of the name.

Last of all, if the fathers in the council of Toledo and Leo meant all one thing, as here it is constantly avouched, then is M. Harding by the same fathers but poorly relieved. For it is most evident by that is already said, that Leo meant the holy communion, and not M. Harding's private mass.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

If M. Jewel agnise and accept for good the authority of this council, as the church doth, then must he allow these many things which he and the sacramentaries to the uttermost of their power and cunning labour to disprove and deface. First, the blessed sacrifice of the mass, which the fathers of this council call the true and singular sacrifice, the sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ [the sacrifice of the body and blood of Jesus Christ our Lord][7], which the priest offereth on the altar. Next, the truth and real presence of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrifice offered. Then altars, which this council calleth divine or holy, for the divine and holy things on them offered, the body and blood of Christ. Furthermore, the (200) *multitude of masses in one day: for they speak of many sacrifices, that is, many masses,* plurima sacrificia. *Lastly, private masses. For the words* nec ipse sacrificans, *rightly construed and weighed, import no less. For whereas no word in this decree is uttered whereby it may appear the people to be of necessity required to receive, if the priests had received themselves at every mass, no fault had been found. And if the people had received without the priests, in this case it had been reason this decree should otherwise have been expressed. And so it is clear that at that time private masses were said and done.*

The two hundredth untruth. For M. Harding understandeth not his own book, as it shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The authority and credit of this council of Toledo is no part of our question. It was holden almost seven hundred years after Christ; and of greater antiquity M. Harding is able to allege none. Which thing, I trust, the indifferent and discreet reader will well remember.

Concerning these five notes, whereof one only toucheth this purpose. As this council saith the priest offereth the sacrifice at the altar or holy table, even so Leo saith every of the whole faithful people likewise offereth up the same sacrifice[8]. I say not any other, but the very self-same sacrifice, and that in as ample manner as it is offered by the priest. 1. Leo ad Diose. Epist. 81.

Touching real presence, M. Harding seemeth to do as children sometimes use to do, that imagine horsemen, and banners, and other strange miracles in the clouds. It is only his own fantasy; for there is no such word or mention in the council. The matter of altars is already answered. Private masses, and also multitudes of the same, consideration evermore had to the computation of 2. 3. 4.

[6] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. II. cap. xxiii. Tom. II. col. 253. See before, page 19, note 17.]

[7] The words between brackets are found only in H. A. 1564, and H. A. 1565.]

[8] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. cap. ii. col. 436. See before, page 630.]

5. the years, might easily be granted without hinderance. Yet hath not M. Hard-
Anno 680. ing, in the space well near of seven hundred years, hitherto found in one church more than two masses in one day; all this his great study and travail therein taken notwithstanding.

But the words of the council be plain: *Plurima sacrificia:* that is, "Many sacrifices;" and therefore, saith M. Harding, "many masses." Hereby it may appear that M. Harding either considereth not his book, or else hath no great regard to that he writeth. His own books will reprove his oversight, and shew how much he is deceived. For *plurima* in this place signifieth not many, that is, neither six, nor five, nor four, nor three, but only two. And for trial hereof
De Consecr. Dist. 2. Relatum est. In Glossa. I report me to the gloss itself upon the decrees. The words be these: *Nota hic, plurima dici de duobus; quia plura non licet*[1]: "Mark here, that this word *plurima* is spoken only of two. For to say more masses than two, it is not lawful."

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Now, if M. Jewel refuse and reject the authority of the church represented in that council, then he giveth us a manifest notice what mark we ought to take him to be of. Then may we say unto him the words of St Paul: Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei: "*We have no such custom, neither the church of God hath not,*" *to condemn the church. And in this case he must pardon us, if according to the precept of Christ, for that he will not hear the church, we take him for no better than a heathen and a publican.*
1 Cor. xi. Matt. xviii.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To these simple premises M. Harding hath laid a large conclusion. If we hear not him and his church, then are we heathens and publicans. God knoweth, this is a very poor bravery. In the schools it is called *petitio principii,* and *fallacia accidentis,* a deceitful kind of reasoning, without either ground or good order. I need not to open it; it is known unto children.

But doth M. Harding think that every man is an heathen that reproveth error, that discloseth the man of sin, and wisheth the reformation of God's
Matt. xxi. church? Christ said unto the scribes and Pharisees: "You have made the house
Jer. xii. of God a den of thieves." Hieremy saith: "The labourers themselves have
Isai. i. trodden down and torn the vine of the Lord." The prophet Esay saith: "Your
Bernard. in Concil. Remens. silver is turned into dross." St Bernard saith of the bishops in his time: *Pro mercenariis habemus diabolos,* &c.[2]: "Instead of hirelings we have devils:" "From
Bernard. in Conv. Paul. the top to the toe there is no part left whole in the church of Rome[3]." Nicolaus
Nicol. de Claveng. de Clavengiis saith: *Calamitosa desolatio est in domo Dei*[4]: "There is a miserable
Alb. Pigh. de Priv. Miss. desolation in the house of the Lord." Pighius confesseth there be abuses in
Latom. contr. Bucer. the private mass[5]. Latomus confesseth there is an error in the administration in one kind[6]. And will M. Harding know all these by his own privy mark? Or must Christ, Hieremy, Esay, St Bernard, Pighius, and Latomus, be taken for no better than heathens and publicans? Certainly, touching these pluralities of masses, and this shameful profanation and waste of God's holy mysteries, both Christ and his apostles, and all the old catholic fathers of the primitive
1 Cor. xi. church, will say: *Nos hujusmodi consuetudinem non habemus, nec ecclesia Dei:*

[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]

[2 ... sic facit Jesus hodie, eligens sibi multos diabolos episcopos.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Concil. Remens. Serm. 3. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 736.]

[3 Id. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[4 A fearful picture of the corruptions of the church is drawn by N. de Clameng. De Corrupt. Eccles. Stat. Lib. in Fasc. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. II. pp. 555, &c.; but the precise words used by Jewel do not appear in this treatise.]

[5 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. De Miss. Priv. Controv. VI. fol. 123. 2.]

[6 B. Latom. adv. M. Bucer. Defens. Col. 1545. De Disp. Euch. foll. D. &c. See especially G. ii.... dico optandum esse, votisque omnibus expetendum, ut nulla res unquam impediat, quo minus sacramenta ipsa, quo ritu quave cæremonia a Domino instituta sunt, ita possimus integre sine omni detrimento accipere.]

"We have no such custom, neither the church of God." And to the wilful maintainers of the same Christ will say: *Frustra colitis me, docentes doctrinas præcepta hominum:* "Ye worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men." Matt. xv. Isai. xxix.

And whereas, M. Harding, ye countenance and furnish your errors by the name of the church, remember St John saith: "Make no vaunts that ye be the children of Abraham. For God is able even of the stones to raise up children unto Abraham." And the angel saith in the book of Revelations: *Dicunt se esse Judæos, et non sunt; sed sunt synagoga Satanæ:* "They name themselves Jews," that is, the people of God, "but they are not: they are the synagogue of the devil." Matt. iii. Rev. ii.

Now, good christian reader, that thou mayest see how vainly M. Harding hath wandered throughout this whole treaty, it may please thee to remember my first negative proposition touching the same, which in effect is this: They are not able to shew that, within six hundred years after Christ, there were five masses, said any where, in any one church, in one day, throughout the world. In which proposition two points are specially touched; the number of masses, and the number of years. To prove the affirmative hereof, M. Harding hath alleged the council of Antisiodorum and the council of Toledo, either of them being without the compass of six hundred years. He hath also alleged Leo, an ancient bishop of Rome, speaking only of the holy communion, and not one word of the private mass[8]. All these three authorities touch only one priest, and, as it appeareth by the gloss, only two ministrations at the uttermost[9]. Thus hath M. Harding failed, both in the computation of the years, and also in the number of his masses. Anno 613.[7] Anno 680. Leo, Epist. 81. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Relatum est. In Glossa.

Yet must this be defended among the rest, be the profanation thereof never so horrible; and whosoever dare wish a reformation herein must be no better than a heathen and a publican. O how much better had it been for M. Harding, either to have passed the matter over in silence, or plainly and simply to have confessed his error!

[7 614, 1565.]

[8 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Diosc. Epist. lxxxi. cap. ii. col. 436.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 11. col. 1917.]

OF ADORATION OF IMAGES.

THE FOURTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that images were set[1] up in the churches to the intent the people might worship them.

[OF IMAGES.—ARTICLE XIV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Not specially to be worshipped; *ergo*, to be worshipped, although not specially.

That images were set up in churches within six hundred years after Christ, it is certain, but not specially either then or sithence to the intent the people might worship them. The intent and purpose hath been far other, but right godly, as shall be declared. Wherefore the imputing of this intent to the catholic church is both false and also slanderous. And because, for the use of images, these new masters charge the church with reproach of a new device, breach of God's commandment, and idolatry; I will here shew, first, the antiquity of images, and by whom they have been allowed; secondly, to what intent and purpose they serve; thirdly, how they may be worshipped without offence.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This article of images may be easily passed over, both for that the weight thereof is not great, and also for that M. Harding, as his wont is, hath purposely dissembled the matter that was in question, and devised other fantasies that were not touched. Wherein, notwithstanding he use large discourses and make great shew, yet in the end, as it shall appear, he concludeth nothing. I grant images were erected in some churches within six hundred years after Christ, albeit neither so rathe as it is pretended, nor without much repining of godly men and great contention.

But M. Harding, of his modesty, once again calleth us new masters; so as he would call Moses if he were now alive, or much rather God himself. For this doctrine is God's doctrine, and not ours. And therefore St Augustine saith: August. de Fid. et Symb. cap. vii. *Hujusmodi simulacrum Deo nefas est in christiano templo collocare*[2]: "In a christian church to erect such an image unto God (resembling God to an old man), it is an abomination." And Epiphanius, the bishop of Cyprus, entering into Epist. Epiph. ad Johan. Episc. Hieros. a church, and finding there a veil hanged up and the image of Christ painted in it, tare it asunder, and pulled it down, because it was done, as he writeth himself, *contra auctoritatem scripturarum*, "contrary to the commandment of God's word." Again he saith: *Hujusmodi vela .... contra religionem nostram veniunt:* "Such veils (so painted) are contrary to our christian religion." And again: *Hæc scrupulositas indigna est ecclesia Christi, et populis qui [tibi] crediti sunt*[3]: "This superstition is unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people that is committed unto thee." St Augustine saith: "It is abomination." Epiphanius saith: "It is contrary to the scriptures, and contrary to christian religion; unmeet for the church of Christ, and unmeet for the people of God." Howbeit, M. Harding perhaps will suffer these two to pass in the number of his new masters.

[1 Were then set, H. A. 1564.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. et Symb. cap. vii. 14. Tom. VI. col. 157; where *tale enim simulacrum*, and *christiano in*.]

[3 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317; where *ejusmodi*, and *ut scrupulositatem tollat quæ indigna*.]

And albeit by these fathers' judgment it is plain, that by setting up of images God's commandment is broken, yet it may the better appear by comparing God's words and M. Harding's words both together. God saith: "Thou shalt make to thyself[4] no graven image:" M. Harding saith: Thou shalt make to thyself[4] graven images. God saith: "Thou shalt not fall down to them, nor worship them:" M. Harding saith: Thou shalt fall down to them, and worship them. Now judge thou, good reader, whether this be a breach of God's commandment or no.

Verily M. Harding in the first entry hereof saith thus: "Images are not specially set up to the intent the people may worship them." The sense whereof must needs be this: Images are set up to the end to be worshipped, although not specially to that end. But an image is a creature, and no God; and to honour a creature in that sort is idolatry. Therefore, by M. Harding's own confession, images are set up to be used to idolatry, although not specially to that end. Howbeit, by this simple distinction of general and special, idolatry is easy to be excused.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Concerning the antiquity and original of images, they were not first invented by man, but (201) *commanded by God, brought into use by tradition of the apostles, allowed by authority of the holy fathers and all councils, and by custom of all ages since*[5] *Christ's being in the earth. When God would the tabernacle with all furniture thereto belonging to be made, to serve for his honour and glory, he commanded Moses among other things to make two cherubins of beaten gold, so as they might cover both sides of the propitiatory, spreading abroad their wings, and beholding themselves one another, their faces turned toward the propitiatory, that the ark was to be covered withal. Of those cherubins St Paul speaketh in his epistle to the Hebrews. Which images Beseleel, that excellent workman, made at the commandment of Moses, according to the instruction*[6] *by God given. Again, Moses by the commandment of God made the brasen serpent, and set it up on high for the people that were hurt of serpents in wilderness to behold, and so to be healed. In the temple also that Salomon builded were images of cherubins, as scripture sheweth. Of cherubins mention is made in sundry places of the scriptures*[7]*, specially in Ezechiel the prophet,* cap. xli. *Josephus writeth of the same in his third and eighth book* Antiquitatum Judaicarum[8]. *The image of cherubins representeth angels; and the word is a word of angelical dignity, as it appeareth by the third chapter of Genesis, where we read that God placed cherubins before paradise, after that Adam was cast forth for his disobedience.*

Antiquity of images.

Exod. xxv.

Cap. ix.

Exod. xxxvii.

Numb. xxi.

1 Kings vi. 2 Chron. iii.

The two hundred and first untruth, containing three great untruths together in one.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding doubteth not to derive the first invention of his images from God himself, even as rightly and with as good faith as he deriveth his mass from Christ and his apostles; or his holy water from the prophet Elizeus; or the cardinal's hat from St Hierome. Unless perhaps he will reason thus: God saith, "Thou shalt not make unto thyself[4] any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing;" and, "Accursed be the man that maketh an image;" and, "Confounded be all they that worship images;" *ergo*, God commanded images to be made. If he can avouch his images by such warrants, then doubtless God himself was the first inventor of images.

Exod. xx. Deut. xxvii. Psal. xcvii.

But learned and wise men think that the invention hereof came first from the heathens and infidels that knew not God. Thus it is written in the book of Wisdom: *Vanitas hominum invenit artes istas, ad tentationem animæ, et decipulam insipientium:* "The vanity of men first found out this art, to the tentation of the soul and to the deceiving of the unwise." St Cyprian saith: *Ad defunctorum vultus per imaginem detinendos expressa* [*sunt*] *simulacra..... Inde posteris facta*

Wisd. xiv.

Cypr. de Idol. Vanit.

[4 Theeself, 1565.]
[5 Sith, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[6 Instructions, H. A. 1564.]
[7 The scripture, H. A. 1564.]
[8 Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726. Antiq. Jud. Lib. III. cap. vi. 5; Lib. VIII. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. pp. 135, 6, 424.]

The heathens fathers of images.

sunt sacra, quæ primitus fuerant assumpta solatia[1]: "Images were first drawn, thereby to keep the countenance of the dead in remembrance. Upon occasion thereof things grew at length unto holiness, that at the first were taken only for solace." Therefore St Ambrose saith: *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*[2]: "The heathens worship wood as the image of God." And Gregorius the bishop of Neocæsarea: *Gentilitas inventrix et caput est imaginum*[3]: Heathenness was the first deviser and head of images." Likewise Eusebius saith, speaking of the images of Christ, of Peter, and of Paul: *Hoc mihi videtur ex gentili consuetudine observatum; quod ita illi soleant honorare, quos honore dignos duxerint*[4]: "This seemeth to be the observation of the heathenish custom; for with such images they used to honour them whom they thought worthy of honour." Therefore St Augustine, writing against Adimantus, saith thus: *Simulant se favere simulacris; quod propterea faciunt, ut miserrimæ et vesanæ suæ sectæ etiam paganorum concilient benevolentiam*[5]: "They would seem to favour images; which thing they do to the intent to make the heathens to think the better of their most miserable and lewd sect." For of the heathens Lactantius writeth thus: *Verentur, ne... religio vana sit, si nihil... videant, quod adorent*[6]: "They are afraid (as they also are of M. Harding's side) their religion shall be but vain, if they see nothing that they may worship." Therefore Daniel saith that Nabucodonozor the heathen king appointed a solemn dedication-day for his golden image, with all kinds and sorts of minstrelsy. And the prophet Baruch thus openeth and uttereth the religion of Babylon: *Sacerdotes barba capiteque raso et aperto sedent, et coram diis suis rugiunt:* "The priests, being shaven both head and beard, and sitting bare, roar out before their gods." Thus Heliogabalus, Adrianus, and Alexander Severus, being infidels and heathen princes, had in their chapels and closets the images of Abraham, of Moses, of Christ, and of others[7]. Thus the heretics called *Gnostici* and *Carpocratiani*, for that they savoured of the heathens, had and worshipped the images of Christ, of Paul, of Pythagoras, and of Homer[8]. By these few authorities and examples it appeareth that the first erection of images came not from God, but from the heathens that knew not God. And therefore Athanasius saith: "The invention of images came not of good, but of ill[9]." As for the Jews, that had the law and the prophets amongst them, and therefore should best know God's meaning in this behalf, they had no manner image, neither painted nor graven, in their temples, as Dion saith[10]; and, as Origen saith, they could not abide any painter or graver to dwell amongst them[11].

Ambros. in Psal. cxviii. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. xviii. Ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xiii.

Lactant. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

Dan. iii.

Bar. vi.

Lamprid. Jul. Capit.

Epiph. August. ad Quodvultd. Iren. Lib. i. cap. xxiv.

Athanas. ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε.

Dion. Lib. xxxvii.

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.

But M. Harding replieth: God commanded Moses to make the cherubins and the brasen serpent. These examples make little against my assertion. For God commanded not either the cherubins or the serpent to be set up to the intent the people should worship them; which is the whole and only state of this question. The same objection the old idolaters laid sometime against Tertullian. For thus he writeth: *Ait quidam:... Cur ergo Moses in eremo simulacrum serpentis ære fecit*[12]? "Some one or other, that maintaineth idolatry, will say," as M.

Tertull. de Idol.

[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Idol. Vanit. p. 11; where *primitus* for *primis*.]

[2 ... ad errorem gentilium, qui ligna venerantur. —Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. cxviii. Expos. Serm. viii. 23. Tom. I. col. 1064.]

[3 Gregor. Neoc. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. iv. in Concil. Nic. ii. Act. vi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 457.]

[4 ... ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. — Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. cap xviii. p. 216.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xiii. 1. Tom. VIII. col. 126; where *vult ergo videri favere se*.]

[6 Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Instit. Lib. ii. De Orig. Error. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 117; where *religio inanis sit et vana*.]

[7 Æl. Lamprid. in Hist. August. Script. Lat. Min. Hanov. 1611. Alex. Sev. p. 346. See also ibid. pp. 328, 350. Heliogabalus wished to unite all religions into one; and Adrian would have had temples erected to Christ.]

[8 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. i. Hær. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 108.

August. Op. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. 7. Tom. VIII. col. 7.

Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. i. cap. xxv. 6. pp. 104, 5.]

[9 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 7. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 7.]

[10 ... οὐδ' ἄγαλμα οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτοῖς ποτὲ τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον. — Dion. Cass. Hist. Rom. Hanov. 1606. Lib. xxxvii. p. 37.]

[11 ... οὐδεὶς τῶν εἰκόνας ποιούντων ἐπολιτεύετο. οὔτε γὰρ ζωγράφος οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐκβάλλοντος πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ νόμου. — Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. iv. 31. Tom. I. p. 524.]

[12 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Idol. 5. p. 106.]

Harding now saith: "And why then did Moses make the image of the brasen serpent in the wilderness?" Hereby we see that M. Harding is not the first that devised this objection. The old idolaters found out and used the same above fourteen hundred years ago; and M. Harding hath learned it at their hands. But hereto Tertullian maketh this answer: *Bene, quod idem Deus et lege vetuit similitudinem fieri, [et] extraordinario præcepto serpentis similitudinem *interdixit:* "Well and good; one and the same God, both by his general law forbade any image to be made; and also by his extraordinary and special commandment willed an image of a serpent to be made." He addeth further: *Si eundem Deum observas, habes legem ejus: Ne feceris similitudinem. Et si præceptum factæ postea similitudinis respicis, et tu imitare Mosen; ne facias adversus legem simulacrum aliquod, nisi et tibi Deus jusserit*[13]: "If thou be obedient unto the same God, thou hast his law: Make thou no image. But if thou have regard to the image of the serpent, that was made afterward by Moses, then do thou as Moses did: make not any image against the law, unless God command thee, as he did Moses." For God is free, and subject to no law. He commandeth us, and not himself. He giveth this general law: "Thou shalt not kill;" yet he said unto Abraham: "Take thy son Isaac, and kill him." Likewise he saith: "Thou shalt not steal;" and yet the people of Israel, by his commandment, stale away the Egyptians' goods without breach of the law. The same answer may also serve for the images of the cherubins. Howbeit, the cherubins stood not in the temple in the sight and presence of the people, but within the veil in the tabernacle, into which place it was not lawful for any one of the people to cast his eyes: and therefore there was in it no danger of idolatry. But, like as when the brasen serpent was abused by idolatry, the godly king Ezechias took it down and brake it in pieces, notwithstanding God had commanded Moses to set it up; even so, notwithstanding it were sufferable to have images in the church of God, without breach of God's law, yet, when they be abused and made idols, as they are throughout the whole church of Rome, it is the duty of godly magistrates to pull them down, like as also it is ordered by the council of Mens[14].

The brasen serpent. The cherubins.

* He seemeth to use *interdixit* for *edixit.*

Gen. xxii.

Exod. xi.

2 Kings xviii.

Concil. Moguntin. cap. 42.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

It were not much beside our purpose here to rehearse the place of Ezechiel the prophet, where God commanded one that was clothed in linen, and had an inkhorn by his side, to go through the midst of Hierusalem, and to print the sign of Tau, *that is, the sign of the cross (for that letter had the similitude of the cross among the old Hebrew letters, as St Hierome witnesseth), in the foreheads of the men that mourned, and made moan over all the abominations of that city*[15]. *Touching the sign, image, or figure of the cross in the time of the new testament, God seemeth, by his providence and by special warnings in sundry revelations and secret declarations of his will, to have commended the same to men, that they should have it in good regard and remembrance. When Constantine the emperor had prepared himself to war against Maxentius the tyrant, casting in his mind the great dangers that might thereof ensue, and calling to God for help, as he looked up, [he] beheld (as it were in a vision) the sign of the cross appearing unto him in heaven as bright as fire; and as he was astonied with that strange sight, he heard a voice speaking thus unto him: "Constantine, in this overcome*[16]*."*

Ezek. ix.

In Commentar. in Ezechielem.

The sign of the cross commended to men by God's providence.

Eusebius, Ecclesiast. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.

After that Julian the emperor had forsaken the profession of christian religion, and had done sacrifice at the temples of painims, moving his subjects to do the like; as he marched forward with his army on a day, the drops of rain that fell

[13] Id. ibid. p. 107; where *qui lege, indixit,* and *si et præceptum.*]

[14] Synod. Prov. Mogunt. cap. 42. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 938.]

[15] ...antiquis Hebræorum litteris, quibus usque hodie utuntur Samaritani, extrema Thav littera crucis habet similitudinem.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Ezech. Proph. cap. ix. Tom. III. col. 754.]

[16] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. IX. cap. ix. fol. 101. See also Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. xxviii. pp. 346, 7.]

down out of the air in a shower formed and made tokens and signs of the cross, both in his and also in the soldiers' garments[1]. *Sozomen. Tripart. Hist. Lib. v. cap. l.*

Rufinus, having declared the strange and horrible plagues of God, whereby the Jews were frayed, and letted from their vain attempt of building up again the temple at Hierusalem, leave thereto of the emperor Julian in despite of the Christians obtained, in the end saith that, lest those earthquakes and terrible fires, which he speaketh of, raised by God, whereby as well the workhouses and preparations toward the building, as also great multitudes of the Jews, were thrown down, cast abroad, and destroyed, should be thought to happen by chance; the night following these plagues, the sign of the cross appeared in every one of their garments so evidently, as none, to cloke their infidelity, was able by any kind of thing to scour it out and put it away[2]. *Eccles. Hist. Lib. x. in fine.* *When the temples of the painims were destroyed by Christians*[3] *in Alexandria, about the year of our Lord* 390, *in the chief temple of all, which was of the idol Serapis, the holy and mystical letters, called* ἱερογλυφικὰ, *by God's providence were found graven in stones, representing the figure of the cross, the signification whereof after their interpretation was, "Life to come." Which thing espied by the Christians, and by the painims present at the spoil, served marvellously to the*[4] *furtherance of the christian faith, no less than the inscription of the altar at Athens,* Ignoto Deo, *"Unto the unknown God," served to the same purpose through St Paul's preaching. Which altogether was before wrought by God's holy providence, as Socrates, one of the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, reporteth*[5]. *Hist. Tripart. Lib. ix. cap. xxix.* γράμματα ἱερογλυφικά. *Acts xvii.*

Thus it appeareth plainly, how God's providence hath commended unto true believers the sign of the cross. For which cause, and for remembrance of our redemption, it hath been in old time and always sithence much frequented and honoured. For beside that we read hereof in Tertullian, who was near the apostles' time, in Apologetico[6], *we find in the writers of the ecclesiastical stories, that the christian people of Alexandria, after they had pulled down and taken away the arms and monuments of Serapis the idol, every man caused the sign of our Lord's cross in place of them to be painted and set up in their posts, entries, windows, walls, and pillars; that, wheresoever the eye was turned, it should light on the holy sign of the cross*[7]. *Cap. xvi.* *Eccles. Hist. Lib. xi. cap. xxix. auctore Rufino.* *Constantine the emperor loved and honoured this sign so much, that he caused the same to be painted in all his flags and banners of war, to be strucken*[8] *in his coins and monies, to be pourtraited in his arms, scutcheons, and targets*[9]. *Of this Aurelius Prudentius maketh mention:* *Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. ix.*

> Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro
> Signabat labarum: clypeorum insignia Christus
> Scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis[10].

Lib. i. contra Symmachum.

The sense whereof is thus[11] *much in English: "The chief banner, which was of purple, had the image of Christ in it wrought in gold and stones; the targets were painted all over with Christ; the cross shined fire-bright in the crests of their helmets." That the banner commonly borne before the emperor in war, in Latin called* labarum[12], *was of this sort, it appeareth by an epistle that St Ambrose wrote to Theodosius the emperor*[14]. *Neither was the figure of the cross then only in flags and banners painted, woven, embroidered,* *Vide Hist. Tripart.*[13] *Lib. i. cap. v. Lib. v. Epist. 29.*

---

[1] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. v. cap. l. fol. K. viii. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 480.]

[2] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. capp. xxxviii. xxxix. fol. 119.]

[3] The Christians, H. A. 1564.]

[4] 1565, and H. A. 1564, omit *the*.]

[5] Hist. Tripart. Lib. ix. cap. xxix. foll. S. viii. T. See also Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. xvii. pp. 226, 7.]

[6] ...qui crucis nos religiosos putat, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apol. 16. p. 17.]

[7] Hist. Eccles. Lib. xi. cap. xxix. fol. 130.]

[8] Stroken, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[9] Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. ix. foll. A. viii. B. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 336.]

[10] Aur. Prud. Op. Hanov. 1613. Contr. Symm. Lib. i. vv. 488-90. p. 275.]

[11] This, H. A. 1564.]

[12] Hist. Tripart. Lib. i. cap. v. fol. A. vi. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. iv. pp. 330, 1.]

[13] This reference does not appear H. A. 1564; but is given in all the subsequent editions.]

[14] ... labarum, hoc est, Christi sacratum nomine. —Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Theodos. Epist. xl. 9. Tom. II. col. 949.]

or otherwise wrought, in gold or precious stones; but also made in whole gold, and set upon a long staff or pole, and borne before men, (202) *(as the manner is now in processions), as it seemeth plainly by these verses of Prudentius:* The Cross.

Agnoscas, regina, lubens mea signa necesse est;
In quibus effigies crucis aut gemmata refulget,
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis[15].

The two hundred and second untruth. For Prudentius speaketh not of procession in the church, but of marching in the fields.

"It behoveth[16] you, madam, that gladly you acknowledge mine ensigns, in which the figure of the cross is either glittering in stones, or of whole gold is borne on long staves before us." Thus[17] much have I gathered out of the ancient fathers' writings concerning the sign of our Lord's cross, the sight whereof the professors of this new gospel cannot abide, to the intent the diversity of our time and of old time may appear, to the manners of which, for a perfect[18] reformation, these preachers would seem to bring the world again.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The sign of the cross, I grant, among the Christians was had in great regard; and that the more, both for the public reproach and shame that by the common judgment of all the world was conceived against it, and also for that most worthy price of our redemption that was offered upon it. It is written: "Accursed be all they that are hanged upon the tree." And Chrysostom saith, the infidels used commonly to upbraid the Christians with these words: *Tu adoras crucifixum*[19]*?* "Wilt thou worship a man that was hanged upon a cross?" They thought great villany in that kind of death; for it was most odious and shameful of all others; and also they thought it great folly to think well of it. Therefore St Paul saith: *Verbum crucis pereuntibus stultitia est:* "The word of the cross unto them that perish is but a folly." Again: *Prædicamus Christum crucifixum, Judæis quidem scandalum, gentibus autem stultitiam:* "We preach Christ crucified, a great offence unto the Jews, and unto the heathens a great folly." Likewise St Augustine calleth the cross *ipsam ignominiam, ... quam pagani derident*[20]: "that very shame that the heathens laugh to scorn." Likewise also Chrysostom: *Mors Christi apud Judæos maledicta, apud gentiles abominanda*[21]: "The death of Christ among the Jews is holden accursed, among the heathens it is holden abominable."

Gal. iii. Deut. xxi. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 2. 1 Cor. i. Ibid. August. in Psal. cxli. Chrysost. de Laud. Paul. Hom. 4.

Therefore the faithful that believed in Christ, in all their talks, and in their whole life and conversation, used so much the more to extol and magnify the same, in reproach of the enemies of the cross of Christ, both Jews and gentiles. For that cause St Paul saith: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation;" and, "God forbid that I should rejoice in any thing, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ;" and, "I reckon myself[22] to know nothing, but only Jesus Christ, and the same Christ crucified upon the cross." Thus St Paul triumphed of that thing that in the world was so deeply despised: as if he would have said, This is that infirmity that hath conquered the world; this is that villany and reproach that hath led captivity away captive, that hath spoiled the principalities and powers of darkness. Thus, as Theodoret recordeth, the Christians every where in their common resorts, and in the open market-places, published and proclaimed the victory and triumph of the cross[23]; which, as Chrysostom saith, "they were not ashamed to set, as a posy, to any thing that they did, and to any thing that they possessed[24]." Likewise God, that the world might the more deeply think of the death of Christ, wrought oftentimes strange miracles by the same, as he did by Paul's napkins, by Elizeus' bones, and by

Rom. i. Gal. vi. 1 Cor. ii. Eph. iv. Col. ii. Theodor. Lib iii. cap. xxvii. Chrysost. in Hom. Quod Christus est Deus. Acts xix. 2 Kings xiii.

[15] Aur. Prud. Op. Contr. Symm. Lib. I. vv. 465-7. p. 274; where *libens* and *astis*.]

[16] Hoveth, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[17] This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[18] Perfite, H. A. 1564.]

[19] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. ii. Tom. IX. p. 444.]

[20] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxli. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1583.]

[21] Chrysost. Op. De Laud. Paul. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 494.]

[22] Meself, 1565.]

[23] Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxviii. pp. 147, 8.]

[24] Οὕτως οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἔστι φευκτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεινὸς καὶ ἐπέραστος καὶ περισπούδαστος ἅπασι, καὶ παντα χοῦ διαλάμπων καὶ διεσπαρμένος ἐν τοίχοις οἴκων, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Op. Contr. Jud. et Gent. Quod Christus sit Deus, Tom. I. p. 571. Conf. ibid. p. 569, &c.]

The Cross.

Peter's shadow. Then the first christened emperor Constantinus, seeing that thing became so glorious that before had been so slanderous, to increase the estimation thereof, commanded straitly by a law, that from thenceforth no offender should suffer upon a cross[1]. These things had in remembrance, we grant all that M. Harding hath here alleged: the vision of Ezechiel, and the marking of the men's foreheads with the Hebrew letter *Tau;* the sight of a cross offered unto Constantinus in the air[2]; the staining of crosses in the soldiers' coats in the time of the renegade emperor Julian[3]; the printing or burning of the crosses in the apparel of the Jews at Hierusalem[4]; the finding of the holy hieroglyphical letter bearing the form of the cross in the temple of Serapis in Egypt[5]; and, to conclude, we grant that the people, being newly brought to the knowledge of the gospel, after they had pulled down the scutcheons of the idol Serapis, and other like monuments of idolatry, in the place thereof straightway set up the cross of Christ in token of conquest, in their entries, in their walls, in their windows, in their posts, in their pillars[6], briefly, in their flags, banners, arms, scutcheons, targets, and coins[7]. All these things, I say, we yield unto M. Harding without exception. Even so christian princes this day use the same cross in their arms and banners, both in peace and in war, of divers forms and sundry colours, as in token they fight under the banner of Christ. *Labarum* among the old Romans was the imperial standard of arms, richly wrought in gold and beset with stone, carried only before the general of the field, and therefore reverenced of the soldiers above all other[8]. Sozomenus, as a Greek writer, and therefore not able to guess rightly of the Latin tongue, seemeth to call it *laborum;* for thus he writeth: *θάτερον ... τῶν σκήπτρων, ὃ Λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι*[9]: "The one of the standards which the Romans call *laborum:*" unless there be an error in the Greek. Notwithstanding, it may be thought the emperor Severus had some respect unto the same, when he gave this watchword unto his soldiers: *Laboremus*[10]: "Let us labour." Likewise St Gregory writeth: *Christum belli socium habuisti, cujus labarum insigne gestasti, ipsam dico vivificatricem crucem*[11]. This standard the christian emperor Constantinus so blazed with the cross, as others before him had done with *minotaurus* or with *aquila.* And, notwithstanding Eusebius say, "Constantinus used this cross as a preservation of his safety[12];" yet doubtless his affiance was only in Christ, and not in the material cross. For Nicephorus saith, Constantius[13] caused these words to be graven in the cross: Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ: *Jesus Christus vincit*[14]: "Jesus Christ conquereth," and not the cross. Otherwise St Ambrose writeth thus: "Helena the empress, by whose means the cross was found out," *Invenit ... titulum: regem adoravit, non lignum utique; quia hic gentilis est error, et vanitas impiorum*[15]: "She found out the title; but she worshipped Christ the King, and not the wood; for that is an heathenish error, and the vanity of the wicked."

Last of all, whereas M. Harding saith, the professors of this new gospel cannot abide the sign of our Lord's cross; let him understand, it is not the cross of Christ, nor the sign thereof, that we find fault withal, but the superstitious

Acts v. Cassiod. Lib. i. cap. ix. Ezek. ix.

Euseb. Lib. ix. cap. ix. Sozom. Lib. v. cap. i. Rufin. Lib. ii. Socrat. Lib. v. cap. xvii. Sozom. Lib. vii. cap. xv.

Rufin. Lib. ii. cap. xxix. Cassiod. Lib. i. cap. ix.

Tertull. in Apolog.

Sozom. Lib. ix. cap. iv.

Æl. Spart.

Gregor. ad German. Patr. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. 6.

Euseb. in Vit. Constant. Orat. 1. τούτῳ ... ἀμυντηρίῳ διὰ παντὸς ἐχρῆτο. Niceph. Lib. viii. cap. xxxii.

Ambros. in Orat. Funeb. Theod.

[1 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. I. cap. ix. fol. A. viii. 2. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. viii. p. 336.]

[2 Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. IX. cap. ix. fol. 101. See before, page 647, note 16.]

[3 Hist. Tripart. Lib. V. cap. I. fol. K. viii. 2. See before, page 648, note 1.]

[4 Hist. Eccles. Lib. X. capp. xxxviii, xxxix. fol. 119.]

[5 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. V. cap. xvii. pp. 226, 7. See also Sozom. in eod. Lib. VII. cap. xv. p. 588.]

[6 Hist. Eccles. Lib. XI. cap. xxix. fol. 130.]

[7 Hist. Tripart. Lib. I. cap. ix. foll. A. viii. 2. B. See before, page 648, note 9.]

[8 Diximus originem deorum vestrorum a plastis de cruce induci. sed et victorias adoratis, cum in tropæis cruces intestina sint tropæorum. religio tota castrensis signa veneratur, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apol. 16. p. 17. See also before, page 648, note 6.]

[9 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IX. cap. iv. p. 651.]

[10 Æl. Spart. in Hist. August. Script. Hanov. 1611. Sever. p. 302.]

[11 ...ἡγεῖσθαι προστάξας ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ ἔνδοξον ὄντως καὶ ἐπίσημον λάβαρον, τὸν ζωοποιὸν λέγω σταυρόν.—Gregor. ad German. Epist. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 284. See also in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 526.]

[12 Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. p. 347.]

[13 Constantinus, 1565, 1609.]

[14 Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. VIII. cap. xxxii. Tom. I. p. 601.]

[15 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Ob. Theodos. Orat. 46. Tom. II. col. 1211.]

abuse of the cross. God be thanked, it hath well appeared unto the world that they, whom M. Harding thus condemneth, have been able not only to abide the sign of Christ's cross, but also to take up their crosses and to follow Christ, and to rejoice and triumph in the same.

Neither is there any such great matter yet shewed, wherefore these men should glory of the antiquity of their cause. For, notwithstanding all this long discourse and great ado, yet is it not hitherto any way proved, either that this cross was an image, or that it was set up in any church, or that it was adored of the people. Certainly the letter that Ezechiel saw in a vision; the cross that Constantinus saw in the air; the marks that were either stained with water, or burnt with fire, in the labourers' garments; the secret mystical letters in the temple of Serapis; the cognizances of the cross painted or graven in flags, banners, targets, and coins, were only bars laid across, and no images. Again, the same crosses were abroad in other places, in the air, in the field, in the labourers' coats, in private houses, and in men's purses; and not set up in any temple, as it is plain by that is already spoken. To be short, it appeareth not by any of these allegations, that any man was then taught to kneel down unto these crosses, or to say, *Ave, crux, spes unica*, "All hail, O cross, our only hope," or to yield them any godly honour. Which thing M. Harding not having proved, notwithstanding his long discourse of words, hath proved nothing.

And, whereas he would force Prudentius to say, the cross was then carried about in procession upon a pole, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, he openly misuseth that godly father, and doth him wrong. For it is plain that Prudentius in that place speaketh not one word, neither of church, nor of priest, nor of clerk, nor of any going in procession. Only he speaketh of the soldiers marching in the field, and following the cross as their standard. So Eusebius writeth of the emperor Constantinus: "He commanded the sign of the cross to be carried before all his armies[16]." And the next verse that followeth in Prudentius is this: *Hoc signo invictus transmissis Alpibus ultor*[17], &c. Where he describeth the dangerous war that Constantinus had against Maxentius. Seeing therefore none of all these crosses that M. Harding hath here found out either had any image hanging on it, or was erected in any church, or adored of the people, how can all these words stand him in stead to serve his purpose?

Euseb. de Vit. Constant. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Orat. 1. τῶν δὲ στρατοπέδων ἁπάντων ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτον ὁμοιώματα προστέτακτο.

Prud. contr. Symm. Lib. i.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Images from the apostles' time.

Concerning the images of Christ and of his saints, that they have been greatly esteemed and used in houses, churches, and places of prayer from the apostles' time forward, it is so evident that it cannot be denied. Athanasius writeth that Nicodeme, who came to Jesus by night, made an image of Christ with his own hands, and that when he lay in his death-bed he delivered it to Gamaliel, who was St Paul's school-master. Gamaliel, when he saw he should die, left it to James: James left it to Simon and Zachæus. This image came from hand to hand by succession, and continued a long time in Hierusalem.. From Hierusalem it was carried into Syria, and at length it was brought to the city Berytus, not far from Tyre and Sidon: where how despitefully it was used of the Jews, and what wonders ensued thereupon, who list to know, he may[18] *read it largely declared in a little book written by Athanasius of that matter*[19].

The genealogy and peregrination of a fable. It is a fabulous tale, never written by Athanasius.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The reader of himself, if he be not over simple, may soon espy the simplicity of this fable. A christian man removeth his household, and, having there an image of Christ, equal unto him in length, and breadth, and all proportion, by forgetfulness leaveth it there in a secret place behind him. A Jew after him inhabiteth the same house a long while, and seeth it not; another strange Jew, sitting

[16] Euseb. De Vit. Constant. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xxxi. p. 347.]

[17] Aur. Prud. Op. Han. 1613. Contr. Symm. Lib. i. v. 468. p. 274.]

[18] May he, H. A. 1564.]

[19] Athanas. Serm. in Concil. Nic. ii. Act. iv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. cols. 217, &c. See also, for a fuller account of this story, the Latin edition of this council, ibid. cols. 743, &c., and in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 509, &c.]

there at dinner, immediately espieth it standing open against a wall. All this M. Harding's Athanasius. Thus it standeth open, and yet it is hidden; it is hidden, and yet it standeth open. Afterward the priests and rulers of the Jews come together, and abuse it with all villany. They crown it with a thorn, make it drink esel[1] and gall, and stick it to the heart with a spear. Out issueth blood in great quantity; the powers of heaven are shaken; the sun is darkened; the moon loseth her light. And from thence, saith this young Athanasius, we had the blood of Hales, and all other like blood throughout the world. To be short, the first word of the book is *itaque*. M. Harding himself is ashamed to report the tale. Yet must it bear the name of Athanasius; and, being never so childish a fable, yet it must have the fore-ward to prove adoration of images. Only he telleth us a long genealogy of the names of Nicodemus, Gamaliel, James, Simon, and Zachæus, to astonne the reader, and to make him think the better of it. Howbeit, all this notwithstanding, this image was neither churched, nor adored, or worshipped, either of priest or people.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

Eusebius Cæsariensis, in the seventh book of his ecclesiastical story, Cap. xiv. *writeth of the ancient image of Christ made in brass, and of the woman that was healed by our Saviour of her bloody flux in the city of Phœnicia, called Cæsarea Philippi, whereof that woman was a citizen: which image he saith he saw, as likewise the images of Peter and Paul, kept by some of old time*[2]. *And there he confesseth that the images of Peter and Paul and of our Saviour were in his time made and painted in tables, and set forth. After Eusebius' death, Julian the renegade took down this image of Christ, and set up his own in the same place; which with violent fire that fell from heaven was cleft asunder in the breast, the head broken off with a piece of the neck, and sticked in the ground: the rest of it so remained long after, as a token of lightning and God's displeasure might be reserved. That image of Christ, after that the painims had haled, pulled, broken, and mangled it villanously, by the Christians was taken up, set together, and placed in the church, where it is yet reserved*[3], *saith Socrates of his time. Of the miraculous herb that grew at the foot of this image, which after that it had grown so high that*[4] *it touched the image's skirts, taken and ministered, was a medicine and present remedy for all diseases, as Eusebius writeth; because it pertaineth not specially to the matter of images, I rehearse nothing.*

Lib. vi. Tripart. cap. xli.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Eusebius himself sheweth that the Phœnicians, being heathens, and hearing and seeing the strange miracles that had been wrought by Christ and by his apostles, made these images in the honour of them, only of their heathenish and vain superstition. His words be these: *Nec mirum est veteres ethnicos, beneficio affectos a Servatore nostro, ista fecisse. Nam et apostolorum Pauli et Petri, et ipsius Christi imagines coloribus ductas et servatas vidimus. Et credibile est priscos illos homines, nondum relicta avita superstitione, ad hunc modum consuevisse colere illos ethnica consuetudine, tanquam servatores*[5]: "It is no marvel that the heathens, receiving such benefits of our Saviour, did these things. For we have seen the images of Paul, of Peter, and of Christ, drawn in colours and preserved. And it may well be thought that men in old times, being not yet removed from the superstition of their fathers, used after this sort to worship them by an heathenish custom as their saviours." By these words of Eusebius it is plain that the use of images came not from Christ, or from the apostles, as M. Harding saith, but from the superstitious custom of the heathens. Neither doth it appear that those images were set up in any church. As for the image of Christ, it is plain it stood in the street abroad, and an herb of strange operation grew underneath it.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. xvii. ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαρχάλακτως οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. vii.

[1] Esel: vinegar.]

[2] Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. VII. cap. xiv. foll. 77, 8. See also below, note 5.]

[3] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. VI. cap xli. foll. M. 8. N. See also Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xxi. p. 511.]

[4] As, H. A. 1564, at, H. A. 1565.]

[5] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VII. cap. xviii. p. 216; where ἀπαραφυλάκτως.]

Julianus, that renegade that once had professed Christ and afterwards wilfully renounced him, took down that image of Christ, not to withdraw the people from idolatry, but in malice and despite of that new religion, and erected up his own image, to the intent the people should worship it, purposely to deface Christ; even as they do now, that wilfully break God's commandments, to uphold and maintain their own traditions. Of whom St Basil writeth thus: "Whoso forbiddeth us to do that God commandeth, or commandeth us to do that God forbiddeth, is accursed unto all them that love the Lord[6]." Therefore God struck Julian's image from heaven with lightning, and rent it in pieces, in token of his revengeance. Like as also, when another Julian, president of the east, had spoiled the churches of Antioch, and, in like despite of Christ, sat upon the holy communion-cups, God smote him suddenly in the secret parts with such a disease as never afterward could be cured[7].

Matt. xv.

Basil. Moral. cap. xiv.

Sozom. Lib. v. cap. vii.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

It is evident by Chrysostom's mass, that there was some use of images in the church of Constantinople in his time; for he speaketh of the image of the crucifix[8]. *Whosoever is desirous to see testimonies of the fathers for proof of images, let him read the seventh general council holden in Nicea, the city of Bithynia, against image-breakers, and there he shall find no small number.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In the communion-book that beareth the name of Chrysostom there is mention made of Nicolas, bishop of Rome, who, as I have shewed before[9], lived well near five hundred years after Chrysostom, and was in order the second bishop there after dame Joan, the woman pope. Such is the credit and antiquity of M. Harding's witnesses. This second council of Nice was holden well near eight hundred years after Christ. To open the whole folly and fondness thereof, it would require a long treaty. Irene, the empress, a wicked woman, the king's daughter of Tartary, an heathen born, caused that council to be summoned in despite of the council of Constantinople, that had decreed against images. She took her own son Constantinus, and pulled out his eyes, only because he would not consent to the idolatrous having of images[10]. The bishops and doctors in that council manifestly corrupted the scriptures, and falsified the holy fathers without shame. They said: *Imago melior est quam oratio*[11]: "An image is better than a prayer;" and again: "Whosoever will not adore the godly images, accursed be he[12]."

Anno 855.

Abbas Ursperg. Carion.

Nic. Concil. II. Act. 4.

Nic. Concil. II. Act. 2.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

I will not let here to recite some, which, so far as I remember, be not found there, one only excepted, which is of St Basil, every one[13] *of right good and ancient authority.*

Simeon Metaphrastes, a Greek writer, describing the life of St Luke the evangelist,

A vain fabular. He lived about the year 1350.

[6 ... qui prohibet nos facere quod a Domino præceptum est, vel rursum imperat quod Dominus fieri prohibuit; execrabilis debet esse qui ejusmodi est, omnibus qui diligunt Deum.—Basil. Op. Lat. Basil. 1520. De Inst. Monach. Reg. cap. xiv. fol. 165.]

[7 Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. v. cap. viii. pp. 491, 2.]

[8 ... conversus ad Christi imaginem inter duo ostia inflexo capite, &c.—Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Miss. Tom. V. col. 1370. The Greek text varies: ... ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ποιοῦσι προσκυνήματα τρία.—Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 82.]

[9 See before, page 114.]

[10 Cujus [Hirenes] filius Constantinus ob insolentiam morum a suis captus, excæcatus est: vel, ut quidam verius fatentur, ipsius matris suæ consiljo hoc factum est, ipsaque regnum sola tenere contendit.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Anni Constant. p. 188.

Carion. Chronic. Libell. Par. 1543. fol. 86. But the account given here is still less precise.]

[11 ...μείζων ἡ εἰκὼν τοῦ λόγου.—Joan. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 212. See also in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. pp. 507, 8.]

[12 ...ἀποδέχομαί τε καὶ ἀσπάζομαι τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ σεπτὰς εἰκόνας, καὶ τοὺς μὴ οὕτω φρονοῦντας τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπω. This was the sentence of one of the bishops, and the others generally expressed themselves in similar language.—Ibid. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. cols. 129, &c.; Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 486, &c. See also Act. I. cols. 57, 61. Act. V. col. 389.]

[13 *Every one* precedes *one only excepted*. H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565, which Jewel appears generally to have followed, has as in the text.]

saith, that he made the images of Christ and of his mother Mary[1]. *St Ambrose witnesseth, that in his time the images of the apostles were used in pictures: for where he declareth the marvellous appearing of the holy martyrs, Gervasius and Protasius, unto him in a vision, he saith that a third person appeared with them, that told him where their bodies lay, which seemed like to St Paul the apostle, as he understood his face by view of his picture*[2]. In Vita Gervasii et Protasii.

Gregory Nyssene, St Basil's brother, writing the life of Theodorus the martyr, bestoweth much eloquence in the praise of the church where his holy reliques were kept, commending the shape of living things wrought by the carver, the smoothness of marble polished like silver by the mason, the lively resemblance of the martyr himself, and of all his worthy acts, expressed and excellently set forth to the eye in imagery with the image of Christ by the painter[3]. *In which images he acknowledgeth the sights*[4] *of the martyr to be declared no less than if they were described and written in a book.*

Paulinus, the bishop of Nola, in his book that he made in verses of the life of Felix the martyr, praiseth the church which the martyr's body was laid in, for the garnishing of it with painted images in both side[5], *of both kinds, both*[6] *men and women, the one kind on the one side, and the other kind on the other side*[7]. *Where he speaketh expressly by name of the images of scabbed Job and blind Toby, of fair Judith and great queen Hester; for so he nameth them*[8]. In decimo Natali.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Col. iv. Lucas Medicus. St Paul saith, "Luke the physician," and not Luke the painter. He painted the blessed virgin with the colours of his speech, wherein he was counted more eloquent than any of the rest; but otherwise to paint her he had no leisure.

Theodor. Lib. i. Howbeit, Theodorus Anagnostes saith, "Eudoxia sent the same image from Hierusalem to the empress Pulcheria[9];" upon what credit, it is not known. But this Simeon Metaphrastes, whom M. Harding here painteth out in his colours,

Volaterranus. and calleth him a Greek writer, was a poor school-master in Constantinople, and wrote saints' lives, which may well be called the legends of lies, and lived two hundred years ago, and not above. Of so right good ancient authority be M. Harding's witnesses.

Touching that is here alleged of St Ambrose, of Gregorius Nyssenus, and of Paulinus, I grant, as there were painters and gravers at that time, so were there also pictures and images at the same time, and that not only in private houses and market-places, but also in the congregations and open churches.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. xvii. Eusebius saith that the use thereof was brought first into the church by the heathens[10]; and St Hierome saith, speaking of the curiosity of the heathens in

Hieron. in Hierem. Lib. ii. cap x. this behalf: *Argento et auro decoravit illud, ut fulgore utriusque materiæ decipiat simplices. Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit, ut religionem in divitiis arbitremur*[11]: "He adorneth his image with silver and gold, that by the shine and glittering of both these metals he may deceive the simple. Which error doubtless is now cropen in among[12] us," that be Christians, "so that now we think

---

[1 ... αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ προσλήμματος τοῦ ἐμοῦ Χριστοῦ τύπον, τόν τε τῆς αὐτὸν τεκούσης...χαρακτῆρα, πρῶτος οὗτος κηρῷ καὶ χρώμασι βάψας, ἐν εἰκόνι τιμᾶσθαι μεχρὶ καὶ νῦν παραδέδωκεν.— Sym. Metaphr. Vit. Sanct. Evang. Johan. et Luc. Oxon. 1597. p. 80. The date of this writer is variously given; some placing him much earlier than the time here assigned. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740—3. Vol. II. p. 88.]

[2 ... cum quadam mihi tertia apparuere persona, quæ similis erat beato Paulo apostolo, cujus me vultum pictura docuerat, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ex Num. Epist. Segreg. ii. 4. Tom. II. Append. col. 484. This piece is spurious.]

[3 Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. Orat. de S. Theodor. Mart. Tom. III. p. 579.]

[4 Fights, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[5 Sides, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[6 H. A. 1564, omits *both*.]

[7 Sides, 1611.]

[8 Unam sanctorum complent sacra gesta virorum,
Jobus vulneribus tentatus, lumine Tobit.
Ast aliam sexus minor obtinet, inclyta Judith,
Qua simul et regina potens depingitur Esther.
—Paulin. Op. Antv. 1622. S. Fel. Natal. Dec. xxv. pp. 617, 8.]

[9 Καὶ ὅτι ἡ Εὐδοκία τῇ Πουλχερίᾳ τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς θεομήτορος, ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Λουκᾶς καθιστόρησεν, ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπέστειλεν.—Theodor. Lect. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. p. 551.]

[10 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VII. cap. xviii. p. 216. See before, page 652.]

[11 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. II. in Jerem. Proph. cap. x. Tom. III. col. 577.]

[12 Amongst, 1565.]

our religion standeth in riches." St Hierome would not have complained hereof, if it had not been used in some places in his time. Neither could Epiphanius, the godly bishop of Cyprus, have rent in sunder the picture of Christ painted in a cloth, or call it a superstition unfit for the church of God[13]; nor could Serenus, the worthy bishop of Massilia, have broken in pieces images wrought in timber and stone[14]; unless such pictures and images had then been used. We deny not but images were then in use; but we deny they were then worshipped of the people, or set up to the intent they should be worshipped.

The Image of Christ.

Epiph. ad Johan. Hieros. Gregor. Lib. ix. Epist. 9.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Athanasius hath one notable place for having the image of our Saviour Christ, which is not common, where he maketh Christ and the church to talk together as it were in a dialogue, In Sermone de Sanctis Patribus et Prophetis. *The Greek may thus be translated:* Age (inquit) dic mihi, cur oppugnaris? Oppugnor (inquit ecclesia) propter doctrinam evangelii, quam diligenter et accurate teneo, et propter verum et firmum pascha quod agito, et propter religiosam et puram imaginem tuam, quam mihi apostoli reliquerunt, ut haberem depictam arram humanitatis tuæ, in qua mysterium redemptionis operatus es. Hic Christus, Si propter hoc (inquit) te oppugnant, ne graviter feras, neve animum despondeas, cum scias, si quis pascha neget, aut imaginem, me eum negaturum coram Patre meo, et electis angelis; rursus vero, qui compatitur mecum propter pascha, conglorificaturum. An non audisti, quid Moysi præceperim? Facies, inquam, mihi duos cherubinos in tabernaculo testimonii, scilicet, ad præfigurandam meam imaginem, &c.[15]

The English of this Latin, or rather of the Greek, is this: "Come on (quoth[16] *Christ to the church), tell me wherefore art thou thus invaded and vexed? declare me the matter. Forsooth, Lord (quoth*[16] *the church), I am invaded and vexed for the exact observing of the gospel, and for the keeping of the feast of the true and firm Easter, and for thy reverend and pure image, which thy holy apostles have left to me by tradition, to have and keep for a representation of thine incarnation. Then (quoth*[16] *our Lord), if this be the matter for which thou art invaded and set against, be not dismayed, be of good comfort in heart and mind, being assured hereof, that whoso denieth Easter, or my clean image, I shall deny him before my heavenly Father and his chosen angels. And he that suffereth persecution with me for keeping of Easter, the same shall also be glorified with me. Hast not thou heard what I commanded Moses the lawgiver to do? Make me (said I) two cherubins in the tabernacle of the testimony, to be a prefiguration or foretokening of my image,"* &c.

ἄχραντον.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I trow, this good old monument of antiquity hath lain long in the dust at Verona, with M. Harding's Amphilochius. The church piteously bemoaneth herself unto Christ, that she is sore persecuted and vexed for his image. Christ, to comfort her withal, saith: "Whoso denieth mine image shall be denied before my Father." In the end he confirmeth the use of such images by the example of the cherubins.

Here M. Harding, to increase some credit to his new doctor, should have shewed us when the church was thus vexed for having the image of Christ, and who vexed her, and what kind of vexation it was, and how long it continued, and in what country, and when it ceased. The church is built upon a mount: her persecutions cannot be hidden. If she ever were thus vexed for having of images, (I mean before the time of Athanasius,) it must needs appear: if never, then was she a very wanton thus to complain without cause.

[13 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317.]

[14 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. IX. Indict. II. Ad Seren. Massil. Episc. Epist. cv. Tom. II. col. 1006; Lib. XI. Indict. IV. Epist. xiii. col. 1100.]

[15 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hom. in SS. Patr. et Proph. 8. Tom. II. pp. 453, 4. The Benedictine editors acknowledge this homily to be "ineptissimi hominis fœtus."]

[16 Quod, 1565.]

The Image of Christ.

If these threats be true, that whoso denieth the graven or painted image of Christ shall be denied before God the Father; then must Epiphanius the bishop of Cyprus, and Serenus the bishop of Massilia, both godly and zealous bishops, and a great number of other godly-learned fathers, that rent, and brake down, and defaced Christ's images, be utterly denied before God. To be short, to say that God commanded Moses to make the golden cherubins purposely to be figures of these images of wood or stone, it is a very fabulous and a childish fantasy, without any ground; howbeit, good enough to maintain and colour a childish doctrine.

Notwithstanding, if there be any weight either in this hidden Athanasius or in his sayings, then may we well conjecture that he useth this word "image" in this place, not for any such material form, painted or graven by man's hand, but for the whole conversation of the Son of God in this mortal life, which is as much as, *Verbum caro factum est*, "The Word became flesh;" and is expressed and set forth as an image before our eyes in the whole doctrine and policy of the church, as the deepest ground and very foundation of the christian faith. And thus St Paul saith: *Christus est imago Patris:* "Christ is the image of the Father." Otherwise God is invisible. St John saith: "No man ever saw God; but the Son, that is in the Father's bosom, he hath revealed the Father's will." In his conversation in the flesh, as in an image, we behold God the Father. So in the book of the Apocalypse *imago bestiæ*, "the image of the beast," is called, not any material image painted or graven, but the doctrine, the seduction, the errors, the lies, the blasphemies, the idolatry, and the whole conversation of antichrist. So St Basil saith: "Christ called his flesh and blood the whole mystical doctrine of his gospel, which he published in his dispensation in the flesh[1]." So St Augustine seemeth to say: *Ejus passionis imaginem in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*[2]: "He gave the image of his passion to be frequented in the church." And Pachymeres, the Greek paraphrast, expoundeth this word *imago* thus: Ἀγάλματα δὲ φησὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν μυστικῶν[3]: "He calleth pictures the images or inward and deep considerations of our mysteries." For this image of Christ the church of God was often persecuted. This image, as some of the old fathers say, was represented and figured by the cherubins: and undoubtedly, whosoever denieth this image, Christ shall deny him before God his Father. This exposition is agreeable both to the tenor of God's word, and also to the story of the time; and therefore we may safely judge, if this were Athanasius indeed, that this was his very meaning. Otherwise the common and known Athanasius, that is extant and abroad, writeth thus: Ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπ' ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν ἐν οὐδενί ποτε καλὸν κριθείη, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον[4]: "The invention of images is of evil[5], and not of good. And the thing that hath an ill beginning can never be judged good in any thing, as being in all respects and altogether ill." This is this holy father's most clear judgment, not cast up in corners and hidden in the dust, but open to the eyes and sight of all the world.

2 Cor. iv.
John i.
Rev. xiii.
Basil. Epist. ad Cæsar. σάρκα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὠνόμασε.
August. lxxx. Quæst. Quæst. 61.
Pachym. in tert. caput Eccles. Hierarch.
Athanas. adv. Gentes.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Of all the fathers none hath a plainer testimony, both for the use and also for the worshipping of images, than St Basil, whose authority for learning, wisdom, and holiness of life, beside antiquity, is so weighty in the judgment of all men, that all our new masters, laid in balance against him, shall be found lighter than any feather. Touching this matter, making a confession of his faith in an

---

[1 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cæsar. Epist. viii. 4. Tom. III. p. 84.]

[2 ... et holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 35.]

[3 Pachym. Paraphr. in Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 318.]

[4 Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 7. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 7.]

[5 Ill, 1565, 1609.]

Citatur ab Adriano papa in Epistola Synodica ad Constantinum et Irenæum[6].

epistle inveighing against Julian the renegade, he saith thus: "Even as we have received our christian and pure faith of God, as it were by right of heritage; right so I make my confession thereof to him, and therein I abide. I believe in one God Father Almighty, God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost. One God (in substance) and these three (in Persons) I adore and glorify. I confess also the Son's incarnation. Then afterward St Mary, who, according to the flesh, brought him forth, calling her Deiparam. *I reverence also the holy apostles, prophets, and martyrs, which make supplication to God for me; that by their mediation our most benign God be merciful unto me, and grant me freely remission of my sins." Then this followeth:* Quam ob causam, et historias imaginum illorum honoro, et palam adoro; hoc enim nobis traditum a sanctis apostolis non est prohibendum, sed in omnibus ecclesiis nostris eorum historias erigimus[7]: "*For the which cause I do both honour the stories of their images, and openly adore them. For this, being delivered unto us of the holy apostles by tradition, is not to be forbidden. And therefore we set up in all our churches their stories." Lo, M. Jewel, here you see a sufficient testimony that images were set up in the churches long before the end of your six hundred years, and that they were honoured and worshipped, not only of the simple christian people, but of bishop Basil, who for his excellent learning and wisdom was renowmed with the name of "great."*

This Basil is not St Basil.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Indeed, as St Basil for his learning, wisdom, and constancy in God's truth, was worthily called great, so was his authority always accounted very weighty. If M. Harding had in him some part of that poise, he would not so lightly be blown away from Christ and his gospel with so weak blasts of light fantasy. But this Basil is not Basil: nor are these words St Basil's words. Only pope Adrian, in his synodical epistle, among other vain authorities allegeth these words in the name of Basil. But in St Basil's books, which are extant and abroad, they are not found.

And, whereas this Basil is made to protest, that he will honour and adore images, and that openly to the example of others, M. Harding knoweth this doctrine is contrary not only to common sense, but also to his own councils. For in the council of Mens it is thus written[8]: *Imagines non ad id proponuntur, ut adoremus aut colamus eas*[9]: "Images are not set up to the intent we should honour or worship them." Neither doth Gregory call them gods to be honoured, but only books to be read; neither books of profound knowledge, to instruct St Basil or other like learned bishops, but *libros laicorum*, "poor simple books to teach the ignorant."

Concil. Mogunt. de Imaginib.

And, forasmuch as M. Harding would have us to make so deep account of the authority of this council; for the better satisfaction of the reader in this behalf, I think it necessary briefly, and by the way, to touch some part of those weighty reasons, whereby the bishops and fathers there after long deliberation were forced to erect and stablish the use and adoration of images, and to condemn the gainsayers as blasphemers and heretics. Their special grounds are these:

Moses saith: "God took clay, and made man after his own image and likeness:" Gen. ii.

Esay saith: "There shall be a sign and a testimony to the Lord in the land of Egypt:" Isai. xix.

[6 Irenem, 1565, 1609, H. A. 1565, Irenen, H. A. 1564.]

[7 Καθὼς ἐκληρονομήσαμεν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμεμπτον πίστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὁμολογῶ, καὶ ἔπομαι, καὶ πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν Υἱὸν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· ἕνα Θεὸν ταῦτα τὰ τρία προσκυνῶ καὶ δοξάζω. ὁμολογῶ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔνσαρκον οἰκονομίαν· εἶτα καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν τὴν κατὰ σάρκα τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν, θεοτόκον ὁμολογῶ. δέχομαι δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀποστόλους, προφήτας τε καὶ μάρτυρας, τοὺς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λιτανεύοντας, ὅτι διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας αὐτῶν ἵλεώς μοι γίνεται ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, καὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν δωρεῖται· διὸ καὶ τὰς ἱστορίας τῶν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν τιμῶ καὶ προσκυνῶ φανερῶς. τοῦτο γὰρ παρεδόθη ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων, καὶ οὐ κωλυτέον· ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἡμῶν τὴν αὐτῶν ἀναστηλοῦμεν ἱστορίαν.—Basil. cit. ab Hadr. in Epist. ad Const. et Iren. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 109.]

[8 Written thus, 1565, 1609.]

[9 Synod. Prov. Mog. cap. 41. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 938; where *proponi*.]

Psal. xcvi. David saith: "Confession and beauty is before him:" "Lord, I have loved
Psal. xxvi. the beauty of thy house:" "O Lord, my face hath sought for thee:" "O Lord,
Psal. xxvii. I will seek after thy countenance:" "O Lord, the light of thy countenance is sealed over us[1]."

Adr. Epist. Synod. Act. 2. Of every of these several clauses pope Adrian concludeth thus; *ergo*, we must erect images in the church.

Psal. xlvii. Another reasoneth thus: *Sicut audivimus, ita vidimus*[2]: "As we have heard, so have we seen;" *ergo*, there must be images to look upon. Another saith:

Theodor. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 1. *Mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis*[3]: "God is marvellous in his saints;" *ergo*, the church must be decked with pictures. Another saith: "No man lighteth a candle, and putteth it under a bushel[4];" *ergo*, images must be set upon the

ναοῦ λόγος οὐδεὶς ὃν οὐ στέφει ἄγαλμα. altar. Of all these, and other like authorities, Isidorus concludeth; *ergo*, "a church is nothing worth, unless it be full freight with images[5]."

Psal. xcviii. Psal. xlvii. Psal. xliv. To prove the adoration and worshipping of images, they have these authorities. David saith: "Adore ye the footstool of his feet:" "Adore ye in his holy hill[6]:" "O Lord, all the rich of the people shall pray before thy countenance[7];" *ergo*, say they, images must be worshipped.

Conceil. Nic. II. Act. 1. Now, to reckon up the vanities and idolatrous fables of that council, it would be tedious: "The devil promiseth by his honesty, that he will no longer tempt and trouble a holy man, if he will leave worshipping of the image of our lady[8]." Another sendeth for an image, to fetch home water to his cistern[9]. Another goeth on pilgrimage, and biddeth our lady in his absence to see to her own candle. She did all things accordingly as she was commanded. Until his return the candle went never out[10]. Thus much only for a taste.

These proofs be great and weighty, and in comparison hereof "all our new masters," as M. Harding saith, "shall be found lighter than a feather."

And forasmuch as these men so often charge our doctrine with novelty, thereby to bring it out of credit, as if it had never been known before these *latter*[11] days; it shall therefore be good to touch some part of the most ancient fathers' judgment, and the old practice of the church concerning the same. Origen saith:

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. vii. *Dei, ut invisibilis et incorporei, imaginem nullam effigiamus*[12]: "We make no image of God, as knowing him to be invisible and without body." Again he saith:

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv. *Celsus objicit nobis, quod non habeamus altaria et imagines*[13]: "Celsus the heathen chargeth us, that we have neither altars[14] nor images." Clemens Alexandrinus,

Clemens Alex. in Paræn. that lived at the same time, writeth thus: *Nobis aperte vetitum est artem fallacem exercere. Non facies enim, inquit propheta, cujusvis rei similitudinem*[15]: "We are plainly forbidden to use this deceitful art (of painting or graving). For the prophet saith, 'Thou shalt not make the likeness of any thing'." Arnobius, that followed

Arnob. contr. Gent. Lib. ii. p. 214. immediately after Clemens and Origen, writeth thus unto the heathens: *Accusatis nos, quod non habeamus imagines et altaria*[16]: "Ye accuse us, for that we have

Tertull. in Apol.[17]

[1 These passages, with others, are quoted by Adrian in his letter for the use of images.—Hadr. Epist. ad Const. et Iren. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 105, 9.]

[2 Epiph. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. I. ibid. Act. VI. in eod. col. 408.]

[3 Exempl. Synod. Theodor. ibid. Act. III. in eod. col. 184.]

[4 Const. et Iren. Epist. ibid. Act. I. in eod. col. 49.]

[5 Isidor. Pelus. cit. a Gregor. Epist. Pisinunt. ibid. in eod. col. 64.]

[6 Leont. Episc. Neap. Cypr. ex quint. serm. pro Christ. Apol. ibid. Act. IV. in eod. col. 240.]

[7 Hadr. Epist. ad Const. et Iren. ibid. Act. II. in eod. col. 109.]

[8 Sophron. ex Lib. Prat. ibid. Act. IV. in eod. cols. 252, 3. Act. V. col. 381. Moschus is said to be the author of this work. But Cave adopts the opinion of Vossius, that he was greatly aided in it by Sophronius. See Cave, Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit. Oxon. 1740-3. Vol. I. p. 579, 80, 2.]

[9 Ibid. Act. V. ibid.]

[10 Ibid. cols. 381, 4.]

[11 Later, 1565.]

[12 Ἀλλ' *οὐδὲ θείας εἰκόνος ὑπολαμβάνομεν εἶναι τὰ ἀγάλματα, ἅτε μορφὴν ἀοράτου καὶ ἀσωμάτου μὴ διαγράφοντα Θεοῦ.*—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. VII. 66. Tom. I. p. 741.]

[13 Id. ibid. Lib. VIII. 17. pp. 754, 5. See before, page 310, note 4.]

[14 Altar, 1565.]

[15 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 41. Tom. I. p. 54.]

[16 Arnob. Op. Par. 1580. Adv. Gent. Lib. VI. p. 194. See before, page 310, note 5.]

[17 Probably the passage intended in Tertullian is that in which he censures the heathens for their image-worship.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apol. 12. p. 14.]

neither images nor altars." Lactantius, sometime scholar to Arnobius, saith: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubi ... simulachrum est*[18]: "Out of doubt, wheresoever is any image, there is no religion." Lactant. Lib. ii. cap. ii. St Augustine much commendeth this saying of Varro: *Qui prima*[19] *simulachra deorum populis posuerunt, illi civitatibus suis metum dempserunt, errorem vero addiderunt:* "They that first erected the images of the gods unto the people, took away fear and religion, and increased error unto their cities;" and addeth thereto this reason: *Quia dii facile possunt in simulachrorum stoliditate contemni*[20]: "Because the gods in the folly of images may soon be despised." August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. iv. cap. xxxi. The council holden at Eliberis decreeth thus: *Placuit picturas in ecclesiis esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur*[21]: "We think it good there be no picture in the churches, lest the thing that is honoured or adored be painted on the walls." Concil. Elib. can. 36. The like might be said of the council holden at Constantinople[22]. The godly emperors, Valens and Theodosius, gave out this general proclamation throughout all Christendom: *Cum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superni numinis religionem tueri, signum Salvatoris [nostri] Christi nemini ... concedimus, coloribus, lapide, aliave materia fingere, sculpere, aut pingere. Sed quocunque reperitur loco, tolli jubemus, gravissima pœna eos mulctando, qui contrarium decretis nostris et imperio quicquam* [23]*tentaverit*[24]: "Forasmuch as we have a diligent care in all things to maintain the religion of the most high God, therefore we suffer no man to fashion, to grave, or to paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours or in stone, or in any other kind of metal or matter. But wheresoever any such image shall be found, we command it to be taken down, assuring our subjects that we will most straitly punish all such as shall presume to attempt any thing contrary to our decree and commandment." Const. Concil. Petr. Crinit. Lib. ix. cap. ix. The same decree was afterward put in execution, and practised by Philippicus, Leo Constantinus the father, Constantinus the son, Nicephorus, Stauratius, Michael, Leo Armenius, and other christian and godly emperors[25]. These authorities, as they be old and ancient, so be they also plain and evident, and well acquainted and known unto the world; and therefore will soon overpoise all these fables of the image of Nicodemus, of Simeon Metaphrastes, of this young St Basil, of new Athanasius, and of other like blind authorities that have been lately sought up out of corners, and brought to light. Verily Amphilochius, under whose cloke M. Harding hath so often hid himself, may in no wise be refused. His words be plain: *Non est nobis curæ, sanctorum vultus corporales in tabulis coloribus effigiare; quoniam his opus non habemus*[26]: "We have no care to draw out the bodily countenances of saints in colours and tables; for we have no need of them." Concil. Nic. ii. Act. 6.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

Three causes why images have been used in the church.

Now that there hath been enough alleged for the antiquity, original, and approbation of images, it remaineth it be declared for what causes they have been used in the church. We find that the use of images hath been brought into the church for three causes. The first is the benefit of knowledge. For the simple and unlearned people, which be utterly ignorant of letters, in pictures do as it were read and see, no less than others do in books, the mysteries of christian religion, the acts and worthy deeds of Christ and of his saints. "What writing performeth to them that read, the same doth a picture to the simple beholding it,"

[18] Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. II. De Orig. Error. cap. xix. Tom. I. p. 185.]

[19] Primi, 1565, 1609.]

[20] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. IV. cap. xxxi. 2. Tom. VII. col. 112; where *primi, eos civitatibus suis et metum demsisse, et errorem addidisse,* and *prudenter existimans deos facile posse.*]

[21] Concil. Elib. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. I. col. 974; where *ecclesia,* and *et adoratur.*]

[22] The council held at Constantinople by Constantine Copronymus is no doubt meant. See its acts recited by Gregory of Neocæsarea in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in eod. Tom. VII. cols. 396, &c.]

[23] Tentaverint, 1565.]

[24] Petr. Crinit. De Honest. Discip. Lugd. 1585. Lib. IX. cap. ix. pp. 278, 9; where *insculpere, quodcunque reperitur tolli,* and *tentaverint.*]

[25] For reference to the conduct of several emperors who discountenanced images, see Becon's works, Park. Soc. Edit. Vol. II. p. 71. and notes there given. See also Cent. Eccles. Hist. Magd. Basil. 1562—74. Cent. IX. cap. iii. cols. 22, &c.]

[26] Amphiloch. cit. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. V. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 484.]

saith St Gregory. "For in the same the ignorant see what they ought to follow: in the same they read, which can no letters. Therefore imagery serveth specially the rude nations instead of writing[1]*," saith he.* Ad Serenum Episcopum Massilien. Lib. ix. Epist. 9.

To this St Basil agreeth in his homily upon the forty martyrs. "Both the writers of stories," saith he, "and also painters do shew and set forth noble deeds of arms and victories, the one garnishing the matter with eloquence, the other drawing it lively in tables, and both have stirred many to valiant courage. For what things the utterance of the story expresseth through hearing, the same doth the still picture set forth through imitation[2]*." In the like respect in old time the work of excellent poets was called a speaking picture, and the work of painters a still poetry. And thus the use and profit of writing and of pictures is one. For things that be read, when as they come to our ears, then we convey them over to the mind; and the things that we behold in pictures with our eyes, the same also do we embrace in our mind. And so by these two, reading and painting, we achieve one like benefit of knowledge.* Pictura loquens. Poema tacens.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The first and chief cause and end of images is, as it is here pretended, that the people by the sight thereof may attain knowledge. And therefore St Gregory calleth them the laymen's books[3]; and the fathers in a late council say: "We may learn more in a short while by an image, than by long study and travail in the scriptures[4]." And for the same cause St Basil compareth an image painted with a story written. But the comparison that M. Harding useth between imagery and poetry seemeth nearest to express the truth. For painters and poets, for liberty of lying, have of long time been coupled both together. One writeth of them in this sort: *Pictoribus atque poetis Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas*[5]*:* "Painters and poets had ever like charter to adventure all things." And Atheneus, blazing abroad the liberty of poets, writeth of them thus: οἷς λέγειν ἅπαντα καὶ ποιεῖν ἔξεστι μόνοις: "Unto whom only it is lawful to say and do what they list." And therefore Cicero seemeth to say: *Nihil negotii est hæc poetarum et pictorum portenta convincere*[6]*:* "It is no great mastery to reprove these monstrous miracles of painters and poets." And therefore, like as Plato commanded all poets for their lying to be banished out of his commonwealth; so likewise Almighty God, for like liberty, banished all painters out of Israel[7]. For these causes M. Harding's comparison of painters and poets may well be allowed.

Greg. Lib. ix. Epist. 9. Concil. Senon. Horatius. Athenæus. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. 1. Plato. Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.

Howbeit, this seemeth to be no very handsome way to teach the people. Of their priests they have made images, and of their images they have made priests. For their priests for the more part have eyes, and see not; have ears, and hear not; hearts, and understand not; mouths, and speak not—in all respects even like unto their images. Their images have no eyes, and yet are made to see; have no ears, and yet are made to hear; have no mouths, and yet are set up to speak; and so in these respects do the duties that pertain to priests. Thus they bar the people from the hearing of God's holy word, and bid them go and look upon their images, to talk with their images, to hear their images, and to learn of their images.

[1 Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus: quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quid sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui litteras nesciunt. Unde et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. XI. Indict. IV. Ad Seren. Massil. Episc. Epist. xiii. Tom. II. col. 1100.]

[2 Ἐπεὶ καὶ πολέμων ἀνδραγαθήματα καὶ λογογράφοι πολλάκις καὶ ζωγράφοι διασημαίνουσιν· οἱ μὲν, τῷ λόγῳ διακοσμοῦντες, οἱ δὲ, τοῖς πίναξιν ἐγχαράττοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπήγειραν πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἑκάτεροι. ἃ γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρίστησι, ταῦτα γραφικὴ σιωπῶσα διὰ μιμήσεως δείκνυσιν.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Quadr. Mart. Hom. xix. Tom. II. p. 149.]

[3 See before, note 1.]

[4 ... uno obtutu sibi plura proponit, quam diuturna librorum evolutione comprehenderet.—Concil. Senon. Decr. 14. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 749.]

[5 Hor. De Art. Poet. vv. 9, 10.]

[6 ... quid negotii est, &c.—Cic. Tusc. Disp. Lib. I. 6.]

[7 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 31. Tom. I. p. 524. See before, page 646, note 11.]

And, although perhaps the people may happily learn somewhat by these means, yet is not this the ordinary way whereby God hath appointed the people to attain knowledge. St Paul saith: *Fides ex auditu:* "Faith cometh (not by seeing or gazing, but) by hearing." There were many simple, rude, and unlearned laymen among the Jews: yet God never set up any such books for them to read; but contrariwise evermore forbade them, and cried against them, and would not suffer them. If this be so speedy and so ready a way to teach the people, how happeneth it that, where as is greatest store of such school-masters, there the people is evermore most ignorant, most superstitious, and most subject to idolatry? But, to conclude, the prophets Habacuch and Hieremy say: *Conflatile est demonstratio mendacii: Lignum est doctrina vanitatis:* "A molten idol is a lesson of lies; and (M. Harding's) wooden image is a doctrine of vanity." Rom. x. Hab. ii. Jer. x.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

The second cause of the use of images is the stirring of our minds to all godliness. For whereas the effect and desire of man is heavy and dull in divine and spiritual things, because the body that is corruptible weigheth down the mind; when it is set forth before our eyes by images what Christ hath done for us, and what the saints have done for Christ; then it is quickened and moved to the like will of doing and suffering, and to all endeavour of holy and virtuous life. As when we hear apt and fit words uttered in a sermon or an oration, so when we behold looks and gestures lively expressed in images, we are moved to pity, to weeping, to joy, and to other affects. Wherein verily it hath always been thought that painters have had no less grace than either orators or poets. Wisd. ix.

Who listeth to see examples hereof, he may peruse the second Nicene council, where he shall find, among other most notable things concerning this point, one of St Euphemia the martyr, another of Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac, worthy of everlasting memory, that of Asterius the holy bishop[8]*, this of Gregory Nyssene, very elegantly described*[9]*. Virgil maketh Æneas to weep, to hope for better fortune, to gather courage of mind, to take good advice and order for redress and help of his great calamities, by occasion of beholding a painter's work at Carthago, wherein the battle of Troy was expressed*[10]*: which that wise poet would not have done, were it*[11] *not that pictures have great force to move men's hearts.* Act. iv.

Ovid likewise, in the epistle of Laodamia to Protesilaus her husband, being forth at wars, maketh her so to write of his image which she had caused to be made of wax for her comfort in his absence[12]*, as it may well appear that images have a marvellous power to stir vehement affects, and to represent things absent as though in manner they were present in the minds of the beholders. Among all other examples for this purpose, that seemeth to me most notable which Appianus writeth of C. Julius Cæsar,* Lib. II. De Bellis Civilibus. *After that Cæsar had been murdered of the senators in the council-house, one of his friends, to shew the cruelty of the fact to the people, laid Cæsar's bed in the open market-place, and took forth of it his image made of wax, which represented three and twenty wounds after a beastly sort stabbed into his face and all the rest of his body, yet gaping, and as it were fresh bleeding. With which shew he stirred the people to more wrath and rage than he could have done with any oration or gesture; which was declared forthwith. For as soon as the people saw it, not able to bear their grief, nor stay their fury any longer, they*[13] *wrought great and strange cruelties against them that were found to have committed that murder*[14]*.*

The third cause why images have been set up in churches, is the keeping of things in memory necessary to our salvation. For, when we cast our eyes on them, our memory, which otherwise is frail and weak, gathereth together and embraceth the benefits and merits of our Saviour Christ, and the virtuous example[15] *of saints,*

---

[8] Aster. cit. in Ref. fals. Nom. Def. Tom. v. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. VI. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 488, &c.]

[9] Gregor. Nyss. cit. ab Hadr. in Epist. ad Const. et Iren. ibid. Act. II. in eod. col. 109.]

[10] Virg. Æn. Lib. I. vv. 450, &c.]

[11] H. A. 1564 and H. A. 1565 omit *it.*]

[12] Ovid. Epist. xiii. vv. 151—8.]

[13] H. A. 1564 omits *they.*]

[14] App. de Bell. Civ. Amst. 1670. Lib. II. Tom. II. p. 847.]

[15] Examples, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

which we ought to follow; that, if we be such as they were, we may, by God's grace through Christ, attain the bliss they be in, and with them enjoy life everlasting. And verily they that have images in regard and reverence must be so minded, as they behold not only the things by them represented, but also perform the same in deed with most diligent imitation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the second commodity of images, which is the moving and stirring of the mind, M. Harding is fain to pray aid of the heathenish poets Virgil and Ovid, not the meetest authorities for a doctor of divinity; and for proof hereof to bring in their idle fables with an old profane story of Appian. Therefore he seemeth now to draw very deep, and not far from the lees. I marvel he
In Eunucho. had forgotten the young man in Eunuchus, who, for that he saw Jupiter painted in a table, was straightway thoroughly moved and emboldened to his youthful purpose[1]. I grant, images do oftentimes vehemently move the mind diversly to sundry affections; and I reckon him a blind man that will hold the contrary. Sallust saith, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, whensoever they beheld their ancestors' images, were by and by inflamed with nobility of courage to advance[2] themselves to like adventures. But every thing that may delight or move the mind is not therefore meet for the church of God. God's house is a house of prayer, and not of gazing. And, to answer one
Plutarchus. profane story by another, the old Lacedemonians would not suffer any image or picture to stand in their council-house, lest the senators' minds by mean thereof should be drawn from that they had in hand to other fantasies[3].
Wisd. xv. Certainly the wise man saith: *Aspectus imaginis dat insipienti concupiscentiam*: "The sight of an image in the unwise stirreth up concupiscence."

The third commodity touching remembrance is like the first; and therefore is already answered.

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

And now we are come to declare how images may be[4] *worshipped and honoured without any offence. That godly worship, which consisteth in spirit and truth inwardly, and is declared by signs outwardly in recognising the supreme dominion, which properly of the divines is called* latria, *is deferred only to the blessed Trinity. As for the holy images, to them we do not attribute that worship at all, but an inferior reverence or adoration; for so it is named*[a]*; which is nothing else but a recognising of some virtue or excellency protested by outward sign, as reverent kissing, bowing down, kneeling, and such the like honour. Which kind of adoration or worship we find in the scriptures oftentimes given to creatures. The whole act whereof is notwithstanding referred not to the images*[b] *principally, but to the things by them represented, as being the true and proper objects of such worship. For although the honour of an image passeth over to the original or first sampler*[5]*, which the learned call* archetypum, *as St Basil teacheth; yet that high worship called* latria *belongeth only to the blessed Trinity, and not to the reverend images; lest we should seem to be worshippers of creatures, and of matters, as of gold, silver, stones, wood, and of such other the like things. "For we adore not images as God*[c]*," saith Athanasius, "neither in them do we put hope of our salvation, ne to them do we give godly service or worship; for so did the gentiles; but by such adoration or reverence we declare only a certain affection and love which we bear toward the originals. And therefore, if it happen their figure and shape to be defaced and undone, we let not to burn*

How images may be worshipped without offence.

Holy images, by M. Harding's confession, are worshipped without spirit and truth.

[a] A vain distinction. For the Hebrew word soundeth: *Non incurvabis teipsum*: "Thou shalt not bow down," &c.

[b] The act or adoration is referred to the image, although not principally.

[c] This Athanasius is forged, and not the true Athanasius.

Lib. ad Amphiloch. cap. xviii.

In Quæstionib. Ad Antiochum Principem.

[1 Ter. Eunuch. III. v. vv. 35, &c.]
Avance, 1565.]
[3 Plutarch. in Vit. Lycurg.]
[4 He, H. A. 1564 and H. A. 1565.]
[5 Διότι ἡ τῆς εἰκόνος τιμὴ ἐπὶ τὸ πρωτότυπον διαβαίνει. — Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xviii. 45. Tom. III. p. 38.]
[6 Of, 1565, 1609.]

the stocks as very wood, and, being of other stuff, to convert the same to any use it may best serve[7] *for*[8]*."*

St Gregory, praising much one Secundinus, for that he desired the image of our Saviour to be sent unto him, to the intent by having his image before his eyes he might the more be stirred to love him in his heart; after a few words uttered in this sense, he saith further: "We know thou demandest not the image of our Saviour to the intent to worship it as God, but for the remembrance of the Son of God, that thou mightest be enkindled with the love of him whose image thou desirest to behold. And verily we fall not down before it as before God: but we adore and worship him, whom through occasion of the image we remember either born, or done to death for us, or sitting in his throne. And whiles we reduce the Son of God to our memory by the picture, no less than by writing, it bringeth either gladness to our mind by reason of his resurrection, or comfort by reason of his passion[10]*." Thus far St Gregory*[11]*.*

Lib. vii. Epist. 53.[9]

And if men pray kneeling before any image or triumphant sign of the holy cross, they worship not the wood or stone figured, but they honour the highest God. And whom they cannot behold with senses, they reverence and worship his image representing him, according to ancient institution, not resting or staying themselves in the image, but transferring the adoration and worship to him that is represented.

Much might be alleged out of the fathers concerning the worshipping of images; but this may suffice. And of all this one sense redoundeth, that, what reverence, honour, or worship soever is applied to images, it is but for remembrance, love, and honour of the primitives or originals. As when we kiss the gospel book, by that token we honour not the parchment, paper, and ink, wherein it is written, but the gospel itself. And as Jacob, when he kissed his son Joseph's coat embrued with kid's blood, holding and embracing it in his arms, and making heavy moan over it, the affection of his love and sorrow rested not in the coat, but was directed to Joseph himself, whose infortunate death (as he thought) that bloody coat represented; so christian men, shewing tokens of reverence, love, and honour before the image of Christ, of an apostle, or martyr, with their inward recognition and devotion of their hearts, they stay not their thoughts in the very images, but defer the whole to Christ, to the apostle, and to the martyr, giving to each one in due proportion that which is to be given, putting difference between the almighty Creator and the creatures, finally, rendering all honour and glory to God alone, who is marvellous in his saints. Such worshipping of images is neither to be accounted for wicked, nor to be despised: (203) for the which we have the testimonies of the ancient fathers, both Greeks and Latins: unto which further authority is added by certain general councils, that have condemned the breakers and impugners of the same.*

Gen. xxxvii.

The two hundred and third untruth. For no ancient father, either Greek or Latin, ever taught us to kiss an image, or to kneel, or to bow down unto it.

* Without the compass of six hundred years.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding hath made a very large entry to so small a house. The whole question standeth only in this one point of adoration, which is here very lightly passed over in few words. All the rest is used only as a flourish to begin the game. Neither doth he anywise directly answer that was demanded, that is, whether images in old times were set up to be worshipped; but only sheweth

---

[7 Serve best, H. A. 1564.]

[8 Οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦμεν τὰς εἰκόνας οἱ πιστοί· μὴ γένοιτο· ὡς οἱ Ἕλληνες. ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν σχέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν τῆς πρὸς τὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς εἰκόνος ἐμφανίζομεν. ὅθεν πολλάκις τοῦ χαρακτῆρος λειανθέντος, ὡς ξύλου ἀργὸν λοιπὸν τὴν ποτε εἰκόνα καίομεν.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Quæst. ad Antioch. xxxix. Tom. II. p. 277. This piece is spurious.]

[9 H. A. 1564 omits this reference: it appears in H. A. 1565.]

[10 Scio quidem quod imaginem Salvatoris nostri non ideo petis, ut quasi Deum colas, sed ob recordationem Filii Dei in ejus amore recalescas, cujus te imaginem videre desideras. Et nos quidem non quasi ante divinitatem ante illam prosternimur, sed illum adoramus quem per imaginem aut natum, aut passum, sed et in throno sedentem recordamur. Et dum nobis ipsa pictura quasi scriptura ad memoriam Filium Dei reducit, animum nostrum aut de resurrectione lætificat, aut de passione demulcet.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. IX. Indict. II. Ad Secundin. Epist. lii. Tom. II. col. 971.]

[11 H. A. 1564 places *Thus far St Gregory* at the end of the next paragraph.]

his own fantasy in what sort they may be worshipped; wherein notwithstanding he seemeth not to agree thoroughly neither with the rest of his company nor with himself. His final resolution is this: The adoration that is made in this sort is not principally directed to the image. The sense of which words is this: The corruptible creature of wood or stone may be worshipped, although not principally or chiefly as God himself, which is thereby represented. And thus he taketh an indifferent way between both; as if he would say: An image may be worshipped; and yet it may not be worshipped. Again: It may not be worshipped; and yet it may be worshipped. And for confirmation hereof he allegeth certain authorities forged under the names of St Basil and Athanasius; notwithstanding he know right well, that neither of these two fathers ever either uttered such words, or had cause to move such matter. Only they are alleged in that childish council of Nice the second, among a great number of other like lies and fables. Good christian reader, if thou be learned, consider and weigh that council; and thou shalt say, I have reported much less than thou hast found. And the same Athanasius, as he is here brought in to prove the adoration of images, so elsewhere in the same council he is forced to say, that Christ dwelleth in reliques and dead men's bones[1].

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 3.

As for Gregory, notwithstanding he speak expressly of images, yet he speaketh not one word of the adoration of images[2]. In conclusion, M. Harding, being not able to allege, no not so much as an[3] ancient father for the worshipping of images, these manifest forgeries only excepted, yet he blusheth not to say in a bravery, that he might allege a great number more. By such faces, and vying of empty store, the simple people is oft deceived. But what needeth M. Harding either to hold by these counterfeit and forged deeds, or else by these fond devices of principal and not principal adoration thus to simper and to season the matter between both? Certainly the bishops, in his second council of Nice, think themselves able to prove, both by scripture and also by ancient authority, that images ought undoubtedly to be honoured. For, as it is said before, they allege these scriptures: "Worship the footstool of his feet:" "Adore him in his holy hill:" "All the rich of the people shall worship thy face." Hereof they conclude thus: *Ergo*, images must be worshipped. And therefore Theodosius, the bishop of Mira, in the same council alloweth it well, and specially for that his archdeacon was taught the same by revelation in a dream[4]. Therefore one of them saith: *Venerandas imagines adoro, et id perpetuo docebo*[5]*:* "I adore the reverend images, and will maintain the same while I live." Another saith: *Historias imaginum honoro, et palam adoro:* "I worship the stories of images, and adore them openly." Another saith: *Imagines perfecte adoro:* "I give perfit adoration unto images." Another saith: *Eos, qui diversum statuunt, aversor, et anathematizo:* "All such as hold the contrary I utterly forsake, and hold them accursed." Briefly, the whole council there determined[6] thus: *Eos qui circa adorationem imaginum laborant, aut dubitant, nostra synodus anathematizat*[7]*:* "All such as stagger or stand in doubt of the adoration of images are accursed by this council."

Ex libro Carol. Magni.

Psal. xcix.

Psal. xlviii. Psal. xlv.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 2.

They say: We know that images are creatures corruptible; and therefore we neither use them nor take them as gods. And thus they think themselves very wise men, that can know that birds and children be able to know. Even so the heathens were wont to say of their idols. Cicero confesseth, *Jovem lapidem, non esse Deum,* "that Jupiter is a stone, and no God." Lactantius hereof writeth thus: *Non ipsa, inquit, adoramus, sed eos ad quorum imagines facta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt*[8]. The infidel will say, even as M. Harding here saith: We worship not our images, but our gods, unto whose likeness

[1] Exempl. Synod. Theodor. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 184. See before p. 594, note 8.]

[2] See before, page 663, note 10.]

[3] One, 1565.]

[4] Carol. Magni Script. de Imag. 1549. Lib. III. cap. xxvi. foll. A a, &c.]

[5] Petr. Episc. Nicom. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. II. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 132.]

[6] Determineth, 1565.]

[7] Ibid. &c. See also before, page 653, note 12.]

[8] Non ipsa, inquiunt, timemus, sed eos, ad quorum imaginem ficta, et, &c.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. II. De Orig. Error. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 116.]

the images are made, and in whose names they are consecrate. The like hereof we may find in St Augustine[9], in Athanasius[10], in Sozomenus[11], and in others. And this excuse was then, as now, thought sufficient. Latria, Doulia.

But St Augustine saith: "Very children know that these images have eyes, and see not; mouths, and speak not. Wherefore then doth the Holy Ghost so often teach us and admonish us the same thing in the scriptures, as if we knew it not?" He answereth: *Quia species membrorum ... in ... eminenti collocata suggestu, cum honorari atque adorari cœperit à multitudine, parit in unoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum; ut, quoniam in illo figmento non invenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum; et effigiem viventi corpori similem, seductus forma et commotus auctoritate, quasi sapientium institutorum, obsequentium ... turbarum, sine vivo aliquo habitatore esse non putet*[12]: "For that the very shape and proportion of a man set aloft, after it once beginneth to be adored and honoured of the multitude, it breedeth in every man that most vile affection of error, that, although he find there no natural moving or token of life, yet he thinketh some god or godly thing is within it; and so, being deceived, partly by the form that he seeth, and partly by the authority and credit of the authors and makers of it, whom they take to be wise, and partly also by the example and devotion of the people, whom they see obedient to the same, he thinketh that the image, being so like to a living body, cannot be without some living thing underneath it." Again he saith: *Cum [in] his sedibus locantur honorabili sublimitate, ut a precantibus atque immolantibus attendantur ipsa similitudine animatorum membrorum atque sensuum, quamvis sensu et anima careant, afficiunt infirmos animos, ut vivere atque spirare videantur*[13]: "After that images be once set up in these places in honourable height, that they that pray or sacrifice may look upon them, although they have neither sense nor soul, yet they so strike and amaze the weak minds of the people, even with the very proportion of living members and senses, that they seem to have life and to draw breath." Again he saith: *Quis ... adorat vel orat intuens simulacrum, qui non sic afficitur, ut ab eo se exaudiri putet, [ac] ab eo sibi præstari, quod desiderat, speret*[14]? "Who ever adoreth or maketh his prayer beholding an image, but he is so moved in his mind, that he thinketh the image heareth him, and hopeth it will perform his prayer?"

August. in Psal. cxiii. Athanas. contr. Gent. Sozom. Lib. vii. cap. xv. De Sophista Olympio. August. in Psal. cxiii. August. in Epist. 49. August. in Psal. xiii. cxiii.

All these things the heathens knew, and therefore were well shielded with M. Harding's excuse, and yet notwithstanding were idolaters; and, as the prophet Hieremy reporteth, they said to a block, *Pater meus es tu*, "Thou art my father;" and to a stone, *Tu me genuisti*, "Thou art my maker, thou hast begotten me." And therefore were they the children of God's anger; for that they "turned the truth of God into a lie, and honoured the creature above the Creator, which is God blessed for ever."

Jer. ii. Rom. i.

And, the more to encourage the simple in these errors, they have devised many feigned miracles. The dead images have been forced to sweat, to weep, to laugh, and to shift themselves from place to place. And as among the painims and infidels the image of Jupiter was able to say aloud, "Let all Christians be banished the country[15];" and as the image of Juno, being demanded whether she would go to Rome or no, was able to give a courteous beck, and gently to say, *Volo*, "I am content[16];" even so among Christians images have been able to speak whatsoever their keeper or sexton listed. The image of our lady was able to attend her own candle, and other images able

Euseb. Lib. viii. De Theoteeno. Concil. Nic. II. Act. 5.

[9] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 4. Tom. IV. col. 1262.]

[10] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Orat. contr. Gent. 19, &c. Tom. I. Pars I. pp. 19, &c.]

[11] Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xv. p. 588.]

[12] Quis puer interrogatus non hoc certum esse respondeat, quod simulacra gentium os habent, et non loquentur; oculos habent, et non videbunt? ... Cur ergo tantopere Spiritus sanctus curat scripturarum plurimis locis hæc insinuare atque inculcare velut inscientibus ... nisi quia species &c. adorari atque honorari a multitudine cœperit, &c. effigiem tamen &c. non putat?—August. Op. In Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 3. Tom. IV. col. 1261.]

[13] Id. ad Deograt. Epist. cii. Quæst. iii. 18. Tom. II. cols. 279, 80; where *his locantur sedibus, quamvis insensata et exanima*, and *ac spirare*.]

[14] Id. in Psalm. cxiii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 5. Tom. IV. col. 1262.]

[15] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. IX. cap. iii. p. 286.]

[16] Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. v. cap. xxii.]

Latria, Doulia.

to heal all diseases[1]. Briefly, Nicolaus Lyra saith: *In ecclesia Dei populus sæpe decipitur a sacerdotibus fictis miraculis lucri causa*[2]: "In the church of God the priests oftentimes deceive the people with feigned miracles for lucre's sake." Thus the world was borne in hand, that images were not only bare images, but had also some secret divine power hidden within them, and therefore were worthy to be honoured.

Nicol. Lyra, in xiv. cap. Dan.

Here is imagined a great difference in adoration between *latria* and *doulia*. *Latria* is the honour that belongeth only unto God (as M. Harding saith) in recognising of the supreme dominion. But of *doulia*, which is the other part, and may be Englished "a service," and, as they say, is due unto a creature, he thought it best to say nothing. Thus, by M. Harding's distinction, we must honour God and serve images. And therefore this reverence so given may not be called *idololatria*, but *idolodulia;* that is to say, "not the honouring, but only the serving or obeying of images." In like sort Lyra saith: "One knee we may bow to any noble personage; but upon both we may kneel only unto God[3]." And by such a simple distinction it is thought the whole matter is well salved. But what if the simple people understand no Greek, and cannot so learnedly discern *latria* from *doulia*, but take the one adoration for the other? Verily, as it now fareth in the church of Rome, they use them both[4] universally without difference. Therefore this distinction, thus applied, seemeth much like to that the[5] physician's wife sometime said: "Pepper is cold in working, and hot in operation." For M. Harding's distinction standeth not in difference of matter, but only in words. Cicero saith: *Bonum esse negas: præpositum dicis. An minuis hoc pacto avaritiam?*[6] "Thou wilt not have worldly wealth called *bonum*, but only *præpositum*. But dost thou hereby any thing abate avarice?" Even so may we say to M. Harding: Ye will not have your adoration of images called *latria*, but only *doulia*. But, sir, do you by this distinction any thing abate *idolatria?*[7]

Nicol. Lyra, in Hest. iii. cap.

Cic. de Fin. iv.

Certainly Constantius, the bishop of Constantia, in the second Nicene council, saith: *Ego imaginibus cultum honoris exhibeo*[8] *eundem, qui debetur vivificæ Trinitati; et, si quis nolit idem facere, eum anathematizo, ut Marcionem et Manichæum*[9]: "I for my part yield unto images the same adoration of honour that is due to the holy Trinity; and, if any man refuse to do the same, I accurse him, as I do the heretics Marcion and Manichee." And in the same council it is determined thus: *Non sunt duæ adorationes, sed una adoratio, imaginis, et primi exemplaris, cujus est imago*[10]: "There are not two sorts of adoration (the one called *latria*, the other *doulia*, as M. Harding divideth them), but one only adoration, both of the image, and also of the sampler whereof the image is."

In lib. Carol. Magni.

Concil. Nic. II. Act. 4.

Likewise Thomas Aquine, after long debating of the matter, thus at last ruleth over the case: "The image and the thing thereby represented must be worshipped both with one kind of adoration." And, for example, he saith: "The

Thom. in iii. Sentent. Dist. 2.

[1 Sophron. ex Libr. Prat. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. cols. 381, 4. A great many stories of miraculous powers exerted by images may be seen also in the fourth act of this Council.]

[2 ... aliquando fit in ecclesia maxima deceptio populi in miraculis fictis a sacerdotibus vel eis adhærentibus propter lucrum temporale.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Dan. cap. xiv. Pars IV. fol. 330. 2.]

[3 ... licet coram personis excellentibus licite possit unum genu flecti; tamen coram solo Deo duo genua sunt flectenda.—Id. Hest. cap. iii. Pars II. fol. 309. Lyra cites this as an opinion which he does not altogether approve, and adds, sed hoc dictum videtur nimis durum, &c.]

[4 Doth, 1611.]

[5 The, wanting in 1611.]

[6 Bonum negas esse divitias, præpositum esse dicis. quid adjuvas? avaritiamne minuis? Cicer. Op. Col. Allobr. 1616. De Fin. Lib. IV. 73. Tom. IV. p. 96.]

[7 Idolatrie, 1565.]

[8 Exhibebo, 1565.]

[9 Suscipio et amplector honorabiliter sanctas et venerandas imagines secundum servitium adorationis quod consubstantiali et vivificatrici Trinitati emitto; et qui sic non sentiunt neque glorificant, a sancta catholica et apostolica ecclesia segrego, et anathemati submitto, et parti qui abnegaverunt incarnatam et salvabilem dispensationem Christi veri Dei nostri emitto.—Carol. Magni Script. de Imag. 1549. Lib. III. cap. xvii. fols. X. 3, &c. Conf. Concil. Nic. II. Act. III. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 188.]

[10 Joan. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VII. col. 264. This is the inference from a passage quoted from St Basil; but it may be questioned whether it was intended precisely in the sense in which Jewel understands it.]

cross or image of Christ must be honoured with *latria*" (that is, with godly honour), "because Christ himself is so honoured;" and "the image of our lady must be honoured with *doulia*, because that honour," as he saith, "is due unto our lady[11]." This determination of Thomas is reproved by Holcot; and his reason is this: "*Latria*, or godly honour, is due only unto God; but the image of God is not God; therefore *latria*, or godly honour, is not due unto an image. Otherwise," saith he, "the Creator and the creature should both be adored with one honour[12]." And notwithstanding Henricus de Gandavo, Petrus de Aquila, Johannes de Guiverra, Durandus, and other school-doctors agree with Holcot, and their judgment seem very agreeable unto reason; yet he that wrote *Fortalitium Fidei* saith: "The common opinion and practice of the church holdeth the contrary[13]." And one Jacobus Payva, a great stickler of that side, doubteth not to write thus: *Non tamen inficiamur, hac nos latriæ adoratione Christi præclarissimam crucem colere et venerari*[14]: "Yet we deny not but we do worship and adore the most noble cross of Christ, even with this godly honour that we call *latria*." And, whereas M. Harding referreth the whole adoration unto the thing represented by the image, one Jacobus Nanclantus, the bishop of Clugium in Italy, telleth him, that the image, and the thing represented by the image, must both be worshipped with one kind of adoration. His words be these: *Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur, sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo; quin et eo illam venerari cultu, quo et prototypon ejus. Propter quod, si illud habet adorari latria, et illa habet adorari latria*[15]: "Therefore we must confess that the faithful people in the church doth not only worship before the image, as some men use to speak for more assurance; but that they worship the[16] image itself, and that without any manner scruple of conscience whatsoever. Yea, and further they worship the image with the same honour wherewith they worship the thing represented: as, if the thing represented by the image be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image itself likewise be worshipped with godly honour." If M. Harding will say, these errors be old and long sithence controlled by his church of Rome; it may please him to understand, that Nanclantus was printed in Venice anno 1557, and that Payva was printed in Coleine anno 1564, both well allowed without controlment.

Latria, Doulia.

Holkot in Libr. Sapient. Lect. 158.

Auth. Fortal. Licet hoc rationabiliter dictum videatur...tamen...communis opinio tenet oppositum.

Jacob. Payva, Lib. ix.

Jacob. Nanc. in Epist. ad Rom. cap. i.

The case standing thus, what then availeth M. Harding's distinction of *latria* and *doulia?* I fear me we may say of him and his fellows as St Augustine sometime said of the heathens: *Nemo mihi dicat, Non est numen: non est Deus... utinam ipsi sic norint,... quomodo novimus... nos! Sed quid habeant, pro qua re habeant, quid ibi faciant, ara... testatur*[17]: "Let no man say unto me, It is no divine power: it is no God. I would to God they so knew it as we know it. But what they have, and in what sort they have it, and what they do about it, the altar beareth witness."

August. de Verb. Dom. secund. Matt. Serm. 6.

Marcellina, the heretic, is much reproved by St Augustine, for that, among other images, she offered up incense to the image of Christ[18]. And Origen saith: *Fieri non potest, ut quis et Deum et simulacrum colat*[19]: "It is not possible

August. ad Quodvultd.

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.

---

[11] Crux est imago Christi crucifixi: sed imago crucifixi Christi est adoranda latria. ergo et crux..... ei [virgini] debetur honor per se.....non potest adorari latria, sed dulia.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In Tert. Sentent. Dist. ix. Quæst. i. Art. 2. Tom. VII. fol. 37.]

[12] Ad istam quæstionem respondet S. Thomas ... Sed contra istam responsionem objicio primo sic: Quia latria est honor soli Deo debitus, sed nulla imago est Deus: ergo contradictionem includit dicere, quia latria sit honor soli Deo debitus, et tamen debetur imagini Christi et Christo. Præterea: Si idem honor debetur imagini Christi et Christo, idem honor etiam debetur lapidi et Christo: et per consequens idem honor debetur Christo et creaturæ, quod non est credendum.—Rob. Holkoth in Libr. Sapient. Prælect. 1586, cap. xiii. Lect. clviii. p. 524.]

[13] Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. III. Consid. iv. Arg. 24. fol. 107; where *videatur dictum.*]

[14] Jac. Payv. Andrad. Orthod. Explic. Libr. Decem, Col. 1564. Lib. ix. pp. 705, 6.]

[15] Jac. Naclant. Enarr. in Epist. ad Rom. Venet. 1557. cap. i. fol. 42; where *venerantur et illa latria si dulia vel hyperdulia et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est.*]

[16] The worship they, 1611.]

[17] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Matt. viii. Serm. lxii. 10. Tom. V. col. 361; where *sic ipsi.*]

[18] Id. Lib. de Hær. ad Quodvultd. 7. Tom. VIII. col. 7.]

[19] ...οὐ μὴν δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ γιγνώσκειν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὔχεσθαι. Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59, Contr. Cels. Lib. IV. 65. Tom. I. p. 740.]

Latria, Doulia.

that any man may worship God and an image both together." And Polydorus Virgilius, a man of late years, uttering the great abuse that he saw in the church in his time, writeth thus: *Nunc de simulacrorum cultu . . . agamus: quem non modo nostræ religionis expertes, sed, teste Hieronymo, omnes fere veteres sancti patres damnabant, ob metum idololatriæ*[1]: "Now let us entreat of the worshipping of images; which not only the heathens, that were void of our religion, but also, as St Hierome saith, all the old godly fathers condemned, for fear of idolatry."

Pol. Verg. de Invent. Rer. Lib. vi. cap. xiii.

And of the abuse and disorder of the church herein in his time, he writeth thus: *Eo insaniæ deventum est, ut hæc pars pietatis parum differat ab impietate*[2]: "The world is come to such outrage and mere madness herein, that this part of holiness differeth now very little from open wickedness." To this pass the church of God was brought by M. Harding's distinction of *latria* and *doulia*.

Ibid.

The best remedy in this behalf, and most agreeable with God's word, is utterly to abolish the cause of the ill. So the godly king Ezechias took down and brake in pieces the brasen serpent, notwithstanding Moses himself, by God's special commandment, had erected it; notwithstanding it were an express figure of Christ hanging upon the cross; notwithstanding it had continued so many years; notwithstanding God by it had wrought so many miracles. So the godly bishop Epiphanius rent in sunder the image of Christ painted in a cloth, and said it was against God's commandment, a thing superstitious, and unmeet for the church and people of God[3]; notwithstanding it were the image of Christ. So the godly emperor Theodosius made his proclamation over all his dominions in this sort: *Signum Servatoris nostri, . . . quocunque loco reperitur, tolli jubemus*[4]: "We straitly command, that the image of our Saviour be taken down, in what place soever it shall be found;" notwithstanding it were the image of our Saviour. So it is decreed in the late council of Mens, that, when images happen to be abused by the people, they be either notably altered or utterly abolished[5]. Neither doth God throughout all his holy scriptures any where condemn image-breakers; but expressly and every where he condemneth image-worshippers and image-makers. God saith: "They are snares to catch the ignorant." He knoweth the inclination of the heart of man. And therefore he saith: "Accursed be he that leadeth the blind out of his way;" and: "Accursed be he that layeth a stumbling-block to overthrow the blind."

Epiph. ad Johan. Episc. Hieros.

Petr. Crinit. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

Concil. Mogunt. de Imag.

Wisd. xiv.

Deut. xxvii.

Lev. xix.

[1 Pol. Verg. De Invent. Rer. Amst. 1671. Lib. vi. cap. xiii. pp. 417, 8; where *hic de illorum cultu.*]

[2 Id. ibid. p. 423; where *hæc pietatis pars.*]

[3 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317.]

[4 Petr. Crinit. De Honest. Discipl. Lugd. 1585. Lib. x. cap. ix. p. 279. See before, page 650.]

[5 Synod. Prov. Mogunt. cap. 42. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 938.]

OF READING THE SCRIPTURES.

THE FIFTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the lay-people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue.

[OF THE PEOPLE'S READING THE BIBLE IN THEIR OWN TONGUE.—ARTICLE XV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

That the lay-people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue, I find it not. (204) *Neither do I find that the lay-people was then, or at any other time, commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being vulgar and barbarous. By vulgar and barbarous tongues I understand, as before, all other beside the three learned and principal tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: which, as they were once native and vulgar to those three peoples, so now to none be they native and vulgar, but common to be obtained*[6] *by learning, for meditation of the scriptures, and other knowledge.*

The two hundred and fourth untruth. For M. Harding knoweth the people was commanded to read the scriptures, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding fully dischargeth this whole matter in one word. "I find it not," saith he, "that the lay-people was then forbidden to read the word of God in their own tongue." Howbeit, some others of his side thought[7] sometimes they had surely found it, and were able to allege these words: *Nolite sanctum dare canibus:* "Give not holy things to dogs;" and thereof necessarily to conclude that the lay-people, whom in respect of themselves they called dogs, might not once touch the holy scriptures. But M. Harding saith plainly, he findeth it not. This short answer touching the demand is sufficient, if he knew what were sufficient. All the rest is made up only in words, as shall appear.

He addeth further: "Neither do I find that the lay-people was then, or at any other time, commanded to read the word of God in their own tongue, being vulgar and barbarous." First, this stopple of commanding is whole[8] impertinent unto the question. Secondly, all other tongues, three only excepted, are without just cause condemned for barbarous. Thirdly, this exception of the people's reading in their vulgar tongue is only a bare shift and a quarrel without savour. For in what tongue can the vulgar people read and understand any thing, saving only in their own common and vulgar tongue? But, as the emperor Tiberius used sometimes to send certain of his nobles into his out provinces and far countries, to rule there as viceroys and lieutenants under him, and yet, that notwithstanding, would not suffer them to go thither, or in any wise to depart from Rome[9]; even in like sort M. Harding, notwithstanding he would seem to license the lay-people to read God's word, yet he limiteth them either to the Greek, or to the Latin, or to the Hebrew tongue, wherein he is well assured they cannot read it.

Corn. Tacit. in Tiberio.

[6] Attained, H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565, Obtained.]

[7] Though, 1611.]

[8] Wholly, 1565.]

[9] C. Corn. Tacit. Annal. Lib. I. cap. lxxx.]

But, that the people was in old times willed to read the scriptures, and that in such tongues as they were able to understand, it is evident, and appeareth many ways. And of infinite testimonies and good proofs only to touch a few, God saith thus unto his people: "Hearken, O Israel:..., let the words that I speak to thee this day rest in thy heart: thou shalt shew them unto thy children: thou shalt think of them sitting in thy house, and walking in thy journey, and when thou goest to rest, and when thou risest: thou shalt bind them as a mark unto thy hand: thou shalt have them as a token before thine eyes: thou shalt write them on the posts of thy doors, and at the entry of thy gates."

Deut. vi.

Corn. Agrip. de Vanit. Scient.

August. in cap. Jejunii.

Chrysost. in Johan.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Coloss. Hom. 9.

Orig. in Esai. Hom. 2.

Hieron. in Epit. Paul.

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. i.

As it is noted by a writer of late years, it was decreed in the first council of Nice, that no christian man should be without the bible in his house[1]. St Augustine saith unto the people: *Nec solum sufficiat, quod in ecclesia divinas lectiones auditis; sed etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legite, aut alios legentes requirite*[2]: "Think it not sufficient that ye hear the scriptures in the church; but also in your houses at home, either read yourselves, or get some other to read unto you." St Chrysostom saith unto his people: *Admoneo, et rogo, ut libros comparetis*[3]: "I warn you and beseech you to get books." Again he saith: *Audite, seculares omnes: comparate vobis biblia, animæ pharmaca. Si nihil aliud vultis, vel novum testamentum acquirite, apostolum, evangelia, Acta, continuos et sedulos doctores*[4]: "Hear me, ye men of the world: get ye the bible, that most wholesome remedy for the soul. If ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the new testament, St Paul's epistles, and the Acts, that may be your continual and earnest teachers." Origen saith: *Utinam... omnes faceremus illud, quod scriptum est, Scrutamini scripturas*[5]: "I would to God we would all do as it is written, 'Search the scriptures.'" St Hierome, speaking of the company of women that was at Bethleem with Paula, saith thus: *Non licebat cuiquam sororum ignorare psalmos, et non de scripturis sanctis quotidie aliquid discere*[6]: "It was not lawful for any one of all the sisters to be ignorant of the psalms, nor to pass over any day without learning some part of the scriptures." In these examples, notwithstanding some cavil perhaps might be made to the contrary, yet very reason will lead M. Harding to think that these fathers meant the people should read the scriptures in their own known and vulgar tongues. St Basil saith: *Quantum ferre potest humana natura, possumus esse similes Deo; similitudo autem illa sine cognitione nulla est; cognitio autem constat ex doctrina; initium autem doctrinæ sermo est; sermonis autem partes syllabæ et voces*[7]: "We may become like unto God, as far forth as the weak nature of man can bear. But this likeness cannot be without knowledge; neither this knowledge without doctrine. And the beginning of doctrine is speech; and the parts of speech be words and syllables." The resolution hereof is this: The people, without understanding the particular words and syllables, cannot know the speech; not knowing the speech, they cannot attain this doctrine; and without this doctrine they cannot be like unto God.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

1. *They that treat of this article, concerning the having of the scriptures in a vulgar tongue for the laity to read, be of three sundry opinions. Some judge it to be utterly unlawful that the bible be translated into any*

Three sundry opinions concerning the

[1 Et Nicena synodus decretis suis cavit, ne quis e numero Christianorum sacris bibliorum libris careret. —Corn. Agrip. De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. c. fol. Bb. 11.]

[2 Perhaps the following is the passage intended: ... non vobis debet sufficere, quod in ecclesia lectiones divinas auditis, sed in domibus ... lectioni divinæ debetis insistere.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Fratr. in Erem. Serm. lvi. Tom. VI. Append. col. 366. Most of the sermons included under the above title are spurious.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. liii. Tom. VIII. p. 314.]

[4 Id. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 391.]

[5 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Isai. Hom. ii. 2. Tom. III. p. 109.]

[6 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Epit. Paul. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 682; where *nec licebat.*]

[7 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. i. 2. Tom. III. p. 2.]

scriptures to be had in a vulgar tongue.

*tongue of the common people. Some think it good it be translated, so that respect be had of time, and of place, and of persons. Some be of the opinion, that the holy scriptures ought to be had in the mother and native tongue of every nation, without any regard of time, place, or persons. *The first opinion is holden of few, and commonly misliked. *The third is maintained by all the sects of our time, the Swenkfeldians excepted, who would the scriptures to be in no regard. The second is allowed best of those that seem to be of most wisdom and godliness, and to have most care for the health of the church, [a]who have not severed themselves from the faith which hath continued from the beginning. Here that I say nothing of the first opinion, as they of the third reprove the moderation of the second, so they of the second cannot allow the generality of the third.*

2. 3.

* This is the practice of the church of Rome.
* This was the judgment of Christ, the apostles, and all the old fathers.
[a] M. Harding is none of these.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here are laid out three sundry opinions. The first utterly barreth all and every of the lay-people from every parcel of the scriptures. The third giveth all men leave to read all parts thereof without exception. Between these two extremes the second opinion is a mean.

The first hereof, saith M. Harding, is commonly misliked. Yet, nevertheless, it appeareth by him, in the fourteenth division of this article, it is the very practice and opinion of the church of Rome: which church, as he saith, hath already condemned all the new translations, and not allowed the old, neither in the Gotthian tongue translated by Ulphilas, nor in the Sclavon tongue translated by St Hierome; nor hath devised any other translation of her own. Hereby it is plain, that the opinion and practice of the church of Rome is commonly misliked, and holden of few.

The third opinion, that all men indifferently may read the scriptures without restraint, as M. Harding saith, is holden only by certain sects, and is too general. Notwithstanding this generality seemed good to Christ, his apostles, and to all the old doctors of the church, as it shall appear. Wherefore it followeth that Christ, his apostles, and all the old doctors, by M. Harding's judgment, were sectaries and heretics.

The second opinion is a mean between both, and is holden by M. Harding, and by certain others, that have not at any time altered their faith: notwithstanding men say M. Harding hath altered more than once, and therefore may hardly be allowed to pass in this number. Yet is this opinion of all others accounted the best. Howbeit, whereas all men are indifferently and equally inheritors to God's word; to bind the same only unto a few, and that with such restraint of times and places, it must needs be thought some great partiality. St Paul saith: *Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt; ut per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus:* "All that is written in the scriptures is written for our instruction, that by patience and comfort of the scriptures we may have hope." St Basil saith: "The scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient remedy for his disease[8]. St Augustine saith: *Deus in scripturis, quasi amicus familiaris, sine fuco loquitur ad cor doctorum et indoctorum*[9]: "Almighty God in the scriptures speaketh, as a familiar friend, without dissimulation, unto the hearts both of the learned and also of the unlearned." Wherefore, the word of God being so universal, meet for all diseases, for all wits, and for all capacities; for M. Harding to improper[10] the same only unto a few, it is both far greater dishonour unto God, and also far greater injury unto God's faithful people, than if he would in like manner improper and inclose the sun-beams, to comfort the rich, and

Rom. xv.

Basil. in Psal. i.

August. Epist. 3. ad Volus.

---

[8] Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος, διὰ τοῦτο συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἐν κοινῷ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρείῳ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸ ἴαμα τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους ἕκαστος ἐκλεγώμεθα. —Id. Hom. in Psalm. i. 1. Tom. I. p. 90.]

[9] Ea quæ aperta continet [scriptura], quasi amicus familiaris, sine fuco ad cor loquitur doctorum atque indoctorum. — August. Op. Ad Volus. Epist. cxxxvii. 18. Tom. II. col. 409.]

[10] Improper: appropriate.]

not the poor; to shine upon some, and not upon all. This mean way is no way: it is weighed out, not by the scriptures or holy fathers, but only by policy and worldly reason.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

That the scriptures be not to be set forth in the vulgar tongue to be read of all sorts of people, every part of them, without any limitation of time, place, and persons, they seem to be moved with these considerations. First, that it is not necessary; next, that it is not convenient; thirdly, that it is not profitable; fourthly, that it is dangerous and hurtful; and lastly, although it were accorded the common people to have liberty to read the bible in their own tongue, yet that the translations of late years made by those that have divided themselves from the catholic church be not to be allowed, as worthily suspected not to be sound and assured.

Five considerations why the scriptures are not to be set forth for all sorts of people to read them without limitation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These deep considerations were never devised neither by Moses, nor by Christ, nor by the apostles, nor by any the ancient fathers; but are brought in only now at last by them that of long time have deceived the world by ignorance, and yet labour by the same to deceive it still. Christ saith: *Qui male agit odit lucem:* "He that doth ill flieth the trial of the light." And M. Harding's own Amphilochius saith: *Naturalis providentia est male errantium, auferre de medio testimonia veritatis*[1]: "It is the natural provision of them that be wilfully deceived, to convey out of sight all proofs and testimonies of the truth." So the Philistines, the better to keep the Jews thrall and in subjection, utterly bereaved them of all manner weapon and artillery, and left them naked; and, no doubts, bare them then in hand, as M. Harding doth now the people of God, that it was neither necessary, nor convenient, nor profitable for them to have armour. Verily, Chrysostom saith: "It is more necessary, more convenient, and more profitable for the lay-people to read God's word, than for monks, or priests, or any others." Thus he writeth: *Hoc est, quod omnia quasi una quadam peste corrumpit, quod lectionem divinarum scripturarum ad solos putatis monachos pertinere; cum multo vobis magis, quam illis, sit necessaria.... Itaque multo est gravius atque deterius, rem superfluam esse putare legem Dei, quam illam omnino non legere. Hæc enim verba sunt, quæ de diabolica prorsus meditatione promuntur*[2]: "This is it that, as it were with a pestilence, infecteth all things, that ye think the reading of the scriptures pertaineth only unto monks; whereas it is much more necessary for you than for them. It is more wickedness to think God's law is superfluous, than if ye should never read it. For these be the words that no doubts come from the study of the devil."

John iii.

Amphiloch. in Vita Vincent.

1 Sam. xiii.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2.

Thus much therefore we learn here by Chrysostom, that these M. Harding's profound considerations "come from the study and closet of the devil."

De diabolica prorsus meditatione promuntur.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

First, that the common people of all sorts and degrees ought of necessity to read all the holy scriptures in their own tongue, they say they could never find it hitherto in the same scriptures. Irenæus writeth, that the apostles preached to the aliens and barbarous people the faith of Christ, even to those that were aliens and barbarous in language, and saith, that, having heard the gospel preached, they believed in Christ; and, keeping the order of tradition which the apostles delivered unto them, had their salvation and faith written in their heart without print, pen, or ink, and utterly without letters. And further he sheweth that, if the apostles had left to us no scriptures at all, yet we should be saved by the tradition which they left to them whom they committed their churches unto, as many nations of aliens be saved by the same[3].

Lib. iii. adversus Hæreses, cap. iv.

[1] The reference is probably incorrect: the editor has been unable to discover the passage intended.]

[2] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. p. 30.]

[3] Quid autem si neque apostoli quidem scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi

Hilarius likewise, declaring that the mystery of God's will and the expectation of the blessed kingdom is most and chiefly preached in the three tongues in which Pilate wrote on the cross our Lord Jesus Christ to be king of the Jews, confesseth notwithstanding, that "many barbarous nations have attained and gotten the true knowledge of God by the preaching of the apostles, and the faith of the churches remaining amongst them to that day[4]." Whereby he doth us to understand that the unlearned barbarous people[5] had their faith without letters or writing, whereof they had no skill, by tradition and preaching, as well as the other nations who were holpen by the benefit of the learned tongues, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.

Prologo in explanationem Psalm.

Tradition.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching this first consideration, M. Harding imagineth shadows of himself, and fighteth stoutly against the same. Therefore he may soon attain the victory. For we say not that the common people of all sorts and degrees ought of necessity to read all the holy scriptures. This is only M. Harding's fantasy: we say it not; we know some are blind, and many unlearned and cannot read. But thus we say, that in the primitive church whosoever would and could read, might lawfully read without controlment. Therefore St Augustine saith, as it is before alleged: *Aut ipsi legite, aut alios legentes requirite*[6]: "Either read yourselves, or get some other to read unto you."

August. in cap. Jejunii.

I grant, at the first preaching and publishing of the gospel certain barbarous nations that received the faith of Christ had neither books nor letters. Yet were they not therefore ignorant, or left at large to believe they knew not what. They had then certain officers in the church, which were called *catechistæ*, whose duty was continually and at all times to teach the principles of the faith, not by book, but by mouth. Of these mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, in the council of Nice[7], and elsewhere. This office bare Origen, that ancient learned father[8]. This doctrine Dionysius calleth θεοπαράδοτα λόγια, "Oracles or instructions given from God;" and saith, "They passed from one to another, not by writing, but by mouth, ἐκ νοὸς εἰς νοῦν, from mind to mind[9]." Neither did these traditions contain any secret or privy instructions or inventions of men, as it is imagined by some, but the very self-same doctrine that was contained written in the scriptures of God. And in this sort the gospel itself and the whole religion of Christ was called a tradition. So Tertullian calleth the articles of the faith "an old tradition[10]." So the faith of the holy Trinity in the council of Constantinople is called a tradition[11]; and the faith of two sundry natures in Christ in the same council is called *apostolorum ... viva traditio*[12], "the lively tradition of the apostles." So it is written in Socrates: *Credimus in unum Deum Patrem, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam traditionem*[13]: "We

Acts xix.

Concil. Nic. i. can. 14. Orig. Catechista. Euseb. Lib. vi. cap. xx. Dionys. in Eccles. Hierarch.

Tertull. de Præscr. adv. Hæret.

Concil. Constant. vi. Act 4. Ead. Act.

Socrat. Lib. ii. cap. x.

---

traditionis, quem tradiderunt iis quibus committebant ecclesias? Cui ordinationi assentiunt multæ gentes barbarorum, eorum qui in Christum credunt, sine charta et atramento scriptam habentes per Spiritum in cordibus suis salutem, et veterem traditionem diligenter custodientes.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iv. 1, 2. p. 178.]

[4 Quia his maxime tribus linguis sacramentum voluntatis Dei, et beati regni expectatio prædicatur: ex quo illud Pilati fuit, ut in his tribus linguis regem Judæorum Dominum Jesum Christum esse præscriberet. Nam quamvis multæ barbaræ gentes Dei cognitionem secundum apostolorum prædicationem et manentium hodie illic ecclesiarum fidem adeptæ sint: tamen &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Prolog. in Lib. Psalm. 15. col. 9.]

[5 Peoples, H. A. 1564.]

[6 See before, page 670, note 2.]

[7 The 14th canon of the Nicene council has reference to catechumens: περὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ παραπεσόντων, κ.τ.λ.—Concil. Nic. can. 14, in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 36. Probably Jewel meant to infer that as there were catechumens, there must be catechists.]

[8 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VI. capp. iii. xix. pp. 165, &c. 180.]

[9 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. i. 4. Tom. I. pp. 234, 5.]

[10 There are in the treatise named several passages which Jewel may be supposed to have had in his mind. The following is one: Superest ergo uti demonstremus, an hæc nostra doctrina, cujus regulam supra edidimus, de apostolorum traditione censeatur, et ex hoc ipso, an ceteræ de mendacio veniant.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hæret. 21. p. 238. See also ibid. 28, 37. pp. 241, 5.]

[11 Agath. Epist. i. in Concil. Constant. III. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. VI. col. 636.]

[12 Id. ibid. cols. 635, 6.]

[13 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. x. p. 72.]

Tradition.

believe in one God the Father, according to the tradition of the gospel and of the apostles." So St Basil calleth it a tradition "to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost[1]." Therefore St Paul saith: *Tenete traditiones, quas accepistis, sive per sermonem, sive per epistolam:* "Keep the traditions that ye have received either by mouth or else by letter." By these words the doctrine of the apostles is called a tradition. And for this cause St Cyprian saith: *Unde est ista traditio? An de dominica et evangelica veritate descendens, an de apostolorum mandatis atque literis veniens*[2]? "From whence is this tradition? whether cometh it from our Lord and from his gospel, or else from the epistles and commandments of the apostles?"

Basil. de Spirit. Sanct.

2 Thess. ii.

Cypr. ad Pomp.

Thus were the barbarous nations instructed by tradition and by mouth, and were made perfect[3] in every point and parcel of the faith, and, as Irenæus saith, "had their salvation by the Holy Ghost written in their hearts; and were as much bounden unto the same as unto any writings and letters of the apostles[4]." Of such lively and clear doctrine St Paul saith: "Christ was set out, and crucified before the eyes of the Galathians." And therefore he saith to the Philippians: "My prayer is, that your charity may yet more and more abound in all knowledge and in all understanding." And thus, notwithstanding they were barbarous, yet were they able to render an account of all the religion and faith in Christ. For thus Irenæus writeth of them: *Si quis illis annuntiaret ea, quæ ab istis hæreticis inventa sunt, statim clauderent aures*[5]: "If any man would shew those[6] barbarous nations what things these heretics have invented, they would stop their ears and not abide it." Likewise, if a man would shew them of the profanation of Christ's holy mysteries, of transubstantiation, of real and fleshly presence, and of other like horrible disorders that now are holden and defended in the church of Rome, as Irenæus saith, *fugerent longo longius, ne audire quidem sustinentes blasphemum colloquium*[5]; "they would flee away as far as they were able, and would not abide the hearing of such blasphemous talk." Thus were these nations sufficiently instructed, notwithstanding they were barbarous and wanted books.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. iv. Scriptam habentes salutem per Spiritum in cordibus suis.

Gal. iii.

Phil. i.

1 Pet. iii.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. iv.

Iren. in eod. cap.

But they of M. Harding's side neither will teach the people, as their duty is, nor suffer them to read the holy scriptures and to teach themselves. Christ may justly say to them, as he did sometimes unto others the like: "Wo be unto you, ye scribes and Pharisees: ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; and neither do ye enter yourselves, nor suffer others that would enter." Of such Irenæus speaketh in the next chapter following: *Hoc..... non est sanantium, nec vivificantium, sed magis gravantium, et augentium ignorantiam..... Et multo verior hic lex invenitur, maledictum dicens omnem, qui in errorem mittit cæcum in via*[7]: "This is not the part of them that would heal, or give life; but rather of them that augment the burden, and increase ignorance. And herein is the law well verified, 'Accursed is he that leadeth the blind out of his way.'"

Matt. xxiii.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Deut. xxvii.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

The word of God offereth occasion of ill thoughts. Nazianzene speaketh of contention and reasoning, and not of reading.

That it is not convenient nor seemly all sorts of persons without exception to be admitted to the reading of the holy scriptures, I need to say nothing: every reasonable man may easily understand the causes by himself. This is certain, divers chapters and stories of the old testament contain such matter as occasion of evil thoughts is like to be given, if women, maidens, and young men be permitted to read them. Gregory Nazianzene, whom the Greeks called the divine, saith, moved with great considerations, that it is not the part Lib. i. Theologiæ.

[1] ... αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, ἐκ ποίων γραμμάτων ἔχομεν; κ.τ.λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. 67. Tom. III. pp. 56, 7.]

[2] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Pomp. Epist. lxxiv. p. 211; where *utrumne de dominica, auctoritate descendens,* and *atque epistolis.*]

[3] Perfite, 1565, 1609.]

[4] See before, pages 672, 3, note 3.]

[5] Quibus si aliquis annuntiaverit ea, quæ ab hæreticis adinventa sunt, proprio sermone eorum colloquens, statim concludentes aures, longo longius fugient, ne audire quidem, &c.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. iv. 2. p. 178.]

[6] These, 1565, 1609.]

[7] Id. ibid. cap. v. 2. p. 179; where *his lex invenietur,* and *mittat.*]

of all persons to reason of God and of godly things, neither behoveful the same be done in all times and places, nor that all things touching God be meddled withal[8]. *Which advertisement taketh no place, where all be admitted to the curious reading of the scriptures in their own vulgar tongue.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding saith: "It is not convenient nor seemly that all the people should read the holy scriptures." As if he would say in plainer wise: It is not meet nor seemly that God should speak unto every of the poor simple people without exception. Howbeit, God himself saith not so, but rather the contrary. St Augustine saith, as it is alleged before: "God speaketh as a familiar friend unto the heart both of the learned and also of the unlearned[9]." "For he hath no acceptation or choice of persons." If it be not seemly for the people of God to read and to know God's holy will, for whom then is it seemly? The danger of fantasies and ill thoughts, that may thereby be moved, is but a fantasy. The prophet David saith: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta:* "The words of God be holy and chaste words." Again he saith: "Whereby shall a young man amend his life?" He answereth, not by fleeing, but "by keeping thy holy words."

August. ad Volus. Epist. 3. Loquitur ad cor et doctorum, et indoctorum. Acts x.

Psal. xii.

Psal. cxix.

And may we think that M. Harding meaneth any good faith, that, to the intent, as he saith, to pull young men from evil thoughts, thus withdraweth them from the reading of God's word, which every where reproveth sin; and nevertheless giveth them leave to read Ovid, Terence, Propertius, and such others, which for the most part are nothing else but examples and schools of sin? Verily, if God's holy word be a provocation of ill thoughts, which blasphemous words I marvel M. Harding can utter without horror, the world thinketh that many unmarried priests in the church of Rome are as much inclined to the same, as any woman, maiden, or young man. For it is not a gown or a cap that mortifieth the affections of the mind.

Nazianzene speaketh not of reading the scriptures, but of contentious disputing and reasoning of God or godly things; which, as St Paul saith, oftentimes worketh "the subversion of the hearers." And in this sense St Cyprian seemeth to say: *De Deo etiam vera dicere periculosum est:* "Of God it is dangerous to speak, yea, although ye speak the truth." Hereof M. Harding maketh up a very slender reason: It is not seemly for every man to contend and dispute of God; *ergo*, it is not seemly for the lay-people to read the scriptures. I grant, the rabbins did not amiss to restrain the people from reading certain chapters of the old testament until they were grown in years and judgment. For the scriptures of God are not all of one sort. Some parts be easy, some parts be hard; some meet for beginners, some meet for them that know more; but all meet and made for the people of God. Yet were it great folly and want of discretion to begin first with the hardest. So Justinian the emperor appointeth an order for the reading of the laws, what books and titles he would have read the first year, what the second, and so forth[10]. For otherwise, whoso would wade without order should lose his time.

Nazianz. Theol. Lib. i. 2 Tim. ii.

Cyprian.

In Proœmio Pandect.

But whereas M. Harding saith, "It is not seemly nor convenient the scriptures should be read of all persons without exception;" it had been good skill, and some credit unto his cause, if he could have told us plainly, out of all the whole people, what persons he thinketh meet to be excepted. If he say old men, that were much unseemly. If he say children, St Paul saith Timothy was brought up from his childhood in the scriptures, and never thought it unconvenient. If he say the unlearned, Chrysostom answereth: *Nihil opus est syllogismis: rustici aniculæque intelligunt:* "To understand God's word we

2 Tim. iii.

[8 Οὐ παντὸς, ὦ οὗτοι, τὸ περὶ Θεοῦ φιλοσοφεῖν, οὐ παντός·...προσθήσω δὲ, οὐδὲ πάντοτε, οὐδὲ πᾶσιν, οὐδὲ πάντα, κ.τ.λ. — Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Adv. Eunom. Orat. xxvii. Theol. i. 3. Tom. I. p. 489.]

[9 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Volus. Epist. cxxxvii. 18. Tom. II. col. 409. See before, page 671, note 9.]

[10 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Præf. i. Tom. I. p. 56.]

need no syllogisms, or knowledge of logic: husbandmen and old women do understand it." If he say women, this same was it that Julianus, the wicked emperor, charged the Christians withal, for that their women were so skilful in the scriptures[1]: but Nazianzenus answereth for his sister Gorgonia, that she was skilful both in the old testament and also in the new[2]. If he say maidens, St Hierome answereth, that "all the maidens about lady Paula were forced daily to learn the scriptures[3]." If he say young men or boys, Cyrillus answereth: *In sacris literis educati, fiunt postea religiosissimi, quamvis non æque eloquentes*[4]: "Being brought up in the scriptures, afterward they become most godly men, albeit perhaps not so eloquent." If he say the poor, St Paul answereth: *Non multi genere nobiles:* at Corinth, among them that first received the gospel, "there were not many of great birth, or much wealth." If he say heretics, St Augustine, being inclined to the heresy of the Manichees, by reading the scriptures was converted[5]. If he say heathens, St Luke will say that queen Candace's chamberlain, being an heathen, read the scriptures without controlment.

Cyril. contr. Julian. Lib. vi.

Nazianz. in Funeb. Orat. de Gorgon.

Hieron. in Epitaph. Paul.

Cyril. contr. Julian. Lib. vii.

1 Cor. i.

Confess. Lib. viii. cap. xii.

Acts viii.

Now, if neither old men nor children, nor the learned nor the unlearned, nor women nor maidens, nor young men nor boys, nor the poor nor the rich, nor heretics nor heathens, be excepted from the reading of God's word, what other sort of men then is there that M. Harding would have excepted? If it be convenient for every of these to read the scriptures, for whom then is it not convenient?

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

And the scripture itself, say they, sheweth plainly, that of convenience the scriptures ought not be made common to all persons. For Christ affirmeth the same with his own words, where he saith to his apostles: "Unto you it is given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but to others*[6] *in parables; that when they see they should not see, and when they hear they should not understand."* (205) *They to whom it is given to know these secrets be none other than the apostles and their successors or disciples. They to whom this is not given, but must learn parables, be they for whom it were better to be ignorant of the mysteries than to know them; lest they abuse them, and be the more grievously condemned if they set little by them, which we see commonly done among the common people.*

Luke viii.

* These others were the scribes and Pharisees, and others of that generation.

The two hundred and fifth untruth. For Christ saith: "These mysteries be hidden from the wise, and revealed to the little ones." Matt. xi.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It were much better for M. Harding not to know the word of God, than thus wilfully to abuse it. They, unto whom Christ would not open the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, were not the common sort of the lay-people, as M. Harding supposeth, but the bishops, the priests, the doctors, the scribes, and the Pharisees, and other like reprobates, whom God had given over in the hardness of their hearts; as it is plain by the words that Christ allegeth out of the prophet Esay: "O Lord, harden the heart of this people, stop their ears, blind their eyes, lest happily they be converted, and so be saved." And thus that ancient father Irenæus immediately after the apostles' time expounded it, and applieth thereto these words of St Paul: *In quibus Deus hujus seculi excœcavit corda infidelium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriæ Dei:* "In whom God hath blinded the hearts of them that be unfaithful, that the brightness of

Isai. vi.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xlviii.

2 Cor. iv.

[1 ... ἀλλ' ὅτι γυναῖκας τὸ θεῖον ἡμῶν ὀνίνησι κήρυγμα, φιλοψογίας καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖται πρόφασιν.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. VI. Tom. VI. p. 209. Conf. ibid. p. 206.]

[2 The passage intended is probably the following: ... τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσπίπτει μετὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενον ἀνακαλουμένη μεγάλῃ τῇ βοῇ, καὶ πάσαις ταῖς κλήσεσι, καὶ πασῶν αὐτὸν τῶν πώποτε δυνάμεων ὑπομνήσασα, σοφὴ γὰρ ἐκείνη καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ νέα, κ.τ.λ.—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. In Laud. Gorgon. Orat. viii. 18. Tom. I. p. 229. But it may be doubted if these words would bear the sense Jewel appears to put upon them. See, however, for proofs of Gorgonia's study of the scriptures, ibid. 11, 13. pp. 224, 6.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Epit. Paul. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 682. See before, page 670.]

[4 Cyril. Alex. Op. Contr. Julian. Lib. VII. Tom. VI. p. 234.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. 29. Tom. I. col. 156.]

[6 Other, H. A. 1564.]

the gospel of the glory of God may not shine unto them;" and likewise these words: *Tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum:* "God hath delivered them over into a reprobate understanding." And in the end he compareth them with Pharao and antichrist[7]. So likewise Dionysius the Carthusian, whose authority I trow M. Harding will not deny, saith of them: *Justo [Dei] judicio negata est illis [prædicatio evangelii] tanquam indignis intelligentia spirituali*[8]: "The preaching of the gospel was denied unto them by the just judgment of God, as unto men unworthy of any spiritual understanding." Rom. i. Dionys. Carthus. in Luc. cap. viii.

Thus M. Harding, the better to win his purpose, is contented to say that all the people of God, himself only with a few others excepted, are blind, reprobate, accursed of God, forsaken, and left in hardness of their hearts, unworthy of spiritual understanding, given over into a wicked mind, like to Pharao, like to antichrist. So much is the simple lay-people beholden to him. But Gerson, a doctor of M. Harding's own company, saith: *Licet judicium et conclusiones fidei auctoritative spectent ad prælatos et doctores; tamen ad alios quam ad theologos potest deliberatio pertinere, sicut et cognitio super his, quæ fidem respiciunt: ita etiam, ut ad laicos hoc possit extendi, et plus aliquando quam ad multos clericorum*[9]: "Albeit the judgment and the conclusions of faith pertain by authority unto the prelates and doctors; yet the consideration and weighing of the same may pertain as well unto others, as also knowledge touching those things that pertain unto the faith; which knowledge and judgment may also be extended unto the lay-people, and that better oftentimes than to many priests." So Panormitane saith: *Magis credendum est laico afferenti scripturas, quam papæ et concilio generali*[10]: "We ought more to believe a lay-man, if he bring the authority of the scriptures, than the pope and a general council." Gul. Gerson. Quæ veritates de necessitate salutis credendæ sint. Corol. 4. Abbas Panorm.

By these it is evident, that God hath not excluded the lay-people that believeth in him from the understanding of his holy secrets. Hugo Cardinalis expoundeth these words in this wise: *Vobis datum est: vobis qui libenter auditis, et fidem habetis*[11]: "Unto you it is given: unto you that are glad to learn, and have faith." And the very ordinary gloss saith thus: *Vobis qui fideles estis; sed Pharisæis incredulis sancta non sunt danda*[12]: "Unto you that are faithful it is given; but unto the unfaithful Pharisees holy things may not be given." And where M. Harding saith, The knowledge of the[13] mysteries pertaineth only unto the apostles of Christ and to their successors; pleaseth it thee, good reader, to understand, that by M. Harding's own decree the successors of the apostles be neither priests, nor deacons, nor monks, nor friars, nor cardinals, but only bishops. For so it is limited by Anacletus: *Episcopi... apostolorum Domini, presbyteri vero septuaginta duorum discipulorum locum tenent*[14]: "Bishops are in the place of the apostles; and priests are in the place of the threescore and twelve disciples." Thus M. Harding hath taken great pains to shut out both himself and the greatest part of his clergy and all the whole people from the mysteries[15] of the kingdom of heaven. Hugo Card. in Luc. cap. viii. Gloss. Ord. Anaclet. Epist. 3. Dist. 21. In Nono.

[7 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xxix. pp. 266, 7.]

[8 Dionys. Carthus. in Nov. Test. Col. 1532. In Evang. Luc. Enarr. cap. viii. Art. xx. Tom. I. fol. 174. 2; where *spiritualis*.]

[9 Denique sequitur ex his omnibus, quod judicium et quæstiones fidei licet auctoritative spectent ad prælatos et doctores, spectare tamen non potest ad alios quam theologos deliberatio, sicut et cognitio super his quæ fidem respiciunt, ita etiam ut ad laicos multos hoc posset extendi, et plus aliquando quam ad multos clericorum. — Gerson. Op. Antw. 1706. Decl. Verit. quæ Cred. sunt. Cor. iv. Tom. I. col. 26.]

[10 Nam in concernentibus fidem etiam dictum unius privati esset præferendum dicto papæ, si ille moveretur melioribus auctoritatibus novi et veteris testamenti quam papa. — Panorm. (N. de Tudesch.) sup. Decretal. Lib. Venet. Nur. et Basil. 1476-8. Lib. I. Tit. vi. Tom. I. fol. k. 2. See also Catal. Test. Verit. Genev. 1608. col. 1889; where the words cited very nearly resemble those in the text.]

[11 Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Evang. sec. Luc. cap. viii. Tom. VI. fol. 177. 2; where *adhibetis*.]

[12 Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra. Basil. 1502. Luc. cap. viii. Pars V. fol. 146. 2; where *quia*.]

[13 These, 1565.]

[14 This passage does not appear in the distinction cited. But see Anaclet. Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 63; where *domini apostolorum presbyteri quoque*.]

[15 Mystery, 1565.]

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

To read the Hebrew.

It is reported by sundry (206) *ancient writers of great authority, that among the people of Israel the seventy elders only could read and understand the mysteries of the holy books that we call the bible*[1]. *For, whereas the letters of the Hebrew tongue have no vocals, they only had the skill to read the scripture by the consonants; and thereby the vulgar people were kept from reading of it* (207) *by special providence of God, as it is thought, that precious stones should not be cast before *swine, that is to say, such as be not called thereto, as being for their unreverent curiosity and impure life unworthy.*

Vide Hilarium in Psalm. ii.

The two hundred and sixth untruth. For St Hilary saith no such thing.

The two hundred and seventh untruth, misreporting God's divine providence.

* The people swine.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Notwithstanding M. Harding's allegation were true, yet St Hilary's judgment touching the Hebrew tongue were not great. For, writing upon the same psalm, he much mistaketh this Hebrew word *bereschith*[1], as a man unskilful in that language; and St Hierome reproveth him likewise for mistaking this Hebrew word *osanna*[2]. But M. Harding, as otherwise his wont is, much misreporteth his author. For St Hilary saith no such thing. Thus only he saith, that these three-score and twelve doctors or elders were men of great knowledge; and therefore alloweth well of their judgment.

Hilar. in Psal. ii.

Hieron. ad Damas.

Touching the first invention and use of the pricks, it is thought the rabbins themselves do not agree. Some say they were delivered to Moses in the mount: some say they were invented by Esdras; some by the Tabarites, which were the canonists of the Jews, or doctors of traditions. Howbeit, whatsoever it were, the case is not much material. But to say that in all the whole country of Jewry, a few only excepted, no man was able to read the Hebrew tongue, in M. Harding, being so well learned in the same, it must needs be thought either a great oversight or else some other greater fault.

Deut. xi.

Deut. xxiv.

For he knoweth that God commanded every of the people to write the words of the law in the posts of their doors and in the borders of their coats. Likewise God commanded that whoso would put away his wife should first write a bill of divorce, and so put her from him. If M. Harding will say: Some one or other of these learned elders or doctors might write it for them; yet it is written thus in the book of the Machabees: *Cœpit populus Israel scribere in tabulis:* "The people of Israel began to write in their tables." It is written of Mardocheus, that "he wrote all that happened;" that Hieremy wrote the plagues that were coming; and that Baruch wrote the words of Hieremy. And in the gospel the wicked steward saith unto the debtor: "Take thy bill, sit down and write." Now let M. Harding consider, how could all these write, unless they could read; and, if they could not read, to what end should they write? Verily it appeareth not that any of these was of the three-score and twelve elders. Likewise king Josias found the book of the law in a wall, and read it. When Christ read and expounded the prophet Esay in the synagogue, the people marvelled not at his reading, (for that was common,) but only at his exposition. Philip said unto the chamberlain: *Intelligis ea quæ legis?* "Understandest thou that thou readest?" And when Christ suffered upon the cross, St John saith: *Hunc titulum multi Judæorum legerunt:* "Many of the Jews read that title." And wherefore did the rabbins take order that none of the lay-people, before they came to certain years of age, should read either the first chapter of Genesis, or the book of Canticles, or certain chapters of the prophet Ezechiel[3], if none of all the people understood the pricks or vowels, nor could read any

[1] Macc. xiii.

Esth. ix. Jer. li. Bar. i.

Luke xvi.

2 Kings xxiii.

Luke iv.

Acts viii.

John xix.

Orig. in Cant. in Prolog.

[1 Nam idem Moyses, quamvis veteris testamenti verba in litteris condidisset, tamen separatim quædam ex occultis legis secretiora mysteria septuaginta senioribus, qui doctores deinceps manerent, intimaverat. ...Ambiguitatis autem linguæ Hebraicæ unum afferemus exemplum...*Bresith* verbum Hebraicum est. Id tres significantias in se habet, id est, *in principio*, et *in capite*, et *in filio*....Sed perfecta horum septuaginta interpretum auctoritas manet.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. ii. 2, 3. cols. 28, 9.]

[2 ...Hilarius in Commentariis Matthæi ita posuit: *Osanna*, Hebraico sermone significatur, *redemptio domus David.*—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Damas. Epist. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 145.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Cant. Canticor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 26.]

thing at all? If there were nothing else, yet this thing only is sufficient to descry M. Harding's error. The rabbins say that in every town within the whole country of Israel there was a school; and that in Jerusalem there were found an hundred[4] schools[5]. And will M. Harding have us believe that in so many schools there was not one scholar able to know his letters? Howbeit he taketh it for no inconvenience, whatsoever may help to serve his turn.

To read the Hebrew.

Paul. Phag. in Levit. cap. xxiii.

But in the old times the pricks or vowels were not found; therefore, saith he, the people could not read. So likewise in old times the Greek tongue was written without accents, as it is evident until this day by sundry books and old marble stones that are so written. Yet notwithstanding men were then able to read the Greek tongue without accents. Certainly M. Harding knoweth that even now not only the learned of the Jews, but also the very children of ten years of age, are able to read without pricks or vowels.

Gerald. Lil. in Hist. Poet.

Yet, notwithstanding, saith M. Harding: This was done by God's secret providence[6], lest the lay-people should read God's word, and so precious stones should be thrown before swine. This doubtless was done by God's provision, that it might appear in what regard M. Harding hath the people of God; that is, by his own confession, as unpure and unclean beasts, and filthy swine, and none otherwise.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Here I need not to spend time in rehearsing the manifold difficulties of these holy letters, through which the reading of them to the simple and unlearned people, having their wits exercised in no kind of learning, their minds occupied in worldly cares, their hearts carried away with the love of things they lust after, is not very profitable. As the light shineth in vain upon blind eyes (saith a holy father), so to no purpose or profit is the labour of a worldly and natural man taken for the attaining of things that be of the Spirit[7]. *Verily, among other, this incommodity is seen by daily experience hereof to proceed, that, of the people, such as ought of right to take least upon them, be now become censurers*[8] *and judges of all, despisers of the more part, and, which is common to all heretics*, mockers of the whole simplicity of the church, and of all those things which the church useth as pap or milk to nourish her tender babes withal; that it were better for them not to read, than by reading so to be puffed up, and made insolent. Which evil cometh not of the scripture, but of their own malice and evil disposition.*

Bernard. super Cantica.

Bernard calleth him a worldly and a natural man, that is void of the Spirit of God. Therefore this place is not well applied.

* They despise nothing but that should be despised.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The lay-people is occupied in worldly affairs: *Ergo*, saith M. Harding, they may not be suffered to read the scriptures: as if he would say: They are in the midst of diseases; therefore they may use no physician. They are in the throng of their enemies; therefore they must be left naked without weapon. But the godly-learned fathers have evermore reproved this reason, and thought it childish. St Chrysostom saith thus unto the lay-people: *Lectio divinarum scripturarum vobis magis necessaria est, quam monachis*[9]: "The reading of the scriptures is more necessary for you than it is for monks." And, touching worldly cares, the world well seeth that the bishop of Rome and his cardinals, and others of that profession, are no less troubled therewith than they that are most deeply drowned in the world. St Gregory, being by the emperor advanced[10] to the bishopric of Rome, writeth thus of himself: *Sub colore epi-*

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 2.

Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 5.

[4 Four hundred, 1565; found hundred, 1609.]

[5 ... synagogæ et ædes concionatoriæ ... olim passim in Israel in omnibus locis institutæ erant, ut ... in suis ... locis scholas et synagogas haberent... Amplius quoque referunt Hebræi Hierosolymis olim tantum fuisse studium legis divinæ, ut ultra quadringentas publicas scholas et synagogas habuerint, in quibus lex Dei docebatur.—Tharg. ex Chald. in Lat. vers. add. Annot. aut. P. Fag. Argent. 1546. In Levit. cap. xxiii. fol. z. 6. 2.]

[6 Provision, 1565.]

[7 The editor has not been able to find these words.]

[8 Censors, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. ii. Tom. VII. p. 30. See before, page 672.]

[10 Avanced, 1565.]

Scientia inflat.

scopatus ad seculum retractus sum; in quo tantis terræ curis inservio, quantis me in vita laica nequaquam deservisse reminiscor[1]: "Under the colour of my bishopric, I am drawn back into the world; wherein I am so much troubled with worldly cares, as I do not remember the like when I lived in the world." And again he saith: "*Tanta me... occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur*[2]: "So many cares and businesses[3] do press me down, that I can in no wise lift my mind up to heaven." Yet Gregory, in comparison of his successors, might undoubtedly seem a saint: for as now they have one foot in the church, and another in the world; or rather, not one foot in the church, but both heart and body in the world.

Greg. Lib. i. Epist. 7. et Epist. 25.

Yet notwithstanding, by M. Harding's doctrine, these only must have the supreme judgment and exposition of God's word; and whatsoever they say therein, it ought to stand in more weight than the judgment of a general council, or the determination of the whole world[4].

Alb. Pigh. Lib. vi. cap. xiii.

He addeth further: "Knowledge bloweth up the heart, and increaseth pride:" thus saith M. Harding, being himself learned and full of knowledge: I will not use his own conclusion; *ergo*, full of pride. But thus he saith, even as Epimenides the poet said: *Cretenses semper mendaces*; "The men of Creta be ever liars," being himself a man of Creta, and therefore by his own judgment a liar, as others were.

1 Cor. viii.

Tit. i.

This slothful quarrel against the knowledge of God might be maintained by great antiquity. For St Hierome and St Augustine say, there were men then in their time of the same judgment herein that M. Harding is now. St Hierome saith: *Inertiæ se et otio et somno dantes, putant peccatum esse, si scripturas legerint; et eos qui in lege Domini meditantur die ac nocte, quasi garrulos inutilesque contemnunt*[5]: "Giving themselves to sleep and slothfulness, they think it sin to read the scriptures; and such as both day and night are studious in the law of God they despise as prattlers and vain men." Likewise St Augustine: *Sunt quidam homines, qui, cum audierint quod humiles esse debent, demittunt se, [et] nihil volunt discere, putantes, quod si aliquid didicerint superbi futuri sint, et remanent in solo lacte; quos scriptura reprehendit*[6]: "There be certain men that, when they hear they must be humble, abase themselves, and will learn nothing, fearing that, if they attain to any knowledge, they shall be proud; and so they remain still only in milk; but the scripture of God reproveth them."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

August. in Psal. cxxx.

The old learned father Irenæus, expounding these words of St Paul, *Scientia inflat*, writeth thus: *Paulus ait, Scientia inflat:... non quod veram scientiam de Deo culparet; alioqui se ipsum primum accusaret*[7]: "St Paul saith, 'Knowledge puffeth up the mind;' not for that he found fault with the true knowledge of God; otherwise he should first of all others have reproved himself;" for he was learned. And St Chrysostom saith: *Hoc omnium malorum causa est, quod scripturæ ignorantur*[8]: "This is the cause of all ill, that the scriptures are not known."

Iren. Lib. ii. cap. xlv.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Col. Hom. 9.

But they that read the scriptures despise such superstitious orders and idolatrous deformities as have been used, which M. Harding calleth the milk and simplicity of the church. Verily, and they that see the light despise the darkness; and they that know the truth despise falsehood[9]. St Paul, after he once understood Christ, despised all that he had been trained in before as filth and dung. And therefore he saith: "When I was a child, I spake as a child, and had understanding as a child; but, after that I once became a man, I

Phil. iii.

1 Cor. xiii.

---

[1] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. I. Indict. IX. Ad Theoctist. Epist. v. Tom. II. col. 491; where *ad seculum sum reductus in qua.*]

[2] Id. ibid. ad Anastas. Patr. Ant. Epist. xxvi. col. 516. See also ad eund. Epist. vii. col. 494.]

[3] Business, 1565, 1609.]

[4] The whole chapter referred to is an argument for what is here asserted; but see particularly Alb. Pigh. Hierarch: Eccles. Col. 1538. Lib. VI. cap. xiii. foll. 248, 9, 51. In the leaf last cited Pighius declares: Ab ejus [apostolicæ sedis] judicio nullam provocationem cadere, etiam ad quæcunque concilia, nec posse etiam ab orbe universo ejus retractari sententiam.]

[5] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 418, 9.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxxx. Enarr. 12. Tom. IV. col. 1468; where *quia humiles, dimittunt, putantes quia, superbi erunt,* and *reprehendit scriptura.*]

[7] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxvi. 1. p. 154; where *Paulus clamavit, quia veram,* and *alioquin.*]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Cor. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 391.]

[9] Falsehead, 1565.]

avoided (and despised) the things that pertained to a child." Whoso despiseth superstition and idolatry despiseth the things that should be despised; and in consideration of the dangers he hath escaped he saith with the prophet David: *Anima nostra, sicut passer, erepta est de laqueo venantium:* "Our soul is delivered as a sparrow from the snares of hunters[10]." Psal. cxxiv.

Touching that danger that is here surmised, undoubtedly the knowledge of God inflameth not nor bloweth up the heart, but rather cooleth it and maketh it humble. And for that cause God said unto Moses: "Let the king read this law all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God," &c.; *et ne elevetur cor ejus in superbiam,* "and that his mind be not blown up with pride." For the nature and force of God's word is to turn the heart: *Lex Domini convertens animas.* Therefore Cyrillus saith: "Young men that use to read God's word *fiunt postea religiosissimi*[11], afterward become (not proud or disdainful, but) most virtuous and godly." So Theodoretus saith unto the emperor Jovinian: "The knowledge of heavenly things is behoveful for a godly prince. For so shall your heart be (not puffed up with pride, but) truly and indeed in the hand of God[12]." Likewise St Augustine saith: *Lectio assidua purificat omnia,* &c. [*Et*] *qui vult cum Deo semper esse, semper debet orare et legere*[13]: "Continual reading cleareth and purgeth all things. Whoso will ever be with God must evermore pray and read." Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Fieri non potest, ut qui jugiter cœlestis doctrinæ verba excipit nihil patiatur*[14]: "It cannot possibly be but the man that continually receiveth the words of the heavenly doctrine must of force be moved," and feel somewhat in his heart.

Deut. xvii.

Psal. xix.

Contr. Julian. Lib. vii.

August. de Temp. Serm. 1.

Chrysost. in 2 ad Tim. Hom. 5.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

*The dangers and hurts which the common people's reading of the scriptures in their own language bringeth, after the opinion of those that reprove the same, be great, sundry, and many. I will here as it were but touch a few of them, leaving the whole matter itself to the judgment of the church. First, seeing the poison of heretics doth most infect the common people, and all heretics draw their venom out of the bible, under pretence of God's word; it is not thought good by these men to let every curious and busy body of the vulgar sort to read and examine the bible in their common language. *Yet they would not the learned, discreet, and sober laymen to be imbarred of that liberty.*

Curious busybody of the vulgar sort.

* A contradiction. For how can the sober layman read the scriptures, if they be not translated into his barbarous vulgar tongue?

De Trinitate, Lib. ii. *Again, if heresy spring of wrong understanding, not of the scriptures (as Hilarius saith, "heresy is of understanding, not of scripture; and the sense, not the word, is a crime"*[15]*), who shall sooner fall to*[16] *heresy than the common people, who cannot understand that they read? Verily, it seemeth a thing hard to believe, that the unlearned people should understand that which the best-learned men, with long study and great travail, can scarcely at length attain.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O what dangerous cases here are imagined, and all to fray the people from God's word! If the ignorant read the scriptures, saith M. Harding, they will prove heretics. For heretics suck their venom out of the scriptures. The conclusion hereof is this: Every of the people may safely read M. Harding's word; but God's word they may not read. There is no manner danger in M. Harding's book; but God's book is full of dangers. The reason hereof it is hard to guess, unless it be for that God's book is full of truth, and M. Harding's book is full of error.

---

[10] The hunters, 1565, 1609.]

[11] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. VII. Tom. VI. p. 234.]

[12] This address is recorded by Theodoret in his history; but it is the commencement of a letter written by Athanasius. Πρέπουσα θεοφιλεῖ βασιλεῖ φιλομαθὴς προαίρεσις καὶ πόθος τῶν οὐρανίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἕξεις ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Ad Jovian. De Fid. 1. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 780. Conf. Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. iii. p. 153.]

[13] August. Op. Serm. cccliii. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 508; where *frequenter debet*. This sermon is not really Augustine's: it would seem to have been taken from Alcuin, Lib. de Virt. et Vit.]

[14] Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τοσαύτην φιλοκοίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον πόθον διαπεσεῖν.—Chrysost. Op. In II. Epist. ad Tim. cap. ii. Hom. v. Tom. XI. p. 691.]

[15] De intelligentia enim hæresis, non de scriptura est: et sensus, non sermo fit crimen.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. II. 3. col. 789.]

[16] Into, H. A. 1564.]

Danger in reading.

That he here calleth heresy is the everlasting and manifest truth of God; which, when it was first preached and published by St Paul, was likewise even then called heresy. For thus St Paul answereth in his own defence: *Secundum hanc sectam, quam vocant hæresim, colo patrium Deum:* "According to this sect, which they call heresy, I worship the God of my fathers." Acts xxiv.

But if the lay-people, whom M. Harding for his pleasure calleth curious busy-bodies of the vulgar sort, may easily be led into heresies by reading the scriptures, for that they be unlearned; how then happened it that M. Harding himself, being a man so deeply trained in all kind of learning, could so lightly be led into the same? I trow, he was then no curious busy-body. Doubtless he was none of the vulgar sort.

In the primitive church, and long after the apostles' time, there were sundry sects and sorts of heresies, as it is plain by St Augustine, Epiphanius, Theodoretus, and others. Yet, that notwithstanding, the ancient fathers then evermore called upon the people, and exhorted them to read the scriptures, to the intent they might the better avoid heresies. For Irenæus, writing against the heretics called *Valentiniani*, saith thus: *Hæc...omnia contulit eis scripturarum...Dei ignorantia*[1]: "All this befell unto them, because they knew not the scriptures." As Christ also saith unto the Sadducees: *Erratis nescientes scripturas:* "Ye are deceived (not because ye know, but) because ye know not the scriptures." So St Hierome saith: *Omni studio legendæ nobis sunt scripturæ,...ut probati trapezitæ sciamus, quis numus probus sit, quis adulter*[2]: "We must read the scriptures with all diligence, that, as being good exchangers, we may know the lawful coin from the copper." So Chrysostom: *Manichæi et omnes hæreses decipiunt simplices. Sed si habuerimus sensus animæ exercitatos ad discretionem boni et mali, poterimus hujusmodi discernere. Quomodo autem fiunt sensus nostri exercitati? Ex usu scripturarum, et frequenti auditione*[3]: "The Manichees and all heresies deceive the simple. But, if we have the senses of our minds practised to discern good and ill, we may be able to discern them. But how may our senses become practised? By the use of the scriptures, and often hearing." Likewise saith Theophylact: *Illis, qui scrutantur divinas scripturas, nihil potest illudere. Illæ enim sunt lucerna, qua fur deprehenditur*[4]: "Nothing can deceive them that search the holy scriptures. For that is the candle whereby the thief is espied." This judgment had the old catholic fathers of reading the holy word of God. But that a blind man can better avoid dangers than he that seeth, or that a naked man in the midst of his enemies can better acquit himself than he that is armed, it seemeth a very unsensible and an unlikely doctrine.

Iren. Lib. iii. cap. xii.

Matt. xxii.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Ephes. Lib. iii. cap. iv.

Chrysost. ad Heb. Hom. 8.

Theophyl. de Lazar.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION[5].

Whereas Luther would the scriptures to be translated into every vulgar tongue, for that they be light and easy to understand, he is confuted by the scripture itself. For both St Peter and also St Paul acknowledgeth in them to be great difficulties, by occasion whereof some misconstrue them to their own damnation; some understand not what things they speak, nor of what things they affirm; and to some the gospel that St Paul preached is hidden, even to them which perish. If the scriptures were plain, how erred Arius? how Macedonius? how Eunomius? how Nestorius? how many more, men of great learning? specially seeing they all took occasion of their errors of the scriptures[6] *not rightly understanded?*

2 Pet. iii. 1 Tim. i. 2 Cor. iv.

Luther saith that St Hierome was overseen in the understanding of the scripture, that St Augustine erred in the same, that St Ambrose, Cyprian, Hilary, Basil, and Chrysostom, the best-learned doctors of Christ's church, were oftentimes deceived. And yet in the preface of his book, De Captivitate Babylonica, *he speaketh of them very honourably, and granteth that they have laboured in the Lord's vineyard worthily,*

[1 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III. cap. xii. 12. p. 198.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. iv. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 378; where *scripturæ sunt.*]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. v. Hom. viii. Tom. XII. pp. 88, 9.]

[4 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Luc. Comm. cap. xvi. Tom. I. p. 421.]

[5 Harding here does little more than copy from Alfonso de Castro. See Alfons. de Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. xiii. fol. 28.]

[6 Scripture, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

and that they have employed great diligence in opening the scriptures[7]. *If these, being of so excellent learning, after long exercise in the holy letters, after long study and watch, after long and fervent prayer, after mortification of themselves, and purgation of carnal affections, were deceived, as he witnesseth; how can he say they are clear, plain, and easy to be understanded? And if these worthy fathers were deceived in one point or two, is it not likely the common people may be deceived in many; specially their diligence and study not being comparable to theirs, and their lives not being such as the cleanness of their inward affects might lighten their understanding, and the anointing of God might teach them?* Scripture[8] hard.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Certain places in the scriptures have evermore been judged dark, both for many other causes, and also for the matter itself, and for the deep mysteries therein contained; which thing D. Luther also hath confessed in sundry places. But unto them that have eyes and cannot see, and delight more in darkness than in the light, the sun-beams may seem dark. The prophet Osee saith: *Rectæ viæ Domini; prævaricatores autem corruent in eis:* "The ways of the Lord be straight; but the wicked shall fall in them." Therefore Cyrillus saith: *Ea, quæ perspicua sunt, difficilia fiunt hæreticis*[9]: "The things, that of themselves[10] are plain, unto heretics are made dark." John xii. Rom. xi. John iii. Hos. xiv. Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xiv.

But in these cases the Spirit of God is bound neither to sharpness of wit nor to abundance of learning. Oftentimes the unlearned seeth that thing that the learned cannot see. Christ saith: "I thank thee, O Father, the Lord of heaven and earth, for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and the politic, and hast revealed the same unto the little ones." Therefore Epiphanius saith: *Solis Spiritus sancti filiis facilis est omnis scriptura et dilucida*[11]: "Only to the children of the Holy Ghost all the holy scriptures are plain and clear." Matt. xi. Epiph. Lib. ii.

Hereof M. Harding seemeth to conclude thus: There be certain dark places in the scriptures; *ergo*, the scriptures are full of darkness. This is a guileful kind of reasoning, known unto children, called *fallacia a secundum quid ad simpliciter*. In like form of argument he might have said: Albertus Pighius granteth there be certain errors in the mass[12]; *ergo*, the mass is full of errors. Or thus: The cardinals themselves confess there be certain abuses in the church of Rome[13]; *ergo*, the church of Rome is full of abuses. Certainly, notwithstanding a few certain places in the holy scriptures be obscure, yet generally "the scriptures are a candle to guide our feet;" generally "God's commandment is light, and lighteneth the eyes;" and therefore generally the word of God is full of comfort. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Omnia clara et plana sunt in scripturis divinis: quæcunque necessaria sunt manifesta sunt*[14]: "All things are clear and plain in the holy scriptures. Whatsoever thing there is necessary for us is also manifest." So saith Clemens Alexandrinus: *Audite qui estis longe: audite, qui prope: nullis celatum est verbum. Lux est communis: omnibus illucescit hominibus: nullis*[15] *est in verbo Cimmerius*[16]: "Hearken, ye that be far off: hearken, ye that be near. The word of God is hid from no man: it is a light common unto all men: there is no darkness in God's word." So Irenæus: *Scripturæ...in* Alb. Pigh. in Priv. Miss. In Conc. Select. Cardinal. Psal. cxix. Psal. xix. Chrysost. in 2 Thess. Hom. 3. Clem. Alex. in Orat. Adhort. ad Gent. Iren. Lib. i. cap. xlvi.

[7 Luther. Op. Witeb. 1552, &c. De Captiv. Babyl. In several parts of this treatise Luther refers to and speaks with respect of the fathers. See especially Tom. II. foll. 66, 7.]

[8 Scriptures, 1565.]

[9 There is some error here; as there are not 14 books of Cyril upon John: the passage meant is probably the following: Σκληρά πως ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀσυνέτοις ἀεὶ τὰ σοφά.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. iii. Tom. IV. 380. Conf. Op. Insig. Cyril. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. fol. 94. 2.]

[10 Themself, 1565.]

[11 The reference to Epiphanius is not precise: probably the following passage may be that intended: Αλλὰ ἔστι θεῖα τὰ ῥήματα Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ λεγόμενα, ἄγνωστα δὲ τοῖς μὴ εἰληφόσι Πνεύματος ἁγίου δωρεὰν καὶ χάριν.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Lib. ii. Hær. lxix. 43. Tom. I. p. 766. Also... ὁρᾶτε ... υἱοὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ σκολιὸν, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. 60. p. 787.]

[12 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. De Miss. Priv. Controv. vi. fol. 123. 2. See before, page 7.]

[13 Concil. Delect. Cardinal. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 819, &c.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. In ii. Epist. ad Thessal. cap. ii. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 528.]

[15 Nullus, 1565.]

[16 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. 9. Tom. I. p. 72.]

aperto [*sunt*] *et sine ambiguitate; et similiter ab omnibus audiri possunt*[1]: "The scriptures are plain and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men." So the old father Origen: *Clausum est negligentibus; invenitur autem a quærentibus, et pulsantibus*[2]: "It is shut from the negligent; but it is opened unto them that seek and knock for it." So St Hierome: *Dominus...per evangelium suum loquutus est, non ut pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes*[3]: "The Lord hath spoken by his gospel; not that a few should understand him, but that all." So saith Fulgentius: *In scripturis divinis abundat, et quod robustus comedat, et quod parvulus sugat*[4]: "In the scriptures of God there is plenty sufficient both for the strong to eat, and also for the little one to suck." To be short, so St Gregory saith: *Est flumen,...in quo...agnus ambulet, et elephas natet*[5]: "It is a flood, wherein the little lamb may wade, and the great elephant may swim."

Orig. in Exod. Hom. 9.

Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi.

Fulgent. in Serm. de Confess.

Gregor. in Epist. ad Leandr.

Thus, notwithstanding certain clauses and sentences in the holy scriptures be hard and dark, yet by these holy fathers' judgments the scriptures generally are easy and clear.

But M. Harding upon a false position maketh up the like conclusion. For thus he saith: The scriptures are dark; therefore the people may not read them. Verily, as he would violently take the scriptures from the simple, because, as he saith, they understand them not; so by the same force he may take the scriptures from all the old doctors and learned fathers, because, as it appeareth by their dissension, and by M. Harding's own confession, they understood them not.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

And, lest all the unlearned lay-people should seem hereby utterly rejected from hope of understanding God's word without teaching of others, it may be granted, that it is not impossible a man (be he never so unlearned) exercised in long prayer, accustomed to fervent contemplation, being brought by God into his inward cellars, may from thence obtain the true understanding and interpretation of the holy scriptures, no less than any other always brought up in learning. Of what sort St Antony, that holy and perfect man, the eremite of Egypt, was: who, as St Augustine writeth, without any knowledge of letters, both conned[7] *the scriptures by heart with hearing, and understood them wisely with thinking*[8]. *And that holy man whom St Gregory speaketh of, who, lying bedrid many years for sickness of body, through earnest prayer and devout meditation obtained health of mind and understanding of the scriptures, never having learned letters; so as he was able to expound them to those that came to visit him, who, coming unto him with pretence to bring comfort, through his heavenly knowledge received comfort. But among the people, how great number is there of lewd losels, gluttons, and drunkards, whose belly is their god, who follow their unruly lusts? Is it to be thought this sort of persons may, without meditation and exercise of prayer, pierce the understanding of the scriptures, and of those holy mysteries which God hath hidden (as Christ confesseth) from the learned and wise men*—and opened unto little ones?

Psal. lxxiii.[6]

Prologo in libros de Doctrina Christiana.

[*Matt. xi.* H.A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding alloweth these, whom he calleth curious busy-bodies of the vulgar sort, to attain to the understanding of God's word, not by reading, but only by

---

[1 Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xxvii. 2. p. 155; where *possint*.]

[2 ...apostolus...aperit pauca de multis: ut clausum sit quidem negligentibus, inveniatur autem a pulsantibus, et quærentibus aperiatur.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. ix. 1. Tom. II. p. 162.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. lxxxvi. Tom. II. Append. col. 350; where *evangelia sua*.]

[4 ... in verbo Dei abundet quod perfectus comedat, abundet etiam quod parvulus sugat.—Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Serm. de Confess. col. 484.]

[5 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Ad Leandr. Epist. cap. iv. Præf. Expos. B. Job. Tom. I. cols. 5, 6; where *fluvius*. See before, page 331.]

[6 This reference is not in H. A. 1564. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[7 Canned, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[8 ... ab Antonio sancto et perfecto viro Ægyptio monacho...qui sine ulla scientia litterarum scripturas divinas et memoriter audiendo tenuisse, et prudenter cogitando intellexisse prædicatur; aut ab illo servo barbaro christiano...qui litteras quoque ipsas, nullo docente homine, in plenam notitiam orando ut sibi revelarentur, accepit, triduanis precibus impetrans ut etiam codicem oblatum, stupentibus qui aderant, legendo percurreret.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Prolog. 4. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 3.]

special revelation and miracle, and none otherwise; and that, within the space of a thousand years, one or two only, and no more. For so St Antony attained unto the knowledge thereof, utterly without any book, or reading, or any other help of understanding[9]. So that sick man lying bed-rid, of whom St Gregory maketh that worthy mention. So that barbarous and utterly unlearned slave, that suddenly by revelation was taught to read[9]. And so likewise perhaps M. Harding himself, being so long a time and so earnest a preacher of the same gospel and truth of God that he now so wilfully condemneth, without either book, or reading, or other conference, only upon the change of the prince, and none otherwise, understood that thing that before he could not understand, and by miracle and revelation upon the sudden was wholly altered unto the contrary.

August. in Prolog. de Doct. Christ.

August. in eod. Prolog.

True it is, flesh and blood is not able to understand the holy will of God without special revelation: therefore Christ gave thanks unto his Father, "for that he had revealed his secrets unto the little ones," and likewise "opened the hearts of his disciples, that they might understand the scriptures." Without this special help and prompting of God's holy Spirit, the word of God is unto the reader, be he never so wise or well-learned, as the vision of a sealed book. But this revelation is not special unto one or two, but general to all them that be the members of Christ, and are endued with the Spirit of God. Therefore St Chrysostom saith generally unto all the people: *Audite, quotquot estis mundani, et uxoribus præestis ac liberis, quemadmodum vobis apostolus Paulus præcipiat legere scripturas, idque non simpliciter, neque obiter, sed magna cum diligentia*[10]: "Hearken, all ye men of the world, that have wives and children, how St Paul the apostle of Christ commandeth you to read the scriptures, and that not slightly, or as by the way, but with great diligence." Again he saith: *Domi biblia in manus sumite:...domi vacemus divinarum scripturarum lectioni*[11]: "Take the bible into your hands in your houses at home. At home in our houses let us apply the reading of holy[12] scriptures." So likewise saith St Hierome: *Hic ostenditur, verbum Christi, non sufficienter, sed abundanter etiam laicos habere debere, et docere se invicem, vel monere*[13]: "Here we are taught, that the lay-people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel others."

Matt. xvi.

Matt. xi.

Luke xxiv.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Col. Hom. 9.

The people commanded by God to read the scriptures.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 29.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Col. cap. iii.

But amongst these busy-bodies of the vulgar sort M. Harding findeth a great number of losels, gluttons, and drunkards, whose belly is their god. Thus he nameth the part; but he meaneth the whole. For even so writeth Hosius, one of the chief of that company: *Non est consilium in vulgo, non ratio, non discrimen*[14]: "In this vulgar sort there is neither counsel, nor reason, nor discretion." And further[15], he calleth the flock of Christ *belluam multorum capitum*[16], "a wild beast of many heads;" as M. Harding also a little before calleth them swine; and others call them filthy dogs. Even so the Pharisees judged and spake of the simple people that followed Christ: *Turba ista, quæ non novit legem, maledicti sunt*: "These rabbles of rascals, that (are unlearned and) know not the law, are accursed." In such regard they have them whom St Paul calleth *cives sanctorum et domesticos Dei*; "citizens with the saints, and of the household of God."

Hos. Lib. ii. contr. Brent.

In the seventh division[17].

John vii.

Eph. ii.

If looseness of life be a just cause to banish the people from the word of God, it is commonly thought that the cardinals and priests in Rome live as loosely as any others. St Bernard of the priests of his time writeth thus: *Non est jam dicere, Ut populus, sic sacerdos: quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*[18]: "We may not now say, As is the people, so is the priest. For the people is not so wicked as

Bernard. in Conv. Paul.

[9 See before, note 8.]

[10 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Hom. ix. Tom. XI. p. 390.]

[11 Id. in cap. ix. Gen. Hom. xxix. Tom. IV. p. 281.]

[12 The holy, 1565.]

[13 Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1074.]

[14 ...non est in vulgo consilium, non ratio, non disciplina, non diligentia.—Hos. Op. Col. 1584. De Legit. Jud. Rer. Eccles. Lib. II. Tom. I. p. 457.]

[15 Farther, 1565.]

[16 Et ex hujus tu beluæ multorum capitum judicio pendere principes potius vis, &c.?—Id. ibid.]

[17 In the sixth division, 1565.]

[18 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Conv. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

is the priest." Therefore, by M. Harding's judgment, the priests ought no less to be banished from God's word than the rest of the people.

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

And whereas learned men of our time be divided into contrary sects, and write bitterly one against another, each one imputing to other mistaking of the scriptures; if amongst them, who would seem to be the leaders of the people, be controversies and debates about the understanding of the scriptures, how may the common people be thought to be in safe case out of all danger of errors, if by reading the bible in their own tongue they take the matter in hand?

The gospellers divided into contrary sects.

If any man think I slander them, for that I say they be divided into contrary sects, let him understand their own countrymen (I mean them of Germany, and special setters forth of this new doctrine) report it in their books, and complain lamentably of it. Namely, Nicolaus Amsdorffius, in his book intituled Publica Confessio puræ doctrinæ Evangelii, &c. *Also Nicolaus Gallus, in his book of Theses and Hypotyposes; who acknowledgeth the strifes and debates that be amongst them to be not of light matters, but of high articles of christian doctrine. For even so be his words in Latin:* Non sunt leves inter nos concertationes de rebus levibus, sed de sublimibus doctrinæ christianæ articulis, de lege et evangelio, &c. *The same man, in the last leaf of his foresaid book, with great vehemency reporteth:* Hæreses permultas esse præ manibus, plerasque etiamnum hærere in calamo: "*that very many heresies be already in hand, and many as yet stick in the pen;*" *as though he meant they were ready to be set forth.*

Of late there have been put forth[1] *in print two great books, one by the princes of Saxony, the other by the earls of Mansfield, chief maintainers of the Lutherans, in which be recited eleven sects, and the same as detestable heresies condemned: they are contained in this catalogue or roll:* Anabaptistæ, Servetiani, Stancariani[2], Antinomi, Jesuitæ, Osiandriani, Melanchthonici, Majoristæ, Adiaphoristæ, Suencfeldiani, Sacramentarii. *Albeit the Jesuits have wrong to be numbered among them. Thus*[3] *much is confessed of the sects and controversies of our new gospellers by their own princes, that stand in defence of the confession of Auspurge, and by two of the Lutheran superintendents*[4].

No man hath so exactly declared to the world the number and diversity of the sects of our time which hath sprung out[5] *of Martin Luther, as Fridericus Staphylus, a man of excellent learning, one of the emperor's council that now is; who might well have knowledge herein, forasmuch as he was a diligent student ten years at Wittenberg among the chief doctors of them, and for that time was of their opinion, and afterward by consideration of their manifold disagreeings and contentions within themselves induced to discredit them, and through the grace of God reduced to a whole mind, and to the catholic faith, and now remaineth a perfect member of the church. This learned man in his apology sheweth, that out of Luther have sprung three divers heresies or sects; the* (208) *anabaptists, the sacramentaries, and the confessionists, who made confession of their faith in open diet, before the emperor Charles, the princes, and states of Germany at Auspurge,* anno Domini 1530, *and for protestation of the same there are called protestants. Now he proveth farther*[6] *by testimony of their own writings, that the anabaptists be divided into six sects;* (209) *the sacramentaries into eight sects;* (209) *the confessionists, and they which properly are called protestants, into twenty sects, every one having his proper and particular name to be called and known by*[7]. *This lamentable division of learned men into so many sects in the countries where the gospel (as they call it) hath these forty years, and is yet most basely*[8]

Fridericus Staphylus.

A vile renegade.

The two hundred and eighth untruth. For the anabaptists sprang not of Luther, but were reproved and condemned by Luther.

Protestants.

The two hundred and ninth untruth, inflamed with slander

Protestants divided into twenty sects.

[1] Out, H. A. 1564.]

[2] H. A. 1564, omits *Stancariani*. The word is found in H. A. 1565.]

[3] This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[4] All that is here said, together with the quotations, may be found almost literally in Staphylus. See F. Staph. Apol. Col. 1562. Pars III. De Luter. Concord. foll. 136, 140-2. Conf. the English translation by Stapleton, Antw. 1565. foll. 78, 80, 1.]

[5] H. A. 1564, omits *out*. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[6] Further, H. A. 1564.]

[7] F. Staph. Apol. Geneal. seu Post. M. Luter. foll. 173, &c. Staphylus professes to reckon up more sects than are here mentioned.]

[8] Busely, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

handled, may be a warning to the governors of Christendom, that they take good advisement how they suffer the rude and rash people to have the scriptures common in their own tongue.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding, by the help of one Staphylus, a shameless renegade, hath made a long discourse of such differences in doctrine as he imagineth to be among them that profess the gospel. And, indeed, as the imperfection and want that is in man is naturally inclined unto some division, and that oftentimes in such cases wherein ought to be greatest unity; even so the heretics and the enemies of the truth have evermore used to take hold thereof, the more to discredit and to deprave the whole. At the first preaching of the gospel by the apostles of Christ and other holy fathers, there grew up immediately with the same sundry sorts of sects, to the number of fourscore and ten, as they are reckoned in particular by St Augustine[9], all flowing out of one spring, all professing one gospel, and all known by the name of Christ. August. ad Quodvultd.

Yea, sometimes the very lights of the world, and the pillars of the church, seemed to be divided by some dissension amongst themselves; St Peter from St Paul, St Paul from Barnabas, St Cyprian from Cornelius, St Augustine from St Hierome, St Chrysostom from Epiphanius, the east part of the world from the west, doctors from doctors, fathers from fathers, church from church, and saints from saints. And hereof the heretics in old time, and other sworn enemies of God, took occasion, as M. Harding now doth, to deface the whole profession of the gospel, calling it a puddle and a sink of dissension. For these causes the heathens laughed at the Christians, and pointed at them in the market-places with their fingers[10]. So the renegade Julianus the emperor, the better to cloke his own infidelity, said that Peter and Paul could not agree, Luke and Matthew dissented in Christ's genealogy; and that therefore the whole gospel of Christ was nothing else but error[11]. Gal. ii. Acts xv. Socrat. Lib. i. cap. vi. Socrat. Lib. iii.

Oftentimes of malice against God they feigned dissension to be where as none was. So Marcion the renegade devised a great book of contrarieties between the new testament and the old[12]. The false apostles said that St Paul dissented from all the rest of his brethren, and oftentimes from himself. Even so, and with like truth, M. Harding seemeth now to charge the gospel of Christ with like dissension, following therein both the example and doctrine of Staphylus the renegade, that hath wilfully forsaken Christ, and is returned again to his old vomit. And being able so sharply to behold how some one man hath in some case dissented from another, yet is he not able to see how much he himself hath dissented from himself. Tertul. contr Marc. Lib i. et deinceps. 2 Pet. ii.

But, having this eloquence and skill so largely to amplify these small quarrels of so little weight, what would he have been able to do if it[13] had been in the primitive church, and had seen all those hot and troublesome dissensions that then were able to shake the world? What clouds and colours might he then have cast, to scorn at Christ, and to bring his gospel out of credit?

Doubtless, as he saith now all these diversities spring only from Doctor Luther, so would he then have said, all these former diversities and sundry forms of heresies sprang only from Christ. And hereof he would have concluded, as he doth now, that the rude and rash people should in no wise be suffered to read the scriptures.

Howbeit, touching these thirty-four several sects that Staphylus by his inquisition and cunning hath found out in Germany, it must needs be confessed they are marvellous poor and very simple sects. For in that whole country, where they are supposed to dwell, they have neither name to be known by, two or three

---

[9 Augustine enumerates 88 heresies.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Quodvultd. Lib. de Hær. Tom. VIII. cols. 4, 5. But in some copies two or three more are added.—Ibid. cols. 27, 8. apud not.]

[10 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 12.]

[11 Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. xxiii. pp. 161, &c. This chapter is a confutation of what Libanius had said in praise of Julian. See also before, page 532, notes 6, 7.]

[12 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. I. 19, &c. Lib. IV. 1, &c. pp. 443, &c., 501, &c.]

[13 He, 1565.]

Dissension.

only excepted, nor church to teach in, nor house to dwell in. But Staphylus may have leave to speak untruth, for that he hath not yet learned to speak otherwise.

Hereof M. Harding may conclude thus: The learned sometimes mistake the scriptures, and are deceived; *ergo*, the learned ought to be banished from reading the scriptures. For all these fantastical imaginations of opinions and sects pertain only to the learned sort, and nothing to the lay-people.

And that the learned, either through ignorance or through affection, may be misled no less than others, it may easily appear both by all these former examples, and also by these words of God in the book of Exodus: *Nec in judicio plurimorum acquiesces sententiæ:* "In judgment thou shalt not hearken to the mind of the more." Which words Lyra expoundeth thus: *Plurimorum, id est, doctorum*[1]: "Of the more, that is to say, of the learned sort."

Exod. xxiii.

Certainly the learned fathers have evermore thought that, in such perilous times of dissension in judgment, it is most behoveful for the people to have recourse unto the scriptures. When Paul and Silas preached at Berrhæa, the people there daily searched and considered the scriptures, to know whether that they preached were true, or no. Chrysostom, expounding these words, "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place," writeth thus: *Ideo mandat, ut Christiani... volentes firmitatem accipere fidei veræ, ad nullam rem fugiant nisi ad scripturas: alioqui, si ad alia respexerint, scandalizabuntur, et peribunt, non intelligentes quæ sit vera ecclesia; et per hoc incident in abominationem desolationis, quæ stat in sanctis ecclesiæ locis*[2]: "Therefore he commandeth that christian men, that will be assured of the true faith, resort unto nothing else but only unto the scriptures: for else, if they have regard to any other thing, they shall be offended, and shall perish, not knowing which is the true church; and by mean thereof they shall fall into the abomination of desolation, that standeth in the holy places of the church." In like sort writeth Origen upon the same place: *Animæ [imperitæ verbi justitiæ]... quia facile seducuntur, non possunt inseducibiliter permanere in conspectu abominationis desolationis stantis in loco sancto*[3]: "The souls that be unskilful of the word of justice, because they are easily deceived, cannot stand without error in the sight of the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place." St Hierome saith: *In adventu Messiæ.... populus, qui sub magistris... fuerat consopitus, ... ibit ad montes scripturarum; ibique invenient montes Mosen, ... montes prophetas, montes novi testamenti.... Et in talium montium ... lectione versatus, si non invenerit qui ... doceat, ... tamen illius studium comprobabitur, quod confugerint ad montes*[4]: "At the coming of Christ the people that was laid asleep under their teachers shall go to the mountains of the scriptures: there shall they find these mountains, Moses, the prophets, and the new testament. And, being occupied in the reading of these mountains, notwithstanding they find no man to teach them, yet shall their goodwill be well allowed, for that they have fled unto the mountains." So St Basil: *Divinæ scripturæ faciunt ad certitudinem bonorum, et ad confusionem malorum*[5]: "The holy scriptures are able both to confirm the godly, and also to confound the ungodly." So Chrysostom: *Nec ipsis omnino [ecclesiis] credendum est, nisi ea dicant vel faciant, quæ convenientia sint scripturis*[6]: "We may in no wise believe the churches themselves, unless they say and do such things as be agreeable to the scriptures."

Aets xvii.

Chrysost. in Op. Imp. Hom. 49.

Orig. in Matt. cap. xxiv.

Hieron. in Proph. Nah. cap. iii.

Basil. Moral. 26. cap. i.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 49.

[1 Lyra does not appear to use the exact words ascribed to him; but, referring to the Hebrew word *rabbim* here employed, he says: Item significat idem quod magnos vel magistros: et sic accipitur in secunda parte auctoritatis, &c.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Exod. xxiii. Pars I. fol. 171. 2.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[3 Omnis enim qui lacte alitur, imperitus est verbo justitiæ... Istæ sunt ergo animæ quæ ... quia facile, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 43. Tom. III. p. 862.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Nahum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1590; where *adventu ergo Christi, inveniet, hujuscemodi montium, tunc et illius,* and *quia confugerit.*]

[5 Ὅτι δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἰς πληροφορίαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἐντροπὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Moral. Reg. xxvi. Tom. II. p. 256.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. ccix; where *sunt.*]

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION[7].

The peril of it is known by sundry examples both of times past and also of this present age. For out of this root hath sprung the sect of the Valdenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno. *For Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, their first author, of whom they were named Valdenses, being an unlearned layman, procured certain books of the scripture to be translated into his own language, which when he used to read, and understood not, he fell into many errors. Of the same well-spring issued the filthy puddles of the sects called* Adamitæ, *or* Picardi, Bogardi, *and* Turelupini; *and of late years, beside the same sect of Adamites, newly revived, also the anabaptists and Suenckfeldians. Wherefore that edict or proclamation of the worthy princes Ferdinando and Elizabeth, king and queen of Spain, is of many much commended, by which they gave strait commandment, that under great penalties no man should translate the bible into the vulgar Spanish tongue, and that no man should be found to have the same translated in any wise. These and the like be the reasons and considerations which have moved many men to think the setting forth of the whole bible and of every part of the scripture in the vulgar tongue, for all sorts of persons to read without exception or limitation, to be a thing not necessary to salvation, nor otherwise convenient nor profitable, but contrariwise dangerous and hurtful.*

Valdenses.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The story of Valdo is here brought in upon the report and credit of friar Alfonsus[8]. Touching which Valdo, whether he were learned or unlearned, it forceth not greatly. Origen saith: *Vide quam prope periculis sint hi, qui negligunt exerceri in divinis literis: ex quibus solis hujusmodi examinationis agnoscenda discretio est*[9]: "Mark how near unto danger they be that refuse to exercise themselves in the scriptures; for thereby only the judgment of this trial must be known." If he were learned, then is this no true report: if he were unlearned, then was God's work so much the greater; who, as St Paul saith, oftentimes "chooseth the weak things of the world to condemn the strong, and the foolish things of the world to reprove the wise."

Alphon. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. xiii. Ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xvi.

1 Cor. i.

The greatest heresies that he maintained stood in reproving the idolatrous worshipping of images; of extreme unction; of exorcisms and conjurations; of ear-confessions; of unseemly singing in the church; of feigned miracles; of the idle and slanderous lives of priests and bishops; of the lives and manners of the church of Rome; of the outrage and tyranny of the pope; of monks, friars, pardons, pilgrimages, and purgatory[10]. And, notwithstanding the reproving hereof were then judged heresy, yet sithence that time infinite numbers of godly men have received it as God's undoubted truth, and M. Harding in part hath yielded unto the same.

Alphon. de Hær. Barthol. Abram. Cret. in Concil. Ferrar.

He added farther: Out of this well-spring of Valdo issued forth the anabaptists and the Swenkfeldians. I marvel M. Harding can either speak so unadvisedly, or so soon forget what he hath spoken. For immediately before he wrote thus: "Out of Luther have sprung three divers heresies, the anabaptists, the sacramentaries, and the confessionists." If the anabaptists sprang out of Valdo, and were so long before Luther, how could they then afterward spring out of Luther? If they sprang first out of Luther, how were they then before Luther? By this report the father is younger than the child, and the child was born before the father. These be mere monsters in speech, and contradictions in nature. If the one of these reports be true, the other of necessity must needs be false. But M. Harding taketh it for no great inconvenience, whatsoever may help to deface the truth.

[7 This passage is almost literally from Alfonso de Castro.]

[8 Alfons. de Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. xiii. foll. 27, 8.]

[9 Orig. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. p. 684; where *proximi periculo fiant hi qui exerceri in divinis literis negligunt.*]

[10 See Alfons. de Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. under the articles named.

Barthol. Abramus set forth the acts of the Council of Ferrara in Latin. See his letter to the archbishop of Ravenna in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 372, 3; in which he mentions purgatory and other matters discussed at the council. Conf. Quæst. de Purg. ibid. pp. 376, 7.]

The proclamation of Ferdinandus and Elizabeth, the kings of Spain, for not translating the bible into the Spanish tongue, as it is of very small authority, being made within these threescore and ten years, that is to say, well near fifteen hundred years after Christ; so it is likely it was first devised, not against the christian people of that country, but only against the renegade Jews there; who, by dissimulation and fear of the law being become Christians, afterward returned again to their old errors, and both by their example, and also by misunderstanding of certain places of the scriptures, hardened and confirmed others in the same[1]. Against whom also was devised the Spanish inquisition, and that by the same princes, and at the same time. So Julianus, the renegade emperor, thought it good policy to suffer no christian man's child to be set to school[2]. So the wicked princes Antiochus and Maximinus, for like policy, burnt the books of God, to the intent the people should not read them.

Fur. Bonon. de Trans. Script.

Sozom. Lib. v. cap. xviii. 1 Macc. i.

But the godly and first christened emperor Constantinus caused the bible to be written out, and to be sent abroad into all kingdoms, countries, and cities of his dominion. King Adelstane, the king of England, caused the bible to be translated into the English tongue. St Hierome translated the same into the Sclavon tongue[3]; Ulphilas likewise into the Gotthian tongue. Whereto Socrates addeth also these words: *Instituit barbaros, ut discerent sacra eloquia*[4]*:* "He gave occasion to the barbarous people of that country to learn the scriptures."

Alphons. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. xiii.

Socrat. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiii.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

Yet it is not meant by them that the people be kept wholly from the scripture, so as they read no part of it at all. As the whole, in their opinion, is too strong a meat for their weak stomachs; so much of it they may right wholesomely receive and brook, as that which pertaineth to piety and necessary knowledge of a christian man. Wherein they would the examples of the old holy fathers to be followed. St Augustine hath gathered together into one[5] *book all that maketh for good life out of the scriptures, which book he intituled* Speculum[6]*; that is to say, a mirror or a looking-glass, as Possidonius witnesseth in his life*[7]*. St Basil hath set forth the like argument almost, in his fourscore moral rules pertaining altogether to good manners*[8]*. St Cyprian also hath done the like in his three books* Ad Quirinum[9]*. Such godly books they think to be very profitable for the simple people to read.*

What parts of the scriptures appertain to the people to know.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding alloweth the people to read the scriptures; howbeit, not what they list, but with restraint, and at delivery; that is to say, not cases of question, or pertaining to knowledge, but only matters belonging to manners and order of life. And so he reserveth knowledge to himself and his brethren, and leaveth good life unto the people. Touching the books of St Augustine, St Basil, and St Cyprian, it is untrue that they were written namely and purposely for the unlearned: or if they were, why are they not translated? why are they not delivered unto the people, for whose sakes they were written?

Moreover, it is untrue that in these books is contained only matter of life and manners, and nothing pertaining to religion. For the first words in this

---

[1] Fuit ... versa sacra scriptura in Valentinam linguam: et ... iterum iisdem literis elegantius multo impressa: quam populo interdixit Inquisitorum (quos vocant) societas et ordo hoc nomine, quod Judæis aliquot, qui de centum et viginti millibus ex Hispania exactorum supererant, dicerent, se intelligere, ipsos ritus, cærimonias, et sacrificandi genus ab ipsis bibliis desumere. Itaque ita vetitum est eam legi, ut iis qui originem nullam a Judæis haberent, legi liceret, aliis non item.—Frid. Fur. Cær. Valent. Bonon. Basil. 1556. pp. 111, 2.]

[2] Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 506.]

[3] Alfons. de Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. xiii. fol. 28. 2.]

[4] Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiii. p. 206.]

[5] Into to one, H. A. 1564. H. A. 1565 omits the *to*.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tom. III. Pars i. cols. 681-818.]

[7] Id. August. Vit. Auct. Possid. cap. xxviii. Tom. X. Post-Append. col. 277.]

[8] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Tom. II. pp. 234-318.]

[9] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. pp. 17-91.]

book of St Augustine called *Speculum* are these: *Non facies tibi sculptile*[10]: "Thou shalt make to thyself[11] no graven image;" which is now a special case of religion. And the greatest part of St Cyprian's book *Ad Quirinum* containeth a full disputation of Christ's incarnation, nativity, and passion, and other like cases of religion against the Jews. Touching St Basil, as he wrote this book of morals concerning manners, so he had written another book before concerning faith, and both these books for the people. He maketh his entry into his morals with these words: *Cum de sana fide in præcedentibus sufficienter ad præsens dictum esse putemus, &c.*[12]: "Forasmuch as I think I have entreated sufficiently in my former books concerning faith, &c." Therefore this assertion was untrue, and so no firm ground for M. Harding to stand upon. Neither did any of the old fathers ever withdraw the people from the universal and free reading of God's word, and restrain them only to such short collections. St Basil saith: "The scriptures are like unto a shop full of medicines for the soul, where as every man may freely take, not only one kind of salve, but also a special and a peculiar remedy for every sore[13]." And Irenæus saith: *De omni ligno paradisi manducate; id est, ab omni scriptura divina manducate*[14]: "Eat ye of all the fruit of paradise; that is to say, eat ye (not only of matters concerning manners, but also) of every part of the holy scriptures." Howbeit, by M. Harding's judgment, the people may learn the ten commandments, but may not meddle with their creed.

Basil. in Psal. primum.

Iren. Lib. v.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

But how much and what part[15] *of the scripture the common people may read for their comfort and necessary instruction, and by whom the same may be translated, it belongeth to the judgment of the church; which church hath already condemned all the vulgar translations of the bible of late years,* (210) *for that they be found in sundry places erroneous and partial in favour of the heresies which the translators maintain. And it hath not only in our time condemned these late translations, but also hitherto never allowed those few of old time; I mean St Hierome's translation into the Dalmatical tongue, if ever any such was by him made, as to some it seemeth a thing not sufficiently proved; and that which, before St Hierome, Ulphilas an Arian bishop made, and commended to the nation of the Goths, who first invented letters for them, and proponed the scriptures to them translated into their own tongue; and, the better to bring his ambassage*[16] *to the emperor Valens to good effect, was persuaded by the heretics of Constantinople, and of the court there, to forsake the catholic faith, and to communicate with the Arians, making promise also to travail in bringing the people of his country to the same sect, which at length he performed most wickedly.*

The two hundred and tenth untruth, raised only of despite and slander.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding alloweth the people to read certain parcels of the scriptures for their comfort, but yet he alloweth them no translation: that is to say, he alloweth them to eat the kernel, but in no wise to break the shell. By these it appeareth that of sufferance and special favour the simple ignorant people may read the word of God in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, but none otherwise.

The church, saith M. Harding, for the space well near of sixteen hundred years, never yet allowed any manner translation in the vulgar tongue. Yet notwithstanding it is certain that the church, not only in the primitive time, under the apostles and holy fathers, but also long sithence hath both suffered and also used the vulgar translations in sundry tongues. Whereof we may well presume that the church then allowed them.

---

[10] August. Op. Specul. De Exod. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 682.]

[11] Theeself, 1565.]

[12] Basil. Op. De Fid. 6. Tom. II. p. 229.]

[13] Πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος...διὰ τοῦτο συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἵν', ὥσπερ ἐν κοινῷ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρείῳ, πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸ ἴαμα τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους ἕκαστος ἐκλεγώμεθα.—Id. Hom. in Psalm. i. Tom. I. p. 90.]

[14] Ab omni ergo ligno paradisi escas manducabitis, ait Spiritus Dei; id est, ab omni scriptura dominica manducate.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xx. 2. p. 317.]

[15] Parts, H. A. 1564.]

[16] Ambassade, 1565, 1609, and H.A. 1564.]

Hieron. in Epit. Paul. Basil. in Epist. ad Neoc. Sulp. in Vit. Mart. Lib. i. Isidor. de Eccles. Offic. cap. x.

And that the scriptures were not only in these three tongues, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, it appeareth by St Hierome, that saith, the psalms were translated and sung in the Syrian tongue[1]; by St Basil, that affirmeth the same of the Palestine, Theban, Phenic, Arabic, and Libyc tongues[2]; by Sulpitius, in the life of St Martin, that seemeth to say, the lessons and chapters were translated and read openly in the churches of France in the French tongue[3]; and by Isidorus, that avoucheth the like of all christian tongues[4].

M. Harding misliketh the translation of Ulphilas into the Gotthian tongue; for that the author was an Arian. Notwithstanding it appeareth not that ever the church misliked it. But by this rule he may as well condemn all the Greek translations whatsoever, of Symmachus, of Aquila, of Theodotion, and of the Septuagints, and the whole Exaplus[5] of Origen: for there is not one of all these but may be challenged in like sort.

Touching St Hierome's translation of the bible into the Sclavon tongue, M. Harding seemeth to stand in doubt. Howbeit Hosius, his companion, saith: Hos. de Sacr. Vernac. Leg. *In Dalmaticam linguam sacros libros Hieronymum vertisse constat*[6]: "It is certain and out of doubt that St Hierome translated the bible into the Sclavon tongue." The like whereof is reported by Alphonsus[7]. Neither can M. Harding Alphons. de Hær. Lib. i. cap. xiii. shew us any error or oversight in that whole translation of St Hierome; and therefore he seemeth to condemn that godly father, and yet knoweth no cause why.

All late translations, saith he, have been made in favour of heresies, and therefore they may worthily be mistrusted. But will these men never leave these childish colours, and deal plainly? If there be errors, and such errors in these late translations, why do they not descry them? If there be none, why do they thus condemn them? But the greatest heresy that can be holden, and that toucheth them nearest, is the revealing of the usurped authority and tyranny of the church of Rome. For so it is determined by pope Nicolas: Dist. 2. Omnes. *Qui... Romanæ ecclesiæ privilegium... auferre conatur, hic proculdubio in hæresim labitur, et... est... dicendus hæreticus*[8]: "Whosoever attempteth to abridge the authority of the church of Rome falleth doubtless into an heresy, and ought to be called an heretic."

M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

The two hundred and eleventh untruth. For sundry parts of the bible were translated into the English tongue by king Alured, by Cedman, and by Beda, as shall appear.

As for the church of this land of Britain, the faith hath continued in it thirteen hundred years until now of late, (211) *without having the bible translated into the vulgar tongue, to be used of all in common. Our Lord grant we yield no worse souls to God now, having the scriptures in our own tongue, and talking so much of the gospel, than our ancestors have done before us! "This island," saith Beda* Hist. Eccles. Lib. i.[9] *(speaking of the estate the church was in at his days), "at this present, according to the number of books that God's law was written in, doth search and confess one and the self-same knowledge of the high truth, and of the true height, with the tongues of five nations, of the English, the Britons, the Scots, the Picts, and the Latins;* Quæ meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis[10]: *Which tongue of the Latins," saith he, "is for the study and meditation of the scriptures made common to all the other." Verily, as the Latin tongue was then common to all the nations of this land, being of distinct languages, for the study of the scriptures, as Beda reporteth; so the same only hath always until our time been*

[1] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Epit. Paul. Tom. IV. Pars II. colg. 687, 8. See before, page 268.]

[2] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Cler. Neoc. Epist. ccvii. Tom. III. p. 311. See before, page 290.]

[3] Sulp. Div. Mart. Vit. ad calc. Abd. Apost. Hist. Par. 1571. Lib. I. foll. 193, 4. See before, page 298.]

[4] Isidor. Hispal. Op. Col. Agrip. 1617. De Offic. Eccles. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 393. See before, page 289.]

[5] Examples, 1611.]

[6] Hos. Op. Col. 1584. De Sacr. Vernac. Leg. Tom. I. p. 664. See before, page 270, note 3.]

[7] Alfons. de Castr. adv. Omn. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. I. cap. xiii. fol. 28. 2.]

[8] Nicol. Papa II. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 1. col. 100.]

[9] H. A. 1564 has not this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[10] Hæc in præsenti, juxta numerum librorum quibus lex divina scripta est, quinque gentium linguis, unam eamdemque summæ veritatis et veræ sublimitatis scientiam scrutatur et confitetur, Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quæ meditatione scripturarum ceteris omnibus est facta communis.—Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Cant. 1722. Lib. I. cap. i. p. 41.]

common to all the countries and nations of the occidental or west church, for the same purpose, and thereof it hath been called the Latin church.

Wherefore, to conclude, they that shew themselves so earnest and zealous for the translation of the scriptures into all vulgar and barbarous tongues, it behoveth them, after the opinion of wise men, to see, first, that no faults be found in their translations, (212) *as hitherto many have been found. And a small fault, committed in the handling of God's word, is to be taken for a great crime. Next, that, forasmuch as such translations pertain to all christian people, they be referred to the judgment of the whole church of every language, and commended to the laity by the wisdom and authority of the clergy, having charge of their souls. Furthermore, that there be some choice, exception, and limitation of time, place, and persons, and also of parts of the scriptures, after the discreet ordinances*[11] *of the Jews; amongst whom it was not lawful that any should*[12] *read certain parts of the bible before he had fulfilled the time of the priestly ministry; which was the age of thirty years*[13]*, as St Hierome witnesseth. Lastly, that the setting forth of the scriptures in the common language be not commended to the people as a thing utterly necessary to salvation, lest thereby they condemn so many churches that hitherto have lacked the same, and so many learned and godly fathers that have not procured it for their flock*[14]*, finally, all that have gone before us, to whom in all virtue, innocency, and holiness of life, we are not to be compared. As for me, inasmuch as this matter is not yet determined by the church, whether the common people ought to have the scriptures in their own tongue to read and to hear, or no, I define nothing. As I esteem greatly all godly and wholesome knowledge, and wish the people had more of it than they have, with charity and meekness; so I would that these hot talkers of God's word had less of that knowledge which maketh a man to swell and to be proud in his own conceit; and that they would deeply weigh with themselves, whether they be not contained within the lists of the saying of St Paul to the Corinthians: "If any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know." God grant all our knowledge be so joined with meekness, humility, and charity, as that be not justly said of us, which St Augustine in the like case said very dreadfully to his dear friend Alypius:* Surgunt indocti, et cœlum rapiunt; et nos cum doctrinis nostris sine corde, ecce ubi volutamur in carne, et sanguine[15]! *"The unlearned and simple arise up, and catch heaven away from us; and we with all our great learning, void of heart, lo, where are we wallowing in flesh and blood?"*

The two hundred and twelfth untruth, joined with a slander. If there were such faults, M. Harding would open them in particular.

Præfatione in Ezechielem.

1 *Cor. viii.*

Confess. Lib. viii. cap. viii.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding seemeth secretly to grant that thing which without blushing no man can deny; that is, that the scriptures long sithence and in old times have been translated into the natural speech of this country. But he addeth withal a poor exception, that, notwithstanding the translation were in English, yet it served not for English people. And yet for what people else it should serve, it were not easy to conjecture. Doubtless, if they had meant as these men do, to bar the English people from God's word, they would have kept it still as it was before, in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, and would not have suffered any such translation.

The bible in English, and yet not for English people.

But Beda himself, that wrote the story of this island, in these very words that M. Harding hath here alleged, seemeth to witness that the scriptures were then translated into sundry tongues, and that for the better understanding of the people. For thus he writeth: *Hæc [insula]...quinque gentium linguis...scrutatur unam, eandemque...scientiam veritatis*[16]*:* "This island searched[17] out the knowledge of one truth with the tongues of five nations." It is not likely he would have written thus of five several tongues, if the scriptures had been written then only in one tongue. In like manner and to like purpose he writeth thus: *Quicunque*

Bed. in Hist. Angl. Lib. i. cap. i.

[11] Ordinance, H.A. 1564.]

[12] Any man should, H.A. 1564.]

[13] Hieron. Op. Explan. in Ezech. Proph. Prolog. Tom. III. cols. 697, 8.]

[14] Flocks, H.A. 1564; flock, H. A. 1565.]

[15] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. viii. 19. Tom. I. col. 152.]

[16] Bæd. Hist. Eccles. Lib i. cap. i. p. 41. See before, page 692, note 10.]

[17] Searcheth, 1565, 1609.]

The Scriptures in English.

gentium linguis unam eandemque veritatis scientiam scrutantur[1]: "Whosoever they be that search the knowledge of one truth" (not only in the Latin tongue, as M. Harding saith, but) *gentium linguis*, that is, "in the natural and vulgar tongues of this country." Doubtless, it were very much to say, that the mere Englishman, or Scot, or Pict, or Briton, that understood no Latin, was able nevertheless to read and search the scriptures in the Latin tongue.

But to leave conjectures, Beda saith expressly and in most plain words, that one Cedman, an English poet, translated the creation of the world, and the whole story of the Genesis and the Exodus, and sundry other stories of the bible into English rhyme[2]. Likewise, as it is said before, king Adelstane, about nine hundred years past, caused the whole bible to be translated into English. And sir John Trevisa saith, that Beda himself turned St John's gospel into English[3]. And again he saith, that king Aluredus caused the psalter to be turned into English[4]. And until this day there be divers such translations yet remaining to be seen, which for many causes bear good proof of great antiquity. Therefore, that this island hath continued thirteen hundred years without having the scriptures in English, it can bear no manner appearance or shew of truth.

Bed. in Hist. Angl. Lib. v. cap. xxii.

Adelstane.

Johan. Trev. Lib. v. cap. xxiv.

Johan. Trev. Lib. vi. cap. i.

But being admitted and granted for true, if prescription of want may make good proof, then may we say, this island stood and continued four thousand whole years not only without the English bible, but also without any knowledge of Christ or God. Likewise we may truly say, the gospel and the truth of God stood and continued in this island for the space of many hundred years without either the supremacy of Rome, or transubstantiation, or private masses, or any other like fantasies.

True it is, our fathers of late years have been led in ignorance, and have been violently forced from the scriptures. But the examples and wants of our fathers are not always sufficient rules of faith. The heretic Eutyches said: *Sic a progenitoribus meis accipiens credidi:...in hac fide genitus sum, et consecratus Deo:...et in ea opto mori*[5]: "This faith have I received from mine ancestors: in this faith was I[6] born and baptized; and in the same I desire to die." And yet the same faith was an error, and no faith. So said the Arian heretic Auxentius: *Quemadmodum ab infantia edoctus sum, ita credidi, et credo*[7]: "As I have been taught from my childhood, so I have believed, and so I believe still." So likewise the idolatrous Jews said unto the prophet Hieremy: *Sic fecimus nos, et patres nostri, reges nostri, et principes nostri; et saturati sumus panibus, et bene nobis erat:* "Thus have we done, and our fathers before us, and our kings, and our princes. And we had store and plenty of all things, and a merry world, and did full well." But God saith unto them: *In statutis patrum vestrorum nolite ambulare, &c. Ego Dominus Deus vester:* "Walk not in the statutes of your fathers;... I am the Lord your God."

Concil. Chalc. Act. 1.

Hilar. in Epist. Auxent.

Jer. xliv.

Ezek. xx.

Howbeit, we sit not in judgment to condemn our fathers; God only is their judge. St Paul saith: *Solidum Dei fundamentum stat, habens hoc signaculum, Novit Dominus qui sint sui:* "This foundation standeth sound, having this seal, The Lord knoweth who be his own." God was able to preserve the bush in the midst of the flame, and Daniel in the cave in the midst of the lions, and the three children in the midst of the furnace of flaming fire, and his people of Israel in the midst of the Red sea: even so was he able to preserve his own in the midst of that deadly time of darkness. St Cyprian saith: *Ignosci potuit simpliciter erranti....Post inspirationem vero, et revelationem factam, qui in eo, quod*

2 Tim. ii.

Exod. iii.

Dan. vi.

Dan. iii.

Exod. xiv.

[1 See page 692, note 10.]

[2 Canebat autem de creatione mundi, et origine humani generis, et tota Genesis historia, de egressu Israel ex Ægypto et ingressu in terram repromissionis, de aliis plurimis sacræ scripturæ historiis, de incarnatione dominica, passione, resurrectione, et ascensione in cœlum, de Spiritus sancti adventu, et apostolorum doctrina.—Id. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv. p. 171.]

[3 Polycron. (Englished by Trevisa) Southw. 1527. Lib. v. cap. xxiv. fol. 217.]

[4 At laste he auentred hym too translate the sawter in to Englysshe/ but he translated vnnethe the fyrste parte before his deth.—Id. Lib. vi. cap. i. fol. 227. 2.]

[5 Libell. Confess. Eut. in Concil. Calched. Act. i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. cols. 133-6.]

[6 I was, 1565, 1609.]

[7 ... ex infantia, quemadmodum doctus sum, sicut accepi de sanctis scripturis, credidi, et credo, &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 14. col. 1270.]

erraverat, perseverat... sine venia ignorantiæ peccat. Præsumptione enim atque obstinatione... superatur[8]: "He that erreth of simplicity (as our fathers did) may be pardoned; but, after that God hath once inspired the heart, and revealed his truth, whoso continueth still in his error offendeth without pardon of ignorance. For he is overborne by presumption and wilfulness."

Upon these words of Beda M. Harding concludeth thus: The Latin tongue for the study of the scriptures was common to all the nations of this realm; *ergo*, the scriptures were not translated into English. A very child may soon see the simplicity and the weakness of this reason. For even now, notwithstanding the whole bible be translated into the English tongue, extant in every church, and common to all the people, yet the Latin tongue is nevertheless common to all the nations of this land, for the reading of old commentaries and the ancient doctors, and so for the meditation and study of the scriptures.

1. Now let us weigh M. Harding's considerations in this behalf. First, if there had any faults escaped in the English translation, as he untruly saith there have many, he would not thus have passed them uncontrolled. He lacked neither eloquence nor good-will to speak, but only good matter to speak of.

2. Secondly, the scriptures translated into English have been delivered unto the people by such bishops and other spiritual guides as indeed have had a care for their souls, and have given their lives and blood for their sheep. But the bishops of M. Harding's side can only espy faults in translations; but they can amend none. They have burnt a great number of bibles; but they have hitherto translated none. Christ's words are rightly verified of them: "Neither do you[9] enter yourselves, nor will you suffer others, that would enter." For the highest principle of their religion is this: "Ignorance is the mother of true religion."

3. To limit and to diet the people, what they may read and what they ought to leave, was sometime the superstitious discretion of the rabbins[10]. Herein we may say as St Hilary saith: *Archangeli nesciunt: angeli non audiverunt: propheta non sensit: Filius ipse non edidit*[11]: "The archangels know it not: the angels have not heard it: the prophet hath not felt it: the Son of God himself hath revealed to us no such thing." Certainly, now the vail being drawn aside, and our faces being open, to behold the glory of God, St Paul saith: *Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata utilis est, &c.*: not only one part of the scriptures, but "all and every part thereof is profitable, &c." And again: *Quæcunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt*: "All things that are written are written for our instruction." And therefore Irenæus saith, as it is before alleged: *Ex omni scriptura divina* [12]*manducate*[13]: "Eat you of every part of the holy scripture."

Orig. Prolog. in Cant. Cantic. Nazianz. in Apolog. Hilar. de Unit. Patr. et Fil. 2 Cor. iii. 2 Tim. iii. Rom. xv. Iren. Lib. v. cap. Omnes.

Humility and good life, whereof M. Harding would seem to make some great account, is sooner learned of knowledge than of ignorance. Chrysostom saith: *Magna adversus peccatum munitio est scripturarum lectio: magnum præcipitium et profundum barathrum scripturarum ignoratio: nihil scire de divinis legibus magna salutis perditio. Ea res et hæreses peperit, et vitam corruptam invexit: hoc sursum deorsum miscuit omnia*[14]: "The reading of the scriptures is a great fence against sin; and the ignorance of the scriptures is a dangerous downfall and a great dungeon. To know nothing of God's laws is the loss of salvation. Ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life. Ignorance hath turned all things upside down."

Chrysost. de Lazar. Conc. 3.

Therefore the apostles of Christ and all other godly fathers have evermore encouraged the people to read the scriptures, and evermore thought the church of God to be in best case when the people was best instructed. St Paul saith: "Let the word of God dwell abundantly amongst you." Polycarpus saith to the people: *Confido vos bene exercitatos esse in sacris literis*[15]: "My trust is, that ye

Col. iii. Polycarp. ad Phil.

---

[8] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii. p. 204; where *ignosci enim potest*, and *superetur*.]

[9] Ye, 1565.]

[10] Orig. Op. Par. 1733–59. In Cant. Canticor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 26.

Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 48. Tom. I. pp. 35, 6.]

[11] Hilar. Op. De Patr. et Fil. Unit. Append. col. 1373. This piece is compiled from Hilary and other authors. The passage here cited may be found De Trin. Lib. II. 9. col. 793.]

[12] Manducare, 1611.]

[13] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xx. 2. p. 317. See before, page 691, note 14.]

[14] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Lazar. Conc. iii. Tom. I. p. 740.]

[15] Polycarp. ad Philip. cap. xii. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 487.]

be well instructed in the holy scriptures." Origen saith unto his people: "Give your diligence, not only to hear God's word in the church, but also to be exercised in the same in your houses at home, and day and night be[1] studious in the law of the Lord[2]." St Augustine saith: "Read ye the holy scriptures. For to that end God would have them written, that we might receive comfort by them[3]." St Hierome saith, as it is alleged before: *Laici non tantum sufficienter, sed etiam abundanter verbum Dei habere debent, et se invicem docere*[4]: "The lay-people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also abundantly, and to instruct one another." St Chrysostom willeth the father with his child, and the husband with his wife, at home in his house to talk and reason of the word of God[5]. Theodoretus writeth thus: *Passim videas hæc nostratia dogmata &c.*[6]: "Ye may commonly see, that not only the teachers of the people and rulers of the churches, but also tailors, smiths, and cloth-workers, and other artificers do understand the principles of our religion; and further, that not only learned women, if there be any such, but also such women as live by their labour, and sewsters, and maid-servants, but also husbandmen, and ditchers, and herdmen, and graffers, can reason of the holy Trinity, and of the creation of the world, and of the nature of mankind, a great deal more skilfully than either Plato or Aristotle was ever able to do." Therefore Origen saith unto his hearers of the lay-people: *Me... dicente, quod sentio, vos decernite et examinate, si quid rectum est aut minus rectum*[7]: "While I speak that I think meet, examine and judge you whether it be well or otherwise." Thus in old times the vulgar people, and such as M. Harding calleth swine, and rude and rash people, and curious busy-bodies, were able not only to understand the scriptures, but also to judge of their preachers. And therefore the wicked renegade emperor Julianus reproved the Christians (even as M. Harding now doth us), for that they suffered their women and children to read the scriptures[8].

Orig. in Lev. Hom. 9.

August. in Psal. xxxiii.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Col. cap. iii.

Chrysost. in Johan. Hom. 1.

Theodor. de Nat. Hom. Lib. v.

Orig. in Jos. Hom. 21.

Cyril. contr. Julian. Lib. vi. et Lib. vii.

But the enemies of God's truth, for fear and conscience of their weakness, have evermore used violently to take away the word of God, not only from women and children, but also from all the whole people. Chrysostom saith: *Hæretici sacerdotes claudunt januas veritatis. Sciunt enim,... si manifestata fuerit veritas, ecclesiam suam esse relinquendam, et se de sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venturos popularem*[9]: "Heretic priests shut up the gates of the truth. For they know that, if the truth once appear, they must needs leave their church, and from the dignity of their priesthood come down to the state of other people." For Tertullian saith: *Scriptura divina hæreticorum fraudes et furta facile convincit, et detegit*[10]: "The holy scripture will easily bewray and confound the guiles and thefts of heretics." Christ saith: "He that doth ill hateth the light." And therefore they say, as it is written in the prophet Amos: *Tace, et ne recorderis nominis Domini*: "Hold thy peace, and never think upon the name of the Lord." But miserable is that religion that cannot stand without hiding and suppressing of the truth of God.

Chrysost. in Op. Imp. Hom. 44.

Tertul. in Lib. de Trin.

John iii.

Amos vi.

[1 To be, 1565.]

[2 Optamus tamen ut vel his auditis operam detis, non solum in ecclesia audire verba Dei, sed et in domibus vestris exerceri et meditari in lege Domini die ac nocte.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ix. 5. Tom. II. p. 240.]

[3 Legite scripturas: ideo voluit Deus ut scriberentur, ut nos consolaremur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxiii. Enarr. ii. 17. Tom. IV. col. 224.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Coloss. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 1074. See before, page 685, note 12.]

[5 ... καὶ μὴ μόνον ἐνταῦθα αὐτὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκοι γενομένους, τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, τὸν πατέρα πρὸς τὸν παῖδα, περὶ τούτων διαλέγεσθαι.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. iii. Tom. VIII. p. 16.]

[6 ... καὶ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα εἰδότας τὰ δόγματα, οὐ μόνους γε τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοὺς διδασκάλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκυτοτόμους, καὶ χαλκοτύπους, καὶ τελαστιουργοὺς, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποχειροβιώτους· καὶ γυναῖκας ὡσαύτως, οὐ μόνον τὰς λόγων μετεσχηκυίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χερνήτιδας, καὶ ἀκεστρίδας, καὶ μέντοι καὶ θεραπαίνας. καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀστοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρητικοὶ τήνδε τὴν γνῶσιν ἐσχήκασι· καὶ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν καὶ σκαπανέας, καὶ βοηλάτας, καὶ φυτουργοὺς, περὶ τῆς θείας διαλεγομένους Τριάδος, καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων δημιουργίας, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν εἰδότας Ἀριστοτέλους πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ Πλάτωνος.—Theodor. Op. Par. 1642-84. Græc. Affect. Cur. Serm. v. De Nat. Hom. Tom. IV. p. 556.]

[7 Orig. Op. In Lib. Jesu Nave Hom. xxi. 2. Tom. II. p. 448; where *discernite*.]

[8 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Libb. VI. VII. Tom. VI. pp. 206, 9, 29, 30, 4.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Imp. in Matt. Hom. xliv. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxvi; where *januam*, and *eorum ecclesia est relinquenda, et ipsi de sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venient popularem*.]

[10 Tertull. Op. Par. 1580. Lib. de Trin. p. 505.]

OF CONSECRATION UNDER SILENCE.

THE SIXTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that it was then lawful for the priest to pronounce the words of consecration closely and in silence unto[11] himself.

[OF SECRET PRONOUNCING THE CANON OF THE MASS.—ARTICLE XVI. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

The matter of this article is neither one of the highest mysteries nor one of the greatest keys of our religion, howsoever M. Jewel pleaseth himself with that report, thinking thereby to impair the estimation of the catholic church. The diversity of observation in this behalf sheweth the indifferency of the thing. For else, if one manner of pronouncing the words of consecration had been thought a necessary point of religion, it had been every where uniform and invariable. That the bread and wine be consecrated by the words of our Lord pronounced by the priest, as in the person of Christ, by virtue of the[12] *which, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, the bread and wine are changed into our Lord's body and blood;* (213) *this thing hath in all times, and in all places, and with consent of all, invariably been done, and so believed. But the manner of pronouncing the words, concerning silence or open utterance, according to diversity of places, hath been diverse.*

The two hundred and thirteenth untruth. Often avouched, and never proved.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This, saith M. Harding, is but a small key of our religion. Which thing may very well appear, both otherwise, and also by the small weight and slenderness of his proofs. Howbeit, in cases of religion, and in the service of God, nothing ought to be judged small, specially that may deceive the people. Verily, how small soever they will now have this key to seem, as it hath been heretofore cause of no small superstition, so it hath shut out God's people from the sight and understanding of our greatest mysteries.

Certain it is that the religion of Christ may well stand without this kind of mystical silence, as it may also without transubstantiation, or private mass, or any other their like fantasies. But if the matter be so small, wherefore doth M. Harding take so great pains to prove it, and that by so great untruths and so manifest fables? Wherefore are they not ashamed to say, that Christ himself at his last supper consecrated in silence and secrecy, and that in like order and form as they do now[13]? Or how durst the bishops in this present council of Trident so solemnly to abanne[14] and accurse all them that dare to find fault with the same[15]? So small a matter as this is now supposed to be should never need so great ado.

Thom. in iii. Part. Summ. Quæst. 78. Art. 8. Concil. Trid. Sess. 2.

But, whether these words be uttered secretly or aloud, he imagineth that by the power thereof the substance of the bread and wine is really and wholly changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. The untruth hereof is mani-

[11] To, H. A. 1564.]

[12] H. A. 1564, omits *the.*]

[13] Different opinions are recited by Aquinas.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxviii. Art. 1. Tom. XII. fol. 254. Conf. In Sentent. Lib. IV. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Art. 1. Tom. VIII. fol. 42.]

[14 Aban: ban, curse.]

[15 Si quis dixerit, ecclesiæ Romanæ ritum, quo summissa voce pars canonis et verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnandum esse, &c....anathema sit.—Concil. Trid. Sess. xxii. De Sacrif. Miss. can. 9, in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 856.]

festly reproved by St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and by the general consent of all the old fathers; and is answered more at large in the tenth article of this book[1]. Certainly this error neither was ever confirmed in the Latin church[2] before the council of Lateran in Rome, which was above twelve hundred years after Christ, nor ever received in the Greek church from the birth of Christ until this day.

D. Tonst. de Euch. Lib. i. Concil. Lat. Anno 1215.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

[*The manner of pronouncing the consecration in the Greek and Latin churches divers.* H.A. 1564.]

[*In Libello de Sacramento Eucharistiæ.* H.A. 1564.]

The Greeks in the east church have thought it good to pronounce the words of consecration clara voce[3], *as we find in Chrysostom's mass, and, as Bessarion writeth,* alta voce, *that is plainly, "out aloud," or "with a loud voice."* Sacerdos alta voce juxta orientalis ecclesiæ ritum verba illa pronunciat: Hoc est corpus meum[4]: *"The priest," saith Bessarion, "after the rite or manner of the east church, pronounceth with a loud voice these*[5] *words, 'This is my body*[6]*.'" Which manner of loud pronouncing was thought good to be used in the Greek church, as it may be gathered by that Bessarion writeth (who, being a Greek born, and brought up in learning amongst the Greeks, knew right well the order of that church), to the intent the people might thereby, for the better maintenance of their faith, be stirred and warned to give token of consent and of belief thereto. "When the priest," saith he, "pronounceth those words with a loud voice, the people standing by,* in utraque parte, *that is, first at the consecration of the body, and again at the consecration of the blood, answereth, Amen; as though they said thus: Truly so it is as thou sayest. For, whereas Amen is an adverb of affirming in Hebrew, in Greek it signifieth so much as 'truly.' And therefore the people answering Amen to these*[7] *words, Verily, say they, these gifts set forth are the body and blood of Christ. So we believe: so we confess*[8]*." Thus*[9] *far Bessarion. It is declared by Clement,* Lib. VIII. Constitutionum Apostolicarum, *that the people said Amen when the words of consecration had been pronounced*[10]*. Whereby we understand that order to have been taken by the apostles. The same custom also may be gathered out of St Ambrose, who saith thus:* Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi; et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum. Quid[11] confitetur lingua, teneat affectus[12]. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. V.: *"The priest saith, 'The body of Christ;' and thou sayest, 'Amen,' that is to say, 'True.' Hold with thy heart that which thou confessest with the*[13] *tongue." He saith likewise hereof,* De iis qui initiantur Mysteriis, cap. ix.[14] Frustra ab illis respondetur, Amen, &c.[15]: *"Amen is answered in vain by them who dispute against that which is received," saith Leo,* Sermone 6, De Jejunio vii. Mensis.

Bessarion a young doctor. He lived anno Dom. 1439.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is clearly witnessed by all these doctors, against M. Harding and the order of the church of Rome, that the words of consecration were pronounced with a loud voice; and that the people not only heard, but also understood and answered

---

[1 See before, pages 562, &c.]

[2 Tonst. De Verit. Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Euch. Lut. 1554. Lib. I. fol. 46. See before, page 549, note 8.]

[3 Εὐλογεῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον, ἐκφώνως λέγων, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 96.]

[4 Meum, &c. H.A. 1564.]

[5 Those, H.A. 1564.]

[6 Body, &c. H.A. 1564.]

[7 Those, 1565, 1609, and H.A. 1564.]

[8 Sacerdote enim verba illa alta voce, ut vos Græci soletis, pronunciante, assistens populus in utraque parte respondet, Amen, quasi dicat, Vere ita est, ut tu dicis. Amen enim cum affirmandi apud Hebræos adverbium sit, Græce idem quod vere significat. Amen igitur ad ea verba respondens populus, Certe, inquit, corpus et sanguis Christi sunt munera ista proposita, ita credimus, ita confitemur.—Bessar. De Sacram. Euch. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. de la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 481.]

[9 This, 1565, and H.A. 1564.]

[10 Constit. Apost. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 483.]

[11 Quod, 1565, 1609, and H.A. 1564.]

[12 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. v. 25. Tom. II. col. 372; where *quod*.]

[13 Thy, H.A. 1564.]

[14 Id. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 340.]

[15 ... frustra ab illis Amen respondetur, a quibus contra id quod accipitur disputatur.—Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Jej. Sept. Mens. Serm. vi. 2. col. 248.]

the same. Wherefore M. Harding can find but small relief in these authorities. Verily in his church, which he so often calleth ancient and only catholic, the people neither answereth, nor understandeth, nor heareth the words of consecration. Thus it appeareth he hath alleged these five doctors in three special points against himself.

M. Harding addeth hereto: Amen is as much as *Verum est*, "It is true." And therefore the people, answering Amen, confessed thereby that they believed the very real and substantial changing of the bread into the body of Christ. It was needless and out of season to renew this matter in this place. But he thought it better skill to speak from the purpose than utterly to hold his peace and to say nothing.

First, as it is said before, the Latin church never received this new belief before the council of Lateran holden in Rome; the Greek church never until this day. Therefore, by M. Harding's skill, the people thus answering said Amen to that thing that they believed not; and so confirmed the child eight hundred years and more before it was born. Indeed, the people said Amen to that they heard spoken by the priest. But the priest spake nothing neither of real presence, nor of transubstantiation, nor of accidents without subject. Therefore it is not likely the people's answer had relation to any such matter. Otherwise they should seem to answer that thing that was not spoken. The priest only uttered these words of Christ, "This is my body;" whereunto the Greeks make answer in this sort, as it is recorded in the council of Florence: *Firmiter credimus, verbis illis dominicis sacramentum fieri*[16]: "We believe stedfastly that by these words of our Lord there is made a sacrament." Likewise St Ambrose: *Post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*[17]: "After the consecration the body of Christ is signified." Again: *Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur: post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen, hoc est, Verum est*[18]: "Before the consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is named the blood of Christ. And thou sayest, 'Amen,' that is to say, 'It is true.'" So Dionysius writeth unto Sixtus, the bishop of Rome, of one that had been baptized amongst heretics: *Gratiarum actionem in ecclesia audivit, et ad illam una cum aliis respondit, Amen*[19]: "He heard the thanksgiving in the church, and to the same together with others he answered, 'Amen.'" So St Augustine: *Fratres nostri eadem sacramenta celebrantes [et]...unum Amen respondentes*[20]: "Our brethren resorting to one sacrament, and answering all one Amen." This answering Amen imported not any sudden transubstantiation, but a thanksgiving unto God for our delivery by the death of Christ.

Anno Dom. 1215.

Concil. Florent. Sess. ult.

Ambros. de iis qui init. cap. ix.

Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. ix. εὐχαριστίας...ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον τὸ Ἀμήν.

August. in Psalm. xxxiii.

But Leo saith, they answer Amen in vain that dispute against the same thing that they receive[21]. For clear understanding of which words, it behoveth thee, good reader, to remember that Leo, as well herein as also in sundry other places, bendeth the whole force of his learning against the heretic Eutyches, whose error was this, much like unto the common error that is now defended; that Christ's body after his ascension was turned wholly into the Godhead, and so was no longer a man's body. Against which error Leo taketh an argument of the holy mysteries, wherein the faithful people, as with their bodily mouth they receive the mystical bread and wine, so with their spirit and faith they receive the body and blood of Christ, and that verily and in truth; and in witness thereof the receiver saith, Amen. But, saith Leo, "he saith Amen in vain that denieth the same thing that he receiveth;" that is to say, that receiveth the sacrament of Christ's body, and yet nevertheless is persuaded, as the heretic Eutyches was, that Christ indeed hath no body. And in this sense St Augustine seemeth to say: *Mors illi erit, non vita, qui mendacem putaverit vitam*[22]: "The

Leo de Jejun. 7 Mens. Serm. 6.

Bed. 1 Cor. x.

[16] Responderunt [Græci], se firmiter credere, &c.—Gen. VIII. Synod. Sess. Ult. Florent. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 474.]

[17] Ambros. Op. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[18] Id. ibid. col. 340.]

[19] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. ix. p. 208.]

[20] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxii. Enarr. iii. 29. Tom. IV. col. 208; where *fratribus nostris, celebrantibus,* and *respondentibus.*]

[21] See above, note 15.]

[22] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 363; where *erit autem illa homini mors.*]

receiving of the sacrament shall be death, and not life, unto him that thinketh that Christ, being the life itself, was a liar;" delivering these holy mysteries as the sacrament or pledge of his body, himself indeed having no body. So likewise

Prosp. de Promiss. Dei, Pars i. cap. vi.

Prosper Aquitanus: *Christum...a populo Judaico fuisse occisum, nullus jam ambigit Christianus; cujus sacrum*[1] *sanguinem omnis nunc terra accipiens clamat, Amen:... ut neganti Judæo, quod occiderit Christum, recte dicatur a Deo: Vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra*[2]*:* "Whether Christ were slain of the Jews or no, there is no christian man now that can stand in doubt. For now all the earth receiveth his holy blood, and crieth Amen. Therefore, if the Jew will deny that ever he slew Christ, God may justly say unto him: 'The voice of the blood of thy brother

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

crieth unto me from the earth.'" So St Chrysostom: *Hæc afferentes mysteria, ora ipsorum consuimus. Si enim mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est*[3]*?* "Laying forth these mysteries, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, whose sign then and whose token is this sacrifice?" Thus, by the judgment of these learned fathers, Eutyches the heretic, or any other, that denied either the body or the death of Christ, might soon be reproved, even by the receiving of these holy mysteries. For they receive the sacrament, and yet deny the thing itself that is represented by the sacrament; and so, as Leo saith, they dispute against the thing itself that they receive. And thus Leo

Leo, Epist. 81 ad Palæst.

himself plainly expoundeth and openeth his own meaning: *Quam...sibi in hujus sacramenti præsidio spem relinquunt, qui in Salvatoris nostri corpore negant humanæ substantiæ veritatem? Dicant, quo sacrificio* [*sint*] *reconciliati: dicant, quo sanguine sint redempti*[4]*:* "What hope do they leave themselves in the help of this sacrament, that say there is no truth of the substance of man in the body of our Saviour? Let them tell me by what sacrifice they are reconciled: let them tell me with what blood they are redeemed."

By these holy fathers it is plain, that whoso receiveth the holy mystery of Christ's body, and yet thinketh and holdeth that Christ indeed hath no body, as Eutyches the heretic did, he disputeth against that thing itself that he receiveth.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

For Gelasius saith: *Hoc nobis in ipso Domino Christo sentiendum* [*est*]*, quod in ejus imagine profitemur*[5]*:* "We must think the same of Christ the Lord himself that we profess (in the sacrament, which is) his image." And therefore in the communion-

Lit. Jacob.

book that beareth the name of St James it is written thus: *Quotiescunque comederitis hunc panem, et hunc calicem biberitis, mortem Filii hominis annuntiatis, ...donec veniat. Populus respondet, Credimus, et confitemur*[6]*:* "As often as ye shall eat this bread, or drink this cup, ye do publish the death of the Son of man, until he come. Hereto the people maketh answer, 'We believe it, and we confess it.'" This is it that St Ambrose, St Chrysostom, Leo, and Clement call Amen. And this is that undoubted truth of Christ's body, not in the sacrament, as M. Harding imagineth, but in the unity of one person, that Leo defendeth against the heretic Eutyches. Bessarion's authority in these cases cannot be great;

Anno Dom. 1439.

both for that he was but of very late years, and therefore a very young doctor to be alleged; and also for that, being promoted to the bishoprick of Tusculum, and made a cardinal of Rome in the late council of Florence, contrary to the minds and judgments of the rest of his brethren of Græcia, he openly flattered and yielded himself unto the pope.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

And that the people should give their consent and apply their faith to this truth without error and deceit, and that by saying "Amen" they should then believe and

The two hundred and fourteenth untruth. For

confess the bread and wine to be made the body and blood of Christ, (214) *when it was made indeed, and not else, for so were it a great error—for this cause*

[1 Sacris, 1609, 1611.]

[2 Prosp. Aquit. Op. Par. 1711. De Promiss. et Præd. Dei, Pars I. cap. vi. 2. Append. col. 95. This treatise is not genuine.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[4 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palæst. Episc. Epist. lxxxiii. 4. col. 440.]

[5 Gelas. adv. Eut. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671; where *Christo Domino.*]

[6 Jacob. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 24; where the response is assigned to the deacons.]

[*De ecclesiasticis diversis capitulis. constitut.* 123. H. A. 1564.]

Justinian the emperor made an ordinance, that the bishops and priests should to this intent pronounce their service plainly, distinctly, and so as it might be understanded, that the people might answer, "Amen:" (*which is to be referred to each part of the service, but specially to the consecration*) *that they might believe and confess it was the body and blood of Christ* (215) *when it was indeed, and not so confess when it was not; which might happen if they heard not the words of consecration plainly pronounced. And hereunto specially that constitution of Justinian is to be restrained, as pertaining only to the Greek church, wherein he lived,* (216) *and not to be stretched further to serve for proof of all the service to be had and said in the vulgar tongue in the west church, as to that purpose of our new teachers it is untruly alleged.*

Justinian meant no such thing. But M. Harding is licensed at Lovaine to make comments as he listeth. The two hundred and fifteenth untruth, vain and fantastical. For whereunto should the people answer Amen, hearing no part of the prayer? The two hundred and sixteenth untruth. For this law touched as well the church of Rome as the church of Græcia, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

So many untruths in so little room, so constantly to be avouched without blushing! Where is the fear of God? Where is the reverence of the reader? Where is shame become? First, neither doth that godly emperor Justinian once mention or touch this new fantasy of M. Harding's doctrine, nor did the Greek church, as it is sufficiently already proved, ever hitherto consent unto the same. Will M. Harding make the world believe, that the people openly in the church gave their consents unto that thing that they never believed, but knew undoubtedly to be an error? Is he able to allege not one council, not one doctor, not one father, that ever expounded "Amen" in this sort? Is the matter so miserable and so bare, that no honest witness will speak for it? Or must M. Harding's bare word, without scripture, council, doctor, or father, be taken for the doctrine of the church?

The emperor's words are plain: "We command all the holy bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, and the sacrament of baptism, and other prayers (not closely or in silence, as the manner is now in the church of Rome, but) with a loud voice, that may be heard of the faithful people, (not to testify M. Harding's transubstantiation, which then was not known, but) that the hearts of the hearers may thereby both the more be humbled to repentance, and also the more be stirred to glorify God[7]." If the pronouncing of these two syllables, "Amen," be proof sufficient to warrant transubstantiation, then may we easily find the same transubstantiation, not only in the sacrament of Christ's body, but also in the sacrament of baptism, and in all other public prayers: for in every hereof the people was willed to say, "Amen."

De Eccles. Div. Capit. Constit. 123.

εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν.

Secondly, M. Harding saith (and he saith it alone, for no man ever said it before him), that the bishop and priest was thus commanded to speak aloud, lest the people should happen to prevent the time, and to answer "Amen" out of season, before the sacrament were consecrate. And this must be taken as a grave and a deep consideration, and meet for the emperor of the world. But, O the vanities of these vain men! For whereunto should the people answer "Amen," that heard no part of the prayer? Or how should they confirm that was said by the priest, that knew not one word what he said? Certainly it appeareth not that the emperor Justinian doubted so much the over-hasty answering of the people, but rather thought that, if the priest's voice were not heard, the people should be able to answer nothing. For to that end he allegeth these words of St Paul: "How shall the unlearned man answer Amen to thy thanksgiving? For he knoweth not what thou sayest."

1 Cor. xiv.

Last of all he saith, this constitution of the emperor Justinian touched only the Greek church, and pertained nothing to the church of Rome; adding further, that by these new masters it hath been and is otherwise untruly alleged. Thus much M. Harding only of himself, without any other further authority, either old or new. Perhaps he would have us think, according to that childish fable of their forged donation, that the emperor Constantinus had given over the whole empire of the west part of the world unto the pope[8], and that therefore Justinian

Don. Constant. in 1 Tom. Conc.

[7 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xx. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. See before, page 287, note 10.]

[8 Edict. Constant. Imp. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 228.]

the emperor had now nothing to do in the church of Rome. But Justinian himself, contrary to M. Harding's commentary, commandeth his laws to be taken as general, and to be kept universally throughout the world. For thus he writeth:

Cod. De Jud. cap. Properandum. *Visum est, ... præsentem legem omni terrarum orbi ponendam, nullis locorum vel temporum angustiis coartandam*[1]: "We have thought it good that this law should generally concern the whole world, to be restrained by no limits of place or time."

Cod. De Episc. et Cler. cap. Generaliter. And, making an ordinance for the church, he writeth thus: *Et hoc, non solum in veteri Roma, vel in hac regia civitate, sed in omni terra, ubicunque Christianorum nomen colitur, obtinere sancimus*[2]: "And this law we will to take place, not only in the old city of Rome, or in this princely city of Constantinople, but also in all the world where the name of Christians is had in honour." Likewise Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the emperor's proclamation for the keeping of the Sunday: "Upon that day he commanded not only the Greeks, but also all other nations that were subject to the empire of Rome, to rest from bodily labours[3]." And concerning such matters as specially touched the city of Constantinople, he writeth thus in the same law that M. Harding hath here alleged: "Whatsoever things namely concern the church of this princely city of Constantinople, we have comprised the same in a particular law specially serving to that purpose[4]." Yet nevertheless M. Harding thinketh it lawful for him to say, The emperor's mind was not to extend this law to the church of Rome; and we must believe him upon his bare word, yea, although the emperor himself say the contrary.

Euseb. in Vit. Constant. Orat. 4, cap. xix. πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν [τῶν] Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν πολιτευομένοις. ταῦτα εἰδικῷ νόμῳ περιελάβομεν.

But to what purpose excepteth M. Harding the Latin church in this behalf? was not St Ambrose bishop of Millaine, Clemens and Leo bishops of Rome, all three bishops of the Latin church? And doth not M. Harding say that every of these three pronounced the words of consecration openly with loud voice, and not in silence? And doth not M. Harding further tell us it was the tradition of the apostles? Wherefore then doth he so nicely except the church of Rome? Had the church there any special privilege to break the apostles' traditions more than others? Certainly, Clemens Alexandrinus saith, the traditions of the apostles, as well in the east church as in the west, were all one, even as was their doctrine. *Fuit una omnium apostolorum, sicut doctrina, ita traditio*[5]. Thus hath M. Harding found, by his own confession, both the tradition of the apostles and the ancient doctors Ambrose, Clemens, and Leo, and both the churches of God, the Greek and the Latin, against himself.

M. Harding contrary to himself.

Clemens Alex. Strom. Lib. vii.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Now in this west church, which is the Latin church, the people having been sufficiently instructed touching the belief of the body and blood of our Lord in the sacrament, (217) *it hath been thought by the fathers convenient the words of consecration to be pronounced by the priest closely and in silence, rather than with open voice. Wherein they had special regard to the dignity of that high mystery. And doubtless for this point they understood, as St Basil writeth, that "the apostles and the fathers, which at the beginning made laws for the order of ecclesiastical things, maintained the mysteries in their due authority by keeping them secret and in silence. For it is not," saith he, "any mystery at all which is brought forth to the popular and vulgar ears*[6]*," whereof he wrote very truly before:* Ei, quod publicatum est, et per se apprehendi potest, imminere contemptum; ei vero, quod remotum est ac rarum, etiam naturaliter quodammodo esse conjunctam admirationem[7]: "*That*

The two hundred and seventeenth untruth. For there is no such thing decreed by the ancient fathers. These words of St Basil pertain nothing to the sacrament.

[*Lib. de Spiritu sancto. cap. xxvii.* H. A. 1564.]

[1 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. III. Tit. i. 13. Tom. II. p. 84; where *super his per orbem terrarum nullis*, and *coarctandam ponere.*]

[2 Id. Cod. Lib. I. Tit. iii. 52. Tom. II. p. 22. See before, page 286, note 5.]

[3 Euseb. De Vit. Constant. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. p. 441; where πολιτευομένοις ἅπασι.]

[4 Corp. Jur. Civil. Auth. Coll. I. Tit. vi. Novell. vi. 8. Tom. II. p. 14. See before, page 286, note 3.]

[5 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Strom. Lib. VII. 17. Tom. II. p. 900.]

[6 Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον, καὶ οἱ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐξαρχῆς διαθεσμοθετήσαντες ἀπόστολοι καὶ πατέρες ἐν τῷ κεκρυμμένῳ καὶ ἀφθέγκτῳ τὸ σεμνὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἐφύλασσον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅλως μυστήριον τὸ εἰς τὴν δημώδη καὶ εἰκαίαν ἀκοὴν ἔκφορον.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[7 Id. ibid.]

what is done openly, and made common, and of itself may be attained, it is like to come in contempt, and be despised. But what is kept far off, and is seldom gotten, that even naturally in manner is never without wondering at." And in such respect Christ gave warning, that precious stones be not strewed before hogs.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is most certain, and therefore the more lamentable, that, as it now fareth through the whole church of Rome, the people knoweth neither the substance, nor the meaning, nor the use, nor the effect, nor the end or purpose of the sacrament, nor the consecration, nor any word thereto belonging. They hear nothing: they see nothing: they understand nothing: they learn nothing. The pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the priests teach them nothing. It is thought to be the surest fence and strongest ward for that religion, that they should be kept still in ignorance, and know nothing. M. Harding, both in this place and also before, calleth them all hogs and swine, as insensible and brute beasts, and void of reason, and able to judge and conceive nothing. Yet he blusheth not to say: The people of the Latin church is sufficiently instructed touching the sacraments[8]; and that more sufficiently, as it appeareth, than ever they were instructed in the primitive church, or in the time of the old learned fathers. Verily ignorance is easily learned: they may soon be taught to know nothing. But the doctrine that he meaneth standeth in transubstantiation and real presence, and other like matters incident unto the same, such as the godly people in the old times never learned. Howbeit, if the people were thoroughly instructed, and knew the meaning of all mysteries, would M. Harding thereof conclude that therefore they should not hear the words of consecration? Is this the logic of Lovaine? Who ever taught him to frame such a *syllogismus?* In what form, in what mood may it stand? How may this antecedent and this consequent join together? Art. 15. Div. 7.

But, where he addeth, that in consideration hereof the fathers thought it convenient the words of consecration should be pronounced in silence; this, besides other great wants, is also a great untruth to make up his simple *syllogismus.* For what were these fathers? what names had they? where dwelt they? In what council, in what country met they? This is a very strange case, that, being fathers, and such fathers, able to alter the traditions of the apostles, and the whole state of the church, no man should know them but only M. Harding.

As for St Basil, whose name he much abuseth to this purpose, it is plain that he speaketh not neither of the sacrament nor of the words of consecration. And here, good christian reader, mark, I beseech thee, the circumspection and constancy of M. Harding. For proof of his late-invented order of the Latin church, he sheweth us examples of the Greek church; and, to avouch his consecration in silence, he allegeth the authority of St Basil, who, by his own confession, evermore pronounced the same aloud with open voice, and never in silence. He should neither so unadvisedly avouch the names of ancient fathers, nor have so small regard unto his reader. True it is, as St Basil saith: "Familiar use breedeth contempt[9]." And for that cause pope Innocentius saith the words of consecration were commanded to be said in silence, *ne sacrosancta verba vilescerent*[10], "lest the holy words should be despised." The like hereof is surmised also by John Billet[11]. Thomas of Aquine saith, that "the oblation and consecration belong only to the priest, and that therefore the words be spoken in silence, as nothing pertaining to the people[12]." But if the people be thus naturally inclined, the less they hear or know things, the more to have them

Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. τῷ πεπαρημένῳ πρόχειρος ἡ καταφρόνησις.

Innoc. III. de Sac. Alt. Myst. Lib. iii. cap. i.

Jo. Billet, de Div. Offic.

Thom. Par. iii. Quæst. 183.

[8 See before, page 678.]

[9 Basil. Op. Lib. de Spir. Sanct. cap. xxvii. Tom. I. p. 55.]

[10 Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. III. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 364.]

[11 J. Beleth. Div. Offic. Explic. cap. xlvi. ad calc. Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. fol. 510.]

[12 ... quædam vero pertinent ad solum sacerdotem, sicut oblatio et consecratio. et ideo quæ circa hæc. sunt dicenda, occulte a sacerdote dicuntur.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxxiii. Art. 4. Tom. XII. fol. 279.]

in admiration; then were it good they should never hear neither the words of baptism, nor any part of the gospel, nor the Lord's prayer, nor the name of God or Christ, no, nor the mass itself. And, as now their ears be barred from hearing the words that make the sacrament, so were it good policy their eyes were also barred from seeing the sacrament. For naturally contempt groweth as well of sight as of hearing, or rather more. For by M. Harding's skill these were good ways to breed reverenee in the people, and to increase devotion. But this is an unreverent reverence, and a disordered honour of God. The people of God is not made to serve the sacraments; but the sacraments are made to serve the people. But these be the secret works and policies of Satan, to make the simple believe they reverence the sacraments, and yet understand no part, neither of the meaning, nor of the use of the sacraments. Lactantius saith:

Lactant. Lib. v. cap. xx.

Hinc fida silentia... instituta sunt ab hominibus callidis, ut nesciret populus quid coleret[1]: "Therefore subtle and crafty men devised to have their sacrifices wrought in silence, that the people should not know what thing they honoured for their God."

M. HARDING: THE FIFTH DIVISION.

If in the old law priests were chosen (as St Ambrose writeth) to cover the ark of the testament, because it is not lawful for all persons to see the depth of mysteries; if the sons of Caath by God's appointment did only bear the ark and those other holy things of the tabernacle on their shoulders, whensoever the children of Israel removed and marched forward in the[2] *wilderness, being closely folded and lapped within veils, curtains, and palls by the priests, and might not at no time touch nor see the same upon pain of death, which were but figures of this*[3]*; how much more is this high and worthy mystery to be honoured with secretness, closeness, and silence!*

[Num. iv. H.A. 1564.]

[Vide Origenem, Hom. 5. in Numer. cap. iv. H.A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: In the time of the old testament it was not lawful for every of the people to behold the ark of God and the things therein contained; *ergo*, the priest ought to pronounce the words of consecration in silence, and secretly to himself. This simple reason holdeth from Moses to Christ; from the old testament to the new; from seeing to hearing; and, to be short, from somewhat to nothing; and serveth only to control all the ancient fathers of the church, who, as M. Harding knoweth, and hath already in part confessed, never pronounced these words in such secret sort, nor ever used these policies for increase of reverence. Notwithstanding, M. Harding, the better to lead along his simple reader, hath cunningly drawn in the names of two old fathers, Ambrose and Origen, to the intent to make his own conclusion to seem theirs. And thus under his painted coverings and veils of eloquence he foldeth up closely, not the ark of God, but, as his wont is, great untruths.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

"For this cause, as they report," saith Carolus Magnus, that noble, virtuous, and learned emperor, writing to his school-master Alcuinus, our countryman and first teacher of philosophy in Paris, "it is become a custom in the church, that the canon and consecration be said by the priest secretly, that those words so holy, and pertaining to so great a mystery, should not grow in contempt, whiles all in manner through common use bearing them away would sing them in the highways, in the streets, and in other places where it were not thought[4] *convenient. Whereof it is told that, before this custom was received, shepherds, when they sang them in the field, were by God's hand strucken*[5]*."*

[In fragmento Caroli Mag. de ritib. veteris ecclesiæ. H. A. 1564.]

[1 Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. v. cap. xx. Tom. I. p. 413; where *nesciat*, and *colat*.]

[2 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *the*.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. Tom. II. pp. 284, &c.]

[4 H. A. 1564, omits *thought*.]

[5 Idcirco ut ferunt consuetudo venit in ecclesia, ut tacite ista obsecratio atque consecratio a sacerdote cantetur, ne verba tam sacra et ad tantum mysterium pertinentia vilescerent, dum pene omnes per usum ea retinentes, per vicos et plateas aliisque in locis, ubi non conveniret, ea decantarent. Inde fertur,

Luther himself, in Præceptorio, *is much against them that would have the canon of the mass to be pronounced with a loud voice for the better understanding*[6].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It appeareth M. Harding is much scanted of good authorities, when he is thus driven by tales[7] and fables to countervail the tradition of the apostles; and that by such fables as he himself is fain to cut off in the midst, and cannot truly report without shame. Howbeit, nothing cometh amiss that may serve to astonie the simple. Such grounds be sufficient for such doctrine. The tale, as it is told by Innocentius and Durandus amongst other fables, is this[8]: Certain shepherds, having by often hearing learned the words of consecration, began to practise the same amongst themselves, over their bread in the field, upon a stone. Suddenly the bread was flesh: the poor men were amazed: God was angry: fire came from heaven and burnt them up; not one left alive to tell these tidings. Hereupon, saith M. Harding, this law was made. For view of the likelihood hereof, they say that the priest himself, be he never so holy, unless he have his altar, his super-altar, his chalice, his corporesse, his lights, his vestiments, and all other appurtenances necessary; unless he stedfastly eye and behold the bread; unless he pronounce all these five words with one breath without stop; and unless he have a special intent and mind to work consecration; he laboureth in vain, and can never consecrate. Yet these poor shepherds, not being priests, for ought that we know, nor having either altar, or super-altar, or vestiments, or any knowledge of these cautels, nor intention or mind to work consecration, yet notwithstanding had consecrate suddenly before they were ware. By these it may be gathered, that consecration is easier for a shepherd than for a priest. But, when these shepherds were all slain in the place where they stood, and not one left alive to report these doings, M. Harding should have told us by what angel or archangel or other secret revelation this tale afterward came to light. His reader would also long to know in what kingdom or in what country, in what king's or pope's days these things happened, in what chronicle, in what story they were recorded. Otherwise he will suspect M. Harding found it in the shepherds' calendar. And touching this new decree for silence and secrecy, M. Harding should have taught us in what council, in what synod, in what convocation, in what diet, in what country, and at what time it was determined; who was legate at the doing, who was referendary, who was president, who was present. If he have nothing to say, his tale hath lost his grace, and will be thought a shepherd's fable.

But hereof these two things M. Harding might well have learned; first, that before these strange unknown shepherds gave this attempt, the consecration was every where pronounced aloud; and farther, that the same consecration was pronounced in the common known mother tongue of every country, that the shepherds might learn it and understand it, unless M. Harding will happily say they were Greek or Latin shepherds.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

[*What persons the primitive church excluded from presence of the sacrament.* H. A. 1564.]

The fathers of the primitive church had this sacrament in such reverence and honour, that they excluded some sorts of faithful people from being present at the celebration of it, thinking them unworthy not only to hear the mystical words of consecration pronounced, but also to see the forms of the outward elements, and to be in the church whiles that most holy sacrifice was offered. They were these, catechumeni, energumeni, *and* pœnitentes[9]. *The first were learners of our belief, who, as they were daily in-*

quod antequam hæc consuetudo inolevisset, cum pastores ea decantarent in agro, divinitus sunt percussi.—Fragm. Quæd. Carol. Magni De Vet. Eccles. Rit. Antv. 1560. De Sacrif. Miss. p. 100.]

[6 Luth. Op. Witeb. 1554 &c. De III. Præcept. Declam. Pop. Tom. I. fol. 18. 2. This is one of Luther's earliest works.]

[7 Tables, 1609, 1611.]

[8 Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. III. cap. i. Tom. I. p. 364.

Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xxxv. 7. fol. 151. 2.

J. Beleth. Div. Offic. Explic. cap. xliv. fol. 509.]

[9 For an account of these classes of persons and their exclusion from the eucharist, see Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book I. chap. iii. 5. Book XV. chap. iii. 5. 21. &c.]

structed, believed in Christ; and, as St Augustine writeth, "bare Christ's cross in their forehead, and marked themselves with the same[1]*." The second were such as, notwithstanding they had been christened, yet for the inconstancy of their mind were vexed with unclean spirits. The third sort were they, who for their sins committed had not yet made an end of doing their open penance. All these were judged by the governors of the church at the beginning unworthy to be present at these holy mysteries. Now, if this great reverence towards the holy things in them was justly praised, the admitting of all sorts of people, not only to be present and to behold the same, but also to hear and understand the words of consecration* (218) *(that hath thus always been honoured with silence and secretness), cannot seem to wise, zealous, and godly men a thing commendable; specially in these times, in which the holy christian discipline of the church is loosed and utterly shaken off, and no difference nor account of any diversity is*[2] *made between the perfit and godly people, and them that ought to do open penance, that be possessed with devils, and be infamous for heinous and notorious crimes committed.*

Tract. in Jo. xi.

The two hundred and eighteenth untruth. For the contrary is known and evident.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The reverence, that M. Harding presumeth was given only to this sacrament, was given likewise and in as ample sort to the sacrament of baptism. And, as the *catechumeni* were sequestered from the presence and sight of the one sacrament, so were they also sequestered from the other. In the council holden at Arausica it is written thus: *Catechumeni ad baptisterium nunquam admittendi sunt*[3]: "The *catechumeni* may never be admitted to the place of baptism." St Chrysostom, touching the words of baptism, writeth thus: *Verba Dei, quæ norunt fideles, in aquæ lavacro per sacerdotem pronuntiata, tanquam in utero quodam, formant ac regenerant eum qui baptizatur*[4]: "The words of God, which the faithful know, being pronounced by the priest in the water of baptism, do form and regenerate him that is baptized, as if it were in the mother's womb." Likewise again he saith: *Cupiam sane verba illa clare proferre, &c.*[5]: "Fain would I in plain sort utter these words (of baptism), if the presence of these ungodly men, the heathens, did not let me. They cause my interpretation to be the harder: I may not speak plainly, nor publish our mysteries because of them." So saith Cyrillus: *Dicerem de baptismo alia, ... nisi vererer non initiatorum aures*[6]: "Touching baptism I would say more, saving that I doubt the ears of these profane people that are not christened." To like purpose St Augustine saith: *Opera nostra bona vident etiam pagani; sacramenta vero nostra occultantur illis*[7]: "The heathens may see our good works; but our sacraments (that is, our baptism and our Lord's supper) are hidden from them." The like may be said both of public and solemn prayers, and also of the understanding of the scriptures. Chrysostom saith: *Quid ... oratione potentius? ... Et catechumenis quidem hoc nondum permissum est, &c.*[8]: "What thing is there more mighty than the solemn prayer (of the church)? yet is it not lawful for the *catechumeni* to use the same. For they are not yet come to that boldness. But you (being christened) are commanded to pray for the whole world, and for the church." Thus, like as for reverence of the mystery the *catechumeni* might[9] not be present at the ministration of the sacrament of Christ's body, even so, for like reverence,

Concil. Araus. cap. 19.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv.

Chrysost. in i. ad Cor. Hom. 40.

Cyril. contr. Julian. Lib. vii.

August. in Psalm. civ.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 79.

---

[1] Si dixerimus catechumeno, Credis in Christum? respondet, Credo, et signat se: jam crucem Christi portat in fronte.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 376.]

[2] 1565, and H. A. 1564, omit *is*.]

[3] Ad baptisterium catechumeni nunquam admittendi.—Concil. Araus. I. cap. 19. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 623.]

[4] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. iv. Epist. ad Gal. Comm. Tom. X. p. 711.]

[5] Καὶ βούλομαι μὲν σαφῶς αὐτὸ εἰπεῖν, οὐ τολμῶ δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους· οὗτοι γὰρ δυσκολωτέραν ἡμῖν ποιοῦσι τὴν ἐξήγησιν, ἀναγκάζοντες ἢ μὴ λέγειν σαφῶς, ἢ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκφέρειν τὰ ἀπόρρητα.—Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 379.]

[6] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Contr. Julian. Lib. VII. Tom. VI. p. 249.]

[7] These words do not appear in the place referred to. Ideas, however, something similar are there expressed. See August. Op. Enarr. in Psalm. civ. 2. 5. Tom. IV. cols. 1179, 80.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lxxix. Tom. V. col. 471. The homily proceeds: permissum hoc nondum est, quoniam nondum ad hanc pervenere fidutiam: vobis autem et pro terrarum orbe et pro ecclesia...jubetur orationes emittere.]

[9] Mought, 1565.]

they might[9] not be present, neither at the sacrament of baptism, nor at the solemn common prayers.

But now let us weigh M. Harding's reasons. In the old time[10], saith he, the *catechumeni*, which were only novices in the faith, and as yet unchristened, and other renegades, frantic and ungodly people, might[9] not be present at the holy mysteries; *ergo*, now the godly faithful people may not hear the words of consecration. No man would use such logic but M. Harding. And yet this he thinketh for wise, zealous, and godly men is sufficient. As for the rest, indeed M. Harding, as a man of travel, that hath been in Rome, and hath seen bishops and cardinals men of war; children and boys set in the highest degrees and dignities of the church; open stews so dearly rented; so many thousand cortegians so well regarded; priests so freely allowed to keep their concubines; the church of God turned into a cave of thieves; such corruption in the clergy, such corruption in the people; so little difference between wife and harlot, honest and unhonest, godly and ungodly, and, as Bernard[11] saith of them, "the servants of Christ serving antichrist[12];" and all this suffered without correction, and well allowed of and accounted catholic; seeing, I say, the church of God in Rome thus used, he may justly complain of corruption of life and looseness of discipline. Howbeit, it were hard hereof to conclude, that therefore no man may hear the words of consecration. Verily, it is thought lawful for usurers, thieves, whores, murderers, traitors, and all other like to be present and to hear mass without exception.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Whereas in old times, when by wholesome discipline the faithful people were kept in godly awe and obedience, that prayer also, which was said over the oblation before consecration (219) *was pronounced closely and in silence; and therefore it was called of the Latins* secreta, *of the Greeks* mystica oratio, *meaning thereby that it ought not to be uttered openly and made common.*

The two hundred and nineteenth untruth. For the same secret prayer was pronounced aloud, as shall appear.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding, for want of other proofs, presumeth of himself that in old times the prayer before consecration was pronounced, as he saith, closely and in silence. And that he guesseth only by his[13] word *secreta*, which is a term peculiar only to his mass-book, and in the old catholic fathers was never found. And yet doth not the same import any such silence or secrecy as M. Harding supposeth. For so Gerardus Lorichius writeth of it: *Non arbitrandum* [*est*], *orationem eam dici secretam, quasi non liceat laicis illam vel nosse vel audire; sed quod, juxta atque canon, non cantetur voce* [14]*altiori*[15]: "We may not think that the prayer is called *secreta* for that it is not lawful for the lay-people to know it or to hear it, but only for that it is not sung out with loud voice, as is the canon." Therefore M. Harding concludeth this matter with two untruths both together. Ger. Lorich. Lib. ii.

Thus, notwithstanding this new dumb ceremony hath[16] been only received in the church of Rome, and nowhere else, and that only for a time, and not from the beginning, and therefore mere particular, and no way universal, and so not catholic; notwithstanding also it be utterly void of any shew, either of the scriptures, or of the old councils, or ancient fathers, or of any manner antiquity; yet M. Harding thinketh himself well able to maintain it, as he doth the rest, against St Ambrose, against St Augustine, against St Chrysostom, against Leo, against his own Clemens, against the whole primitive church, both Greek and Latin, and against the decrees and traditions of the apostles, and against his own knowledge, and, I fear me, also against his own conscience.

---

[10] Times, 1565.]

[11] St Bernard, 1565.]

[12] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393. See before, page 382, note 11. See also In Concil. Remens. Serm. 5. Vol. II. Tom. V. col. 737.]

[13] This, 1565.]

[14] Alteriori, 1611.]

[15] Ger. Lorich. De Miss. Pub. Prorogand. 1536. Lib. II. cap. i. Secret. p. 120; where *quia* for *quod*.]

[16] Have, 1565.]

OF THE SACRIFICE.

THE SEVENTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that the priest had then authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.

[OF THE PRIEST'S AUTHORITY TO OFFER UP CHRIST TO HIS FATHER.—ARTICLE XVII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Christ is offered up to his Father after three manners; figuratively, truly with bloodshedding, and sacramentally or mystically. In figure or signification he was offered in the sacrifices made to God both in the time of the law of nature, and also in the time of the law written. And therefore St John calleth Christ "the Lamb, which was killed from the beginning of the world," meaning in figure. The sacrifices of Abel, Noe, and Abraham, and all those of the people of Israel commanded by the law of Moses, figured and signified Christ. For which respect chiefly the law is reported of St Paul to have "the shadow of the good things to come." St Augustine, writing against Faustus the heretic, saith: [Testamenti veteris sacrificia] omnia ... multis et variis modis unum sacrificium, cujus nunc memoriam celebramus, significaverunt[1]: *"All the sacrifices of the old testament signified by many and sundry ways this one sacrifice, whose memory we do now celebrate." And in another place he saith, *that "in those fleshly sacrifices there was a signification of Christ's flesh, which he should offer for sins, and of his blood, which he should shed for the remission of our sins[2]."*

Threefold oblation of Christ. "Agnus occisus est ab origine mundi." Rev. xiii. Heb. x. Lib. vi. cap. v. De Fide ad Petrum Diaconum, cap. xvi.

*M. Harding hath purposely maimed this place of St Augustine, as shall appear.

Truly and with bloodshedding Christ was offered on the cross in his own person, whereof St Paul saith: "Christ gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." And again: "Christ hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us an oblation and sacrifice to God into a sweet savour." Tit. ii. Eph. v.

Christ offered not in respect of the manner of offering.

Sacramentally or in mystery Christ is offered up to his Father in the daily sacrifice of the church under the form of bread and wine, truly and indeed, not in respect of the manner of offering, but in respect of his very body and blood, really (that is, indeed) present, as it hath been sufficiently proved here before.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The greater and worthier the work is that our adversaries have imagined, that is, for a mortal and a miserable man to offer up the immortal Son of God unto his Father, and that really and indeed, the more ought the same, either by manifest words or by necessary collection, expressly and plainly to be proved. "For no man taketh honour and office unto himself, but he that is called and appointed thereto by God." But for ought that may appear by any clause or sentence, either of the new testament or of the old, God never appointed any such sacrifice to be made by any mortal creature. And Theophylact saith: *Jesus, ejiciendo boves et columbas, præsignavit, non ultra opus esse animalium sacrificio, sed oratione*[3]: "Jesus, throwing the oxen and doves out

Heb. v.

Theophyl. in Matt. cap. xxi.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Faust. Lib. vi. cap. v. Tom. VIII. col. 205.]

[2 Id. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30. See the next page.]

[3 Theophyl. Op. Venet. 1754-63. In Matt. Comm. cap. xxi. Tom. I. p. 110.]

of the temple, signified, that they should no longer have need of the sacrifice of beasts, but of prayer."

Howbeit, the old learned fathers, as they oftentimes delighted themselves with these words, *sabbatum, parasceve, pascha, pentecoste,* and such other like terms of the old law, notwithstanding the observation and ceremony thereof were then abolished and out of use; even so likewise they delighted themselves oftentimes[4] with these words, *sacerdos, altare, sacrificium,* "the sacrificer," "the altar," "the sacrifice," notwithstanding the use thereof were then clearly expired, only for that the ears of the people, as well of the Jews as of the gentiles, had been long acquainted with the same. Therefore Pachymeres the paraphrast, writing upon Dionysius, saith thus: *Presbyterum appellat sacerdotem, ut etiam in Cœlesti Hierarchia; idque usus jam obtinuit*[5]: "Him that is the priest or elder he calleth the sacrificer, as he doth also in his Celestial Hierarchy; and the same word 'sacrificer' is now obtained by custom." In this sense St Paul saith of himself: *Sacrifico evangelium Dei:* "I sacrifice the gospel of God." And Origen saith: *Sacrificale opus est annuntiare evangelium*[6]: "It is a work of sacrifice to preach the gospel." So the learned bishop Nazianzenus saith unto his people: *Hostiam vos ipsos obtuli*[7]: "I have offered up yôu for a sacrifice." So saith St Chrysostom: *Ipsum mihi sacerdotium est, prædicare et evangelizare. Hanc offero oblationem*[8]: "My whole priesthood is to teach and to preach the gospel. This is my oblation: this is my sacrifice." Thus the holy fathers, alluding to the orders and ceremonies of Moses' law, called the preaching of the gospel a sacrifice, notwithstanding indeed it were no sacrifice.

Pach. p. 401. καὶ ἡ συνηθεια ἐκρά-τησε.

Rom. xv.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x.

Nazianz. in Orat. ad Pleb.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. Hom. 29.

Now to come to M. Harding's words. Three ways, saith he, Christ is offered up unto his Father: in a figure, as in the old law; indeed and bloodily, as upon the cross; in a sacrament or mystery, as in the new testament. Of which three ways the bloody oblation of Christ upon the cross is the very true and only propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. The other two, as in respect and manner of signifying they are sundry, so in effect and substance they are all one. For, like as in the sacraments of the old law was expressed the death of Christ that was to come, even so in the sacraments of the new law of the gospel is expressed the same death of Christ already past. As we have mysteries, so had they mysteries; as we sacrifice Christ, so did they sacrifice Christ; as the Lamb of God is slain unto us, so was the same Lamb of God slain unto them. St Augustine saith: *Tunc ... Christus venturus, modo Christus venit. Venturus, et venit, diversa verba sunt; sed idem Christus*[9]: "Then was 'Christ shall come:' now is 'Christ is come.' 'Shall come' and 'is come' are sundry words; but Christ is all one." Again, in like comparison between the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ, he saith thus: *Videte, fide manente, signa variata. In signis diversis eadem fides*[10]: "Behold, the faith remaining, the (sacraments, or) signs are changed. The signs or sacraments being divers, the faith is one."

August. de Util. Pœnit. cap. i.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

But here hath M. Harding done great and open wrong unto St Augustine, wilfully suppressing and drowning his words, and uncourteously commanding him to silence in the midst of his tale. Wherein also appeareth some suspicion of no simple dealing. St Augustine's words touching this whole matter are these: *In illis ... carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro nobis ... fuerat oblaturus, et sanguinis, quem erat effusurus in remissionem peccatorum. ... In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio est, et commemoratio carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. ... In illis ... sacrificiis, quid nobis esset donandum, figurate significabatur: in hoc*

August. de Fid. ad Petr. Diacon. cap. xix.

---

[4] Oftetimes, 1565.]

[5] The following is probably the passage meant: ...τοὺς γὰρ ἱερέας πρεσβυτέρους εἴωθε καλεῖν, ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱεραρχίας διετράγωσε.—Dion. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. Schol. S. Max. in Epist. Octav. Tom. II. p. 123.]

[6] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. x. cap. xv. Tom. IV. p. 676; where *esse* for *est.*]

[7] Perhaps the following may be intended: ἰδοὺ προσάγω σοι τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἱκέτας.—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. xvii. 13. Tom. I. p. 325.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxix. Tom. IX. p. 731.]

[9] August. Op. Serm. ccclii. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. cap. i. 3. Tom. V. col. 1366.]

[10] In signis diversis eadem fides... Videte ergo, fide manente, signa variata.—Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. x. Tractat. xlv. 9. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 598.]

autem sacrificio, quid nobis jam donatum sit, evidenter ostenditur. In illis sacrificiis prænuntiabatur Filius Dei pro impiis occidendus: in hoc autem, pro impiis annuntiatur occisus[1]: "In those fleshly sacrifices (of the Jews) there was a figure of the flesh of Christ, which he would afterward offer for us, and of the blood which he would afterward shed for the remission of sin; but in this sacrifice (of the new testament) there is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh which he hath already offered for us, and of the blood which he, being God, hath already shed for us. In those sacrifices it was represented unto us under a figure what thing should be given unto us; but in this sacrifice it is plainly set forth what thing is already given us. In those sacrifices it was declared that the Son of God should be slain for the wicked; but in this sacrifice it is plainly preached unto us that the same Son of God hath already been slain for the wicked."

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi.

Likewise again he saith: *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione... per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensum* [*vero*] *Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*[2]: "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice, before the coming of Christ, was promised by sacrifices of resemblance; the same in his passion (upon the cross) was given in truth and indeed; but after his ascension it is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance."

This is the difference that St Augustine noteth between the sacraments of the old law and the sacraments of the new. Therefore the words that M. Harding hath hereunto added, "Christ is offered up unto his Father, and that under the forms of bread and wine, yea, and that truly and indeed," are his own only words, confidently and boldly presumed of himself, never used neither by St Augustine nor by any other ancient godly father.

But, whereas he addeth further, that Christ is indeed and verily offered by the priest, albeit, as he saith, "not in respect of the manner of offering, but only in respect of the presence of his body;" either he understandeth not what himself meaneth, or else with a vain distinction of cloudy words without sense he laboureth to dazzle his reader's eyes. For what a fantasy is this, to say Christ is offered verily and indeed, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering! What respect, what manner is this? Wherefore come these blind mysteries abroad without a gloss? Which of all the old doctors or holy fathers ever taught us thus to speak? Certainly, as he saith, "Christ is really offered, and yet not in respect of the manner of offering;" so may he also say, Christ died upon the cross, and yet not in respect of the manner of dying. By such manners and such respects he may make of christian religion what him listeth.

Concil. Nic. ἀθύτως... θυόμενος.

If he think somewhat to shadow the matter with these words of the council of Nice, *Sine sacrificio oblatus*[3]; let him consider aforehand it will not help him. For the holy fathers in that council neither say that Christ is really offered by the priest, nor seem to understand these strange respects and manners of offering. They agree fully in sense with that is before alleged of St Augustine: "In this sacrifice the death of Christ is solemnized by a sacrament of remembrance[4];" and with that St Chrysostom saith: *Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est*[5]: "This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice." Thus the death of Christ is renewed before our eyes. Yet Christ indeed neither is crucified, nor dieth, nor sheddeth his blood, nor is substantially present, nor really offered by the priest. In this sort the council saith Christ is offered ἀθύτως, "without sacrifice." So St Augustine saith: *Quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii*[6]: "The thing that of all men is called a sacrifice is a token or a sign of the true sacrifice." Likewise again he saith: *Vocatur...*

Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 17.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. De Consecr. Dist. ii. Hoc est.

[1 Id. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where *significatio fuit, pro peccatis nostris,* and *gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est.* See Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. col. 356.]

[2 Id. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 348.]

[3 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233; where θυόμενον.]

[4 See note 2.]

[5 Τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἐκείνης.— Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 168.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 242.]

ipsa immolatio, ... quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio, non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio[7]: "The sacrifice that is wrought by the hands of the priest is called the passion, the death, the crucifying of Christ; not in deed, but by a mystery signifying."

And whereas M. Harding saith further, "Christ is offered only in respect of the presence of his body;" neither would the real presence, being granted, import the sacrifice (for Christ was really present in his mother's womb and in the crib, where notwithstanding he was no sacrifice), nor hath M. Harding hitherto any way proved his real presence.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

The two first manners of the offering of Christ our adversaries acknowledge and confess; the third they deny utterly. And so they rob the church of the greatest treasure it hath or may have, the body and blood of our Saviour Christ once offered upon the cross with painful suffering for our redemption, and now daily offered in the blessed sacrament in remembrance. For which we have so many proofs, as for no one point of our christian religion more. And herein I am more encumbered with store than straited with lack, and doubt more what I may leave than what I may take. Wherefore, thinking it shall appear to the wise more skill to shew discretion in the choice of places, rather than learning in recital of number, though we are over pertly thereto provoked by M. Jewel's vaunting and insolent challenge, I intend herein to be short, verily shorter than so large a matter requireth, and to bring for proof a few such authorities (I mean a few in respect of the multitude that might be brought) as ought in every man's judgment to be of great weight and estimation.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the oblation of Christ's body, we believe and confess as much as the Holy Ghost hath opened in the scriptures. Whereas M. Harding saith, Christ's body is offered up by the priest unto God the Father, in remembrance of that body that Christ himself offered upon the cross; he seemeth not to consider the inconstancy and folly of his own tale. For it is well known to all creatures, not only Christians, but also Jews, Turks, and Saracens, that Christ was crucified upon the cross: but that Christ should be sacrificed by a mortal man, invisibly, and, as they say, under the forms of bread and wine, and that really and indeed, it is a thing so far passing the common sense of christian knowledge, that the best-learned and wisest of the ancient learned christian fathers could never know it.

Therefore this is not only the proving of a thing known by a thing unknown, and of a thing most certain by a thing uncertain, but also the confirmation of a manifest truth by an open error.

Neither do we rob the church of God of that most heavenly and most comfortable sacrifice of Christ's body; but rather we open and disclose the errors wherewith certain of late years have wilfully deceived the church of God. We know that Christ's body "was rent for our sins, and that by his wounds we are made whole;" "that Christ in his body carried our sins upon the tree;" and "by the oblation thereof, once made upon the cross, hath sanctified us for ever," and "hath purchased for us everlasting redemption;" and "that there is none other name (or sacrifice) under heaven whereby we can be saved, but only the name (or[8] sacrifice) of Jesus Christ." I reckon, whoso teacheth this doctrine leaveth not the church of God without a sacrifice. Isai. liii. 1 Pet. ii. Heb. ix. Acts iv.

Touching the multitude of authorities wherewith M. Harding findeth himself so much encumbered, the greater his store is, the more will wise men require his discretion and skill in the choice. His choice will seem unskilful, if he allege his authorities beside his purpose. His purpose and promise is to prove that the priest hath good warrant to offer up Christ the Son of God unto

[7 Id. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937.]

[8 And, 1565.]

his Father: which purpose if he never vouchsafe once to touch, but range abroad, as his manner is, and rove idly at matters impertinent, then must we needs say, he bewrayeth his want, and bringeth his great store out of credit. So shall the offer that is gently made him seem to stand upon good and convenient terms of truth and modesty. So shall his storeful vaunt of all things, performing nothing, "unto the wise" (to use his own words) seem pert and insolent.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

The scripture itself ministering evident proof for the oblation of Christ to his Father by the priests of the new testament, in the institution of this holy sacrament, in the figure of Melchisedech, and in the prophecy of Malachi the prophet; the authorities of the fathers needed not to be alleged, were not the same scripture, by the overthwart and false interpretations of our adversaries, wrested and turned to a contrary sense, to the horrible seducing of the unlearned.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Alas! what tool is there so weak that M. Harding will refuse to strike withal? To prove his imagined kind of sacrifice, he hath brought us forth out of his great store the example of Melchisedech and the prophecy of Malachi; as
Psal. cx. if he would reason thus: God saith unto Christ, "Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech;" or, God saith by the prophet Ma-
Mal. i. lachi, "A pure oblation shall be offered unto me in every place;" *ergo*, the priest hath authority and power to offer up the Son of God unto his Father. If he had not had good choice and store of authorities, he would never have begun with these.

But he addeth further, as matter of grievance, that "these plain scriptures by the overthwart and false interpretations of his adversaries are wrested and turned to a contrary sense, and that," as he saith, "to the horrible seducing of the unlearned." Doubtless, here is a very horrible accusation. Howbeit, if we happily had mistaken these places, and our error therein were fully proved, yet should not M. Harding in such horrible terms reprove us for doing that thing once that he and his fellows do so often. But by what words, by what false interpretation, into what perverse or heretical sense, have we so horribly wrested these scriptures? M. Harding is wise, is eloquent, is watchful, is circumspect, is fast addicted unto his cause; he dissembleth, and leaveth nothing that any way may serve his purpose. If our errors be so horrible, he should not have spared them: if there be none, he should not thus have touched them. If M. Harding wink at them, who can see them? If M. Harding know them not, who can know them?

Perhaps he will say: Ye expound the prophecy of Malachi sometimes of prayer, and sometimes of the preaching of the gospel. This was never the prophet's meaning. This is an horrible wresting of the scriptures. Thus, no doubt, M. Harding will say; for otherwise he can say nothing. And yet he knoweth, and, being learned, cannot choose but know, that this is the old learned catholic fathers' exposition touching these words of the prophet Malachi, and
Tertul. contr. Jud. not ours. He knoweth that the ancient father Tertullian saith thus: "The pure sacrifice that Malachias speaketh of, that should be offered up in every place, *est prædicatio evangelii usque ad finem mundi*[1], 'is the preaching of the gospel
Tertul. contr. Marcion. Lib. iv. unto[2] the end of the world.'" And in another place: *Simplex oratio de conscientia pura*[3]: "The sacrifice that Malachi meant is a devout prayer proceeding from a pure conscience." He knoweth that St Hierome expoundeth the same words in
Hieron. in i cap. Mal. this wise: [*Dicit*] *orationes sanctorum Domino offerendas* [*esse*] . . . *non in una*

[1 Tertullian quotes the passage of Malachi, and another from the psalms, and, inquiring why such expressions were used, replies: Indubitate quod in omnem terram exire habebat prædicatio apostolorum.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211. Jewel most probably referred to this passage.]

[2 Until, 1565, 1609.]

[3 Tertull. adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 1. p. 502.]

orbis provincia Judæa,... sed in omni loco[4]: "The prophet Malachi meaneth hereby, that the prayers of holy people should be offered unto God, not only in Jewry, that was but one province of the world, but also in all places." He knoweth that Eusebius calleth the same sacrifice of Malachi "the sacrifice and the incense of prayer[5]." Thus the holy catholic fathers expounded these words of the prophet Malachi; and yet were they not therefore judged either overthwart wresters of the scriptures, or horrible deceivers of the people.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. τὸ δι' εὐχῶν θυμίαμα.

Now, of the other side, if it may please M. Harding to shew forth but one ancient doctor or father, that either by the example of Melchisedech, or by force of these words of Malachi, will conclude that the priest hath authority and power to offer up verily and indeed the Son of God unto his Father, he may happily win some credit.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

For, whereas the holy evangelists report that Christ at his last supper took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, "This is my body which is given for you;" again, "This is my blood which is shed for you in remission of sins;" by these words, being words of sacrificing and offering, they shew and set forth an oblation in act and deed, though the term itself of oblation or sacrifice be not expressed. Albeit, to some of excellent knowledge datur *here soundeth no less than* offertur *or* immolatur, *that is to say, "is offered" or "sacrificed," specially the addition,* pro vobis, *withal considered. For if Christ said truly (as he is truth itself, and "guile was never found in his mouth"), then was his body presently given, and for us given, at the time he spake the words, that is, at his supper. For he said* *datur, *"is given;" not* dabitur, *"shall be given;"* (221) *and likewise was his blood shed in remission of sins at the time of that supper; for the text hath* *funditur, *"is shed." But the giving of his body for us, and the shedding of his blood in remission of sins, is an oblation of the same.* Ergo, *Christ offered his body and blood at the supper. And thus* datur *signifieth here as much as* offertur.

[Luke xxii. 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

1 Pet. ii.[6]

Words of oblation without terms of oblation.

The two hundred and twenty-first untruth, without any sense or savour.

*A great folly. For the old catholic fathers expound it by *dabitur* and *fundetur* in the future tense.

Now this being true, that our Lord offered himself unto his Father at his last supper, having given commandment to his apostles to do the same that he there did, whom then he ordained priests of the new testament, saying, "Do this in my remembrance," as Clement doth plainly shew, Lib. VIII. Aposto. Constitut. cap. ultimo[7]; *the same charge pertaining no less to the priests that be now the successors of the apostles in this behalf than to the apostles themselves; it doth right well appear, howsoever M. Jewel assureth himself of the contrary, and whatsoever the devil hath wrought, and by his ministers taught against the sacrifice of the mass, that priests have authority to offer up Christ unto his Father.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding beginneth to scan his tenses, to rip up syllables, and to hunt for letters; and in the end buildeth up the highest castle of his religion upon a guess. I marvel that so learned a man would either use so unlearned arguments; or, having such store of authorities as he pretendeth, would ever make so simple choice.

He saith: "These words, 'is given,' 'is shed,' be words of sacrificing, though the term itself of oblation and sacrifice be not expressed." Here M. Harding, besides that he hath imagined a strange construction of his own, that never any learned man knew before, and so straggleth alone, and swerveth from all the old fathers, includeth also a repugnance and contradiction against himself. For, whereas words and terms sound both one thing, the one being mere English, the other borrowed of the Latin; M. Harding saith, Christ, in the institution of his supper, used the words of sacrificing, and yet expressed not the terms of sacri-

[4] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Mal. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1813. See before, page 110, note 3.]

[5] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 19.]

[6] H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[7] ... ὃς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν προσφέρων τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὶ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους ἡμῖν διετάξατο μόνοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν. — Constit. Apost. Lib. VIII. cap. xlvi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 509.]

Christ's Blood shed at Supper.

ficing. Such privilege these men have, with shift of terms to beguile the world. For, if Christ used the words of sacrificing, how can M. Harding say he used not the terms of sacrificing? And if he used not the terms (words and terms being one thing), how can he say he used the words?

Rom. xii. Matt. xxvi. Matt. xxv.

Verily if this Latin word *dare* be *sacrificare*, and "giving" be "sacrificing;" then, whereas St Paul saith, "If thine enemy be thirsty, give him drink;" and whereas Judas saith, "What will ye give me, and I will deliver him unto you?" and whereas the foolish virgins say, "Give us part of your oil," &c.; in every of these and such other like places, by this new divinity, M. Harding will be able to find a sacrifice.

Yet, saith he, certain men of excellent knowledge have thus expounded it. It seemeth very strange that these so notable men, of so excellent knowledge, should have no names. Perhaps he meaneth Tapper of Lovaine, or Gropper of Colaine, of whom he hath borrowed the whole substance well near of all this article[1]. Howbeit, the demand was of the ancient doctors of the church; not of any of these, or other such petit fathers.

But Christ saith in the present tense, "This is my body *that is given;*" not in the future tense, *that shall be given.* And likewise, "This is my blood *that presently is shed;*" not in the future tense, *that shall be shed.* "Therefore Christ sacrificed his body and shed his blood presently at the supper."

Here M. Harding is driven to control the old common translation of the new testament, not only that beareth the name of St Hierome, and hath been evermore generally received in the church, and is allowed by the council of Trident, but also that is still used and continued in his own mass-book. I grant, in the Greek it is written *datur*, "is given;" not *dabitur*, "shall be given." But here the present tense, according to the common phrase of the scriptures, is used for the future. Chrysostom readeth it thus, *dabitur*[2], "shall be given;" not *datur*, "is given." Origen likewise readeth not *effunditur*, "is shed;" but *effundetur*[3], "shall be shed." And in this sort Chrysostom also expoundeth it: *Effundetur pro multis. Hoc...dicens, ostendit, quod passio ejus est mysterium salutis humanæ; quod*[4] *etiam discipulos consolatur*[5]: "'Shall be shed for many.' Thus saying, he sheweth that his passion is the mystery of the salvation of mankind; and by the same he comforteth his disciples." Again he saith: *De passione et cruce sua loquebatur*[6]: "Christ (uttering these words of the sacrament) spake of his passion and of his cross."

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xi. Orig. in Matt. Tract. 35. Chrysost. in Catena.

To be short, if it be true that Christ shed his blood at his last supper, and that verily, really, and indeed, as M. Harding alone strangely avoucheth, and no man else, I trow, beside him; then can he no more say the same was an unbloody sacrifice. And so must he yield up the strongest tower of all his hold. For, if the sacrifice that Christ made at his supper were unbloody, how did Christ there shed his blood? If Christ, as M. Harding saith, did there shed his blood, how can that sacrifice be called unbloody?

But, to leave these fantasies and vain shifts, Christ gave his body to be broken and his blood to be shed, not at his last supper, but only upon his cross, and nowhere else. "There he bare our iniquities, there was he rent for our sins." And in that only respect we receive his body, and embrace it, and have fruit of it. In this respect St Paul saith: "God forbid I should rejoice in any thing, saving only in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Isai. liii. Gal. vi.

Therefore this new article of the faith, of the real sacrificing and shedding of Christ's blood at the table, neither being true in itself nor hitherto by M. Harding any way proved, notwithstanding the great store and choice of his authorities; forasmuch as Christ never gave neither his apostles nor any their

[1 See Ruard. Tapper. Op. Col. Agrip. 1582. Art. xvi. De Sacrif. Miss. Tom. II. p. 252, 3. See also Gropper. De Præst. Altar. Sacram. Antv. 1559. Quart. Art. Tom. II. pp. 148, 9.]

[2 ... τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. 1. ad Cor. Hom. xxvii. Tom. X. pp. 245, 6. But the Latin version, which, as already observed, Jewel frequently quoted, has ... quod pro vobis tradetur.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 85. Tom. III. p. 898.]

[4 Per quod, 1565.]

[5 Chrysost. in Cat. Aur. in Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. XV. p. 92; where *mysterium est*, and *per quod etiam discipulos consolabatur.* Op. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[6 Id. ibid.; where *cruce eis locutus erat.*]

successors commission to do more in that behalf than he himself had done; to say that any mortal man hath power and authority really and indeed to sacrifice the Son of God, it is a manifest and wicked blasphemy, the great and gross errors wherewith the devil and his disciples in the time of his kingdom of darkness have deceived the world notwithstanding.

As for Clemens, whom M. Harding so often calleth the apostles' fellow, as he is but lately start up and come abroad, and therefore hath not yet gotten sufficient credit, and is here brought in dumb, and saying nothing, so is he not worthy of further answer. Howbeit M. Harding doth great wrong otherwise to report his author's words than he findeth them. Truly his Clemens, whatsoever he were, saith not: The priest hath commission or power to offer up the Son of God. His words are plain to the contrary: *Antitypon regalis corporis Christi offerte*[7]: "Offer ye up (not the body of Christ, but) the sign or sacrament of the royal body of Christ." Clem. Const. Apost. Lib. vi. cap. xxx. Likewise again he saith: *Offerimus tibi Regi et Deo, juxta institutionem Christi, hunc panem et hoc poculum*[8]: "We offer up unto thee, our King and God, (not the very body of thy Son really and indeed, but) this bread and this cup, according to Christ's institution." Clem. Const. Apost. Lib. viii. It is a great prerogative for M. Harding both to make doctors of his own, and also to give them his own constructions.

Neither did Christ by these words, "Do ye this in my remembrance," erect any new succession of sacrificers, to offer him up really unto his Father; nor ever did any ancient learned father so expound it. Christ's meaning is clear by the words that follow. For he saith not only, "Do ye this;" but he addeth also, "in my remembrance;" which doing pertaineth not only unto the apostles and their successors, as M. Harding imagineth, but also to the whole people. And therefore St Paul saith not only to the ministers, but also to the whole congregation of Corinth: "As often as ye shall eat this bread and drink this cup, ye shall shew forth and publish the Lord's death until he come." 1 Cor. xi. Likewise St Chrysostom applieth the same, not only to the clergy, but also to the whole people of his church of Antioch. Thus he saith: *Hoc facite in memoriam beneficii mei, salutis vestræ*[9]: "Do ye this in remembrance of my benefit and of your salvation." Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 61.

Of these weak positions M. Harding, without the warrant or authority of any learned father, reasoneth thus: Christ saith, "This is my body that is given for you: do this in my remembrance;"

Ergo, the priest hath power to offer up the Son of God unto his Father.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

That Christ offered himself to his Father in his last supper, and that priests by those words, "Do this in my remembrance," have not only authority, but also a special commandment to do the same, and that the figure of Melchisedech and the prophecy of Malachi pertaineth to this sacrifice, and maketh proof of the same; let us see by the testimonies of the fathers what doctrine the apostles have left to the church.

Eusebius Cæsariensis hath these words: Horrorem afferentia mensæ Christi sacrificia ... supremo Deo offerre, per eminentissimum omnium ipsius Pontificem edocti sumus[10]: "*We are taught,*" *saith he,* "*to offer unto our supreme God the sacrifices of Christ's table, which cause us to tremble and quake for fear, by his Bishop highest of all.*" *Here he calleth Christ, in respect of his sacrifice, God's Bishop, highest of all bishops: the sacrifices of Christ's table he calleth* (222) *the body and blood of Christ, because at the table in his last supper he sacrificed and offered the same; and for that it is his very body and very blood, imagination only, fantasy, and figure set apart, he termeth these sacrifices, as commonly the ancient fathers do, horrible, causing trembling and fear. And whereas he saith, we have been taught to offer these sacrifices to God, doubtless he meaneth by these words of Christ: "Do this in my remembrance;" "this is my body which is given for you;" "this is my*

De Demonstrat. Evangel. Lib. i. cap. x.

The two hundred and twenty-second untruth. For Eusebius calleth it the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and saith: *Memoriam offerre dedit pro sacrificio.*

[7 Const. Apost. Lib. VI. cap. xxix. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 411.]

[8 Id. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. col. 482.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. lxi. Tom. V. col. 402. See before, page 591, note 12.]

[10 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 39.]

Dreadful sacrifice.

blood which is shed for you." Clement, in his eighth book often cited, speaking of the sacrifice offered by the apostles, commonly addeth these words: Secundum ipsius ordinationem, *or* ipso ordinante[1]; *whereby he confesseth it to be Christ's own ordinance.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To prove that the priest offereth up the Son of God, M. Harding hath here brought in Eusebius, an ancient father, that never once named any such oblation of the Son of God. So much is he oppressed and encumbered with his store.

True it is, the ministration of the holy communion is oftentimes of the old learned fathers called a sacrifice; not for that they thought the priest had authority to sacrifice the Son of God, but for that therein we offer up unto God thanks and praises for that great sacrifice once made upon the cross. So saith St Augustine: *In isto... sacrificio est gratiarum actio, et commemoratio carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit*[2]*:* "In this sacrifice is a thanksgiving and a remembrance of the flesh of Christ, which he hath offered for us." Likewise Eusebius saith: "Christ, after all other things done, made a marvellous oblation and a passing sacrifice unto his Father (upon his cross) for the salvation of us all; giving unto us to offer continually unto God a remembrance instead of a sacrifice[3]." So Nazianzenus calleth the holy communion "a figure of that great mystery of the death of Christ[4]."

August. ad Petr. Diac. cap. xix.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. x. Memoriam pro sacrificio.

Nazianz. in Apol. *τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.* [*τὴν*] *θυσίαν αἰνέσεως.*

This it is that Eusebius calleth "the sacrifice of the Lord's table;" which also he calleth *sacrificium laudis*[5], "the sacrifice of praise."

But Eusebius saith further: "This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth the heart to quake[6]." M. Harding may not well gather by any force of these words, that the Son of God is really offered up by the priest unto his Father. For all things whatsoever, that put us in remembrance of the majesty and judgments of God, of the holy fathers are called dreadful. St Cyril saith: *Lectio divinarum et terribilium scripturarum*[7]*:* "The reading of the divine and terrible scriptures." St Chrysostom calleth the words of baptism *verba arcana et metuenda, et horribiles canones dogmatum de cœlo transmissorum*[8], "the secret and dreadful words, and terrible rules of the doctrine that came from heaven." And, speaking of the hand and voice of the deacon, he saith thus: *Manu illa tremenda, et continua voce clamans, alios vocat, alios arcet*[9]*:* "With that terrible hand, and continual voice crying, some he calleth in, and some he putteth off."

Cyril. in Apol.

Chrysost. 1 Cor. Hom. 40.

This sacrifice maketh the heart to tremble, for that therein is laid forth the mystery that was hidden from worlds and generations; the horror of sin; the death of the Son of God; that he took our heaviness, and bare our sorrows, and was wounded for our offences, and was rent and tormented for our wickedness; that he was carried like an innocent lamb unto the slaughter, that he cried unto his Father, "O God, O my God, why hast thou thus forsaken me?"

There we call to remember all the causes and circumstances of Christ's death; the shame of the cross; the darkening of the air; the shaking of the earth; the renting of the vail; the cleaving of the rocks; the opening of the graves; the descending into hell; and the conquering of the devil. Therefore Chrysostom saith: *Quamvis quis lapis esset, illa nocte audita, quomodo cum dis-*

Chrysost. in 1 ad Cor. Hom. 17.

[1 See before, page 715, note 8.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. (Fulgent.) Tom. VI. Append. col. 30. See before, page 710, note 1.]

[3 Μετὰ δὴ πάντα οἷόν τι θαυμάσιον θῦμα καὶ σφάγιον ἐξαίρετον τῷ Πατρὶ καλλιερησάμενος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ἀνήνεγκε σωτηρίας, μνήμην καὶ ἡμῖν παραδοὺς, ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν.—Euseb. Demonst. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 38.]

[4 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]

[5 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 40.]

[6 ...τὰ σεμνὰ...θύματα.—Id. ibid. p. 39.]

[7 Affirmabant autem ii qui Cyrillo favebant, lectionem divinarum et terribilium scripturarum absque Cyrillo non habendam.—Exempl. Epist. Joan. Com. Sacrens. ad Imp. in Concil. Ephes. Act. vi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. III. col. 723. The editors observe in a note that these *scripturæ* were the imperial letters. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. p. 585; where this epistle is placed among the documents at the end of Cyril's Liber Apologeticus, and under the same running title.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 379.]

[9 ...καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακραυγάζων, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργει ὁ ἱερεύς.—Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 170, 1. Jewel quoted from the version of Mutianus.—Ibid.]

cipulis tristis fuerit, quomodo traditus, quomodo ligatus, quomodo abductus, quomodo judicatus, quomodo denique omnia passus, cera mollior fiet, et terram, et omnem terræ cogitationem abjiciet[10]: "Any man hearing of the order of that night, how Christ was mournful among his disciples, how he was delivered, how he was bound, how he was led away, how he was arraigned, and how meekly he suffered all that was done unto him, were he as hard as a stone, yet would he be as soft as wax, and would throw both the earth and all earthly cogitations away from him."

Thus saith Nicolaus Cabasilas, one of master Harding's late Greek doctors: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem. Sed quænam est hæc commemoratio? &c.*[11]: "'Do ye this in remembrance of me.' But what is this remembrance? How do we consider our Lord in the holy ministration? What do we conceive him doing? how dealing? what suffering? what think we? what speak we of him? Do we imagine of him (in that time of the holy mysteries) that he healed the blind? that he raised the dead? that he stayed the winds? or that with a few loaves he fed thousands; which are tokens that he was God omnipotent? No, not so. But rather we call to remembrance such things as declared his weakness; his cross, his passion, his death. In respect of those things he said: 'Do ye this in my remembrance.' The priest, both by his words, and also by the whole circumstances of his doing, seemeth to say: Thus Christ came to his passion; thus he was wounded in the side; thus he died; thus blood and water issued and streamed from his wound." These considerations, thus laid before our eyes, are able to cause any godly heart to quake and tremble. As for the real offering up of Christ in sacrifice, that learned father Eusebius saith nothing.

Verily, it is but a simple sophism to say: This sacrifice is dreadful, and causeth us to quake; *ergo*, the priest offereth up the Son of God unto his Father.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

That Christ sacrificed himself at his supper, Hesychius affirmeth with these words: Quod Dominus jussit (*Levit. iv.*) ut sacerdos, vitulum pro peccato oblaturus, ponat manum super caput ejus, et jugulet eum coram Domino, Christum significat, quem[12] nemo obtulit, sed nec immolare poterat, nisi semetipsum ipse ad patiendum tradidisset. Propter quod non solum dicebat, Potestatem habeo ponendi animam meam, et potestatem habeo iterum sumendi eam; sed et præveniens semetipsum in cœna apostolorum immolavit, quod sciunt, qui mysteriorum percipiunt virtutem[13]: "*That our Lord commandeth,*" *saith he,* "*the priest which should offer a calf for sin to put his hand upon his head, and to stick him before our Lord, it signifieth Christ, whom no man hath offered, neither could any man sacrifice him, except he had delivered himself to suffer. For the which he said not only, 'I have power to lay down my soul, and I have power to take it again;' but also, preventing it, he offered up himself in sacrifice in the supper of the apostles: which they know that receive the virtue of the mysteries." By these words of Hesychius we learn, that Christ offered and sacrificed his body and blood twice: first, in that holy supper unbloodily, when he took bread in his hands, and brake it, &c. without division of the sacrifice; for it is but one and the same sacrifice: and afterward on the cross, with shedding of his blood; and that is it he meaneth by the word "preventing."*

John x.

John x.

Christ offered himself in a mystery, but not really and indeed.

[10 Id. in Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xvii. Tom. X. pp. 245, 6.]

[11 Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ ἀνάμνησις αὕτη; καὶ πῶς ἐν τῇ τελετῇ μεμνησόμεθα τοῦ Κυρίου; τί ποιοῦντος καὶ πῶς ἔχοντος; λέγω δὲ τίνα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναλογιζόμενοι, τί διηγούμενοι; ἆρα ὅτι νεκροὺς ἀνέστησε, καὶ τυφλοῖς ἀνέδωκε βλέπειν, καὶ ἀνέμοις ἐπετίμησε, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων ἄρτων εἰς κόρον ἔθρεψε μυριάδας; ἃ Θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ πάντα δυνάμενον; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ δοκοῦντα σημαίνειν ἀσθένειαν, τὸν σταυρὸν, τὸ πάθος, τὸν θάνατον, ἐν τούτοις ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε.—Nic. Cabas. Lit. Expos. cap. vii. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Par. 1624. Tom. II. Græco-Lat. p. 208. See also cap. viii. pp. 209, 10.]

[12 Quam, 1611.]

[13 Ponere autem eum manum super caput vituli, et jugulare vitulum præcepit: nemo enim illum obtulit, sed nec &c.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. I. cap. iv. fol. 20.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

We deny not but it may well be said, "Christ at his last supper offered up himself unto his Father;" albeit, not really and indeed, but, according to M. Harding's own distinction, in a figure or in a mystery; in such sort as we say Christ was offered in the sacrifices of the old law, and as St John saith:

Rev. xiii. *Agnus occisus ab origine mundi:* "The Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world." As Christ was slain at the table, so was he sacrificed at the table. But he was not slain at the table verily and indeed, but only in a mystery; therefore he was not sacrificed at the table really and indeed, but only in a mystery.

August. Epist. 23. So saith St Augustine: *Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in se[met]ipso? Et tamen in sacramento, non tantum per omnes paschæ solennitates, sed [etiam] omni die populis immolatur. Nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent*[1]: "Was not Christ once offered in himself? And yet in (or by way of) a sacrament, not only at the solemn feast of Easter, but every day he is offered unto the people. And he saith no untruth that, being demanded, maketh answer that Christ is sacrificed." His reason is this: "For, if sacraments had not a certain likeness or resemblance of the things whereof they be sacraments, then should they utterly be no sacraments."

Notwithstanding Hesychius, expounding the book of Leviticus, to the intent he may force the whole story of the life and death of Christ to answer every particular ceremony of the law, is sometimes driven to stretch and strain the scriptures to his purpose. So he saith: "Christ is the altar[2];" and "Christ incarnate in the virgin's womb is the sodden sacrifice[3]."

Heysch. in Levit. Lib. i. cap. iv. Lib. i. cap. ii. Sacrificium... coctum.

Now, as Christ was the altar, and as he was sacrificed in his mother's womb, even so he sacrificed himself at his supper; not in proper or usual manner of speech, but only in a mystery signifying.

Cypr. de Unct. Chrism. Otherwise St Cyprian plainly openeth the whole difference of these two sacrifices in this sort: *Dedit... Dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum apostolis participavit convivium, propriis manibus panem et vinum; in cruce vero manibus militum corpus tradidit vulnerandum*[4]: "Our Lord at the table, whereat he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave (not his very body and very blood, really and indeed, but) bread and wine; but upon the cross he gave his own body with the soldiers' hands to be wounded." This, saith St Cyprian, is the difference between the sacrifice of the table and the sacrifice of the cross: at the one Christ gave bread and wine; upon the other he gave his body.

Therefore, whereas M. Harding saith, only upon his own warrant, that Christ really sacrificed himself at two sundry times, and that he twice really shed his blood, first at the table, and afterward upon the cross; the untruth and folly hereof is easily reproved by these plain words of St Paul: *Semel*

Heb. ix. *oblatus est ad multorum exhaurienda peccata:* "He was once offered to take

Heb. x. away the sins of many." And again: "With one sacrifice he hath made perfit them for ever that be sanctified." These places are clear and without question; unless M. Harding will say, that one and two, and once and twice be both one thing.

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

The two hundred and twenty-third untruth, vain and fantastical, and without ground. *And at the same very instant of time (which is here further to be added as a necessary point of christian doctrine) we must understand* (223) *that Christ offered himself in heaven invisibly (as concerning man) in the sight of his heavenly Father; and that from that time forward that oblation of Christ in heaven was never intermitted, but continueth*[5] *always for our atonement with God, and shall without ceasing endure until the end of the world. For, as St Paul saith,*

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267; where *non solum.*]

[2 Sicut enim ipse [Christus] sacerdos et sacrificium est, sic et altare est.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 21.]

[3 Id. Lib. i. cap. ii. fol. 13. 2. See before, page 521.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

[5 Continued, H.A. 1564. H.A. 1565 has *continueth.*]

Heb. ix. *"Jesus hath not entered into temples made with hands, the samplers of the true temples, but into heaven itself, to appear now to the countenance of God for us." Now, as this oblation and sacrifice of Christ endureth in heaven continually, forasmuch as he is risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven with that body which he gave to Thomas to feel, bringing in thither his blood*[6], *as Hesychius saith, and bearing the marks of his wounds, and there appear*[7] *before the face of God with that thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced, and otherwise wounded, rent, and torn body for us (whereby we understand the virtue of his oblation on the cross ever enduring, not the oblation itself with renewing of pain and sufferance continued); so we do perpetually celebrate this oblation and sacrifice*[8] *of Christ's very body and blood in the mass*[9], *in remembrance of him,* (224) *commanded so to do until his coming.*

The two hundred and twenty-fourth untruth. For Christ never commanded M. Harding neither to say mass, nor to offer up his body in sacrifice.

Wherein our adversaries so foolishly as wickedly scoff at us, as though we sacrificed Christ again so as he was sacrificed on the cross, that is, in bloodly[10] *manner. But we do not so offer or sacrifice Christ again; but that oblation of him in the supper, and ours in the mass, is but one oblation, the same sacrifice, for this cause by his divine ordinance left unto us, that, as the oblation once made on the cross continually endureth, and appeareth before the face of God in heaven for our behalf, continued not by new suffering, but by perpetual intercession for us; so the memory of it may ever until his second coming be kept amongst us also in earth, and that thereby we may apply and bring unto us through faith the great benefits which by that one oblation of himself on the cross he hath for us procured, and daily doth procure.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

"At the same very instant of time," saith M. Harding, "when Christ was sacrificed upon the cross, he offered up himself also in heaven in the sight of his heavenly Father." Which thing he enlargeth rhetorically with a tragical description of a "thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced, and otherwise rent and torn body. And this," saith he, "is a necessary point of christian doctrine." And that he avoucheth constantly, albeit without the word or witness of any ancient writer, only upon his own credit. Whereof also groweth some suspicion that his store of old records is not so plenteous as it is supposed.

But where he saith, Christ was thus invisibly sacrificed in heaven, I marvel he saith not likewise that Pilate, Annas, Caiphas, the soldiers, and the tormentors, were likewise in heaven to make this sacrifice. For without this company Christ's blood was not shed: "And without shedding of blood," St Paul saith, "there is no sacrifice for remission of sin." This fable is so vain that I believe M. Harding himself is not well able to expound his own meaning. Origen saith there were some in his time that thought, "that, as Christ was crucified in this world for the living, so he should afterward suffer and be crucified in the world to come for the dead[11]." But that Christ was thus "thorn-pricked, nail-bored, spear-pierced," and crucified in heaven, I think no man ever saw or said, but M. Harding. The apostles, the evangelists, the old doctors, and ancient fathers never knew it. St Paul saith: *Semel seipsum obtulit:* "Once he offered up himself:" *semel introivit in sancta:* "once he entered into the holy place." And therefore, hanging upon the cross and yielding up the ghost, he said: *Consummatum est:* "It is finished." This sacrifice is perfitly wrought for ever. This only sacrifice of Christ the Son of God the scriptures acknowledge, and none other.

Heb. ix. Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. cap. vi. Heb. vii. Heb. ix.

Howbeit, like as the prayers that Christ once made, and the doctrine that he once taught, remain still full and effectual as at the first; even so the sacrifice that Christ once made upon the cross remaineth still in full force, effectual

[6] Ibi sanguinem introduxit, quia cicatrices portans passionum a mortuis resurrexit, unde et suum corpus palpandum Thomæ præbuit, atque ita in cœlos ascendit.—*Isych. in Levit. Lib.* I. cap. iv. fol. 20.]

[7] Appeareth, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[8] Sacrificing, H. A. 1564.]

[9] The holy mass, H. A. 1564. The mass, H. A. 1565.]

[10] Bloody, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[11] *Unde miror quosdam...velle asserere, quod in futuris iterum seculis vel eadem vel similia pati necesse sit Christum, ut liberari possint etiam hi quos in præsenti vita dispensationis ejus medicina sanare non potuit.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. v. cap. vi. Tom. IV. p. 568.]*

Heb. vii. and perfit, and endureth for ever. Therefore St Paul saith: "Christ hath an everlasting priesthood, and liveth still, that he may still pray for us." And therefore God the Father saith unto him, and to none other, either man, or angel, or archangel: *Tu es sacerdos in æternum:* "Thou art a priest for ever." And therefore St Chrysostom compareth this sacrifice to a most sovereign salve, that, being once laid to the wound, healeth it clean, and needeth no more laying on[1]. Likewise St Cyprian saith: *Nec sacerdotii ejus pœnituit Deum: quoniam sacrificium, quod in cruce obtulit, sic in beneplacito Dei constat acceptabile, et perpetua virtute consistit, ut non minus hodie in conspectu Patris oblatio illa fit*[2] *efficax, quam ea die, qua de saucio latere sanguis et aqua exivit; et semper reservatæ in corpore plagæ salutis humanæ exigant pretium*[3]: "It never repented God of Christ's priesthood; for the sacrifice that he offered upon the cross is so acceptable in the good-will of God, and so standeth in continual strength and virtue, that the same oblation is no less acceptable this day in the sight of God the Father than it was that day when blood and water ran out of his wounded side. The scars reserved still in his body do weigh the price of the salvation of man."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 17.

Cypr. de Bapt. Christ.

But M. Harding condemneth us all for foolish and wicked people. For foolish, I know not why. Neither is it thought a wise man's part, either greatly to mislike other men's wits, or overmuch to like his own. Howbeit, whoso speaketh as never wise man spake, and yet himself understandeth not what he speaketh, as in this case it is thought M. Harding doth, hath no great cause in this behalf to charge others with folly.

Of the other side, whatsoever mortal man presumeth to offer up Christ in sacrifice, and dareth to desire God the Father so favourably to behold his own only Son as in old times he beheld the oblation of Abel or of Melchisedech[4], and is not afraid therewith to beguile the simple and to mock the world, as M. Harding doth daily at his mass, he cannot well excuse himself of open wickedness.

Notwithstanding, this matter is easily answered.. "For," saith he, "we sacrifice not Christ again: the oblation that Christ made upon the cross, and ours in the mass, is all one. And this sacrifice Christ hath commanded us to continue until his coming." If M. Harding make the self-same sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross, then is he "a priest after the order of Melchisedech;" and so "the king of justice;" "the prince of peace;" and "a priest for ever," "without successor:" for these titles be incident to the priesthood of Melchisedech; which, nevertheless, I think M. Harding of his modesty will not acknowledge. And without the same he cannot offer up to God the same sacrifice that Christ offered upon the cross.

And where he saith, Christ hath commanded him and his fellows to make and continue this sacrifice until his coming; if he had meant simply and plainly, he would have shewed either when or where or by what words Christ gave him this commandment. For so large a commission is worthy the shewing. And it were great boldness to attempt such a matter without commission.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

Now, for further proof of the offering and sacrificing of Christ of those words of our Lord, "Do this in my remembrance," to recite some testimonies of the fathers: first, Dionysius, St Paul's scholar and bishop of Athens, writeth thus: Quocirca reverenter simul, et ex pontificali officio, post sacras divinorum operum[5] laudes, quod hostiam salutarem, quæ super ipsum est, litet, se excusat, ad ipsum primo decenter exclamans, Tu dixisti, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem[6]: "*Wherefore the bishop,*" *saith he,* "*reve-*

[*Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii.* H.A. 1564.]

[1 Φαρμάκου γὰρ ἀρετὴ τὸ ἅπαξ ἐπιτεθῆναι, καὶ μὴ πολλάκις. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 167.]

[2 Sit, 1565.]

[3 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bapt. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 32; where *illa sit.*]

[4 See below, page 773, note 12.]

[5 Operam, 1611.]

[6 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 298.]

rently and according to his bishoply office, after the holy praises of God's works, he excuseth himself that he taketh upon him to offer that healthful sacrifice, which is above his degree and worthiness, crying out first unto him in seemly wise, Lord, thou hast commanded thus, saying, 'Do this in my remembrance.'" By these words he confesseth, that he could not be so hardy (225) *as to offer up Christ unto his Father, had not Christ himself so commanded when he said, "Do this in my remembrance." This is the doctrine touching this article that St Paul taught his scholars, which M. Jewel denieth.*

The two hundred and twenty fifth untruth, joined with great folly. For Dionysius speaketh not one word of offering up the Son of God unto his Father[7].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here mayest thou, gentle reader, easily see that M. Harding either had not that abundance of store whereof notwithstanding he hath made us so large a promise, or else had no great regard unto his choice. For Dionysius hath no token or inkling of any such sacrificing of the Son of God unto his Father; but clearly and in most plain wise he sheweth the difference that is between the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the holy communion. These be his words: "The priest extolleth those things that Christ wrought in his flesh upon the cross for the salvation of mankind; and, with spiritual eyes beholding the spiritual understanding thereof, draweth near to the figurative sacrifice of the same[8]." Here Dionysius calleth not the ministration of the holy mysteries the sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, as M. Harding would force us to believe, but a figurative sacrifice, that is, a figure or a sign of that great sacrifice. And Pachymeres, the paraphrast, expoundeth the same words in this wise: [Πρὸς] *τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ... ποτήριον ἔρχεται*[9]: "He cometh to the bread and the cup."

Dionys. Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. *πρὸς συμβολικὴν ἱερουργίαν.*

Pachym. in iii. cap. Eccles. Hierarch.

Then the priest, saith Dionysius, after certain prayers and holy songs, excuseth himself, as not worthy to make that sacrifice; and pronounceth these words out with a loud voice: *Tu dixisti, &c.*: "Thou hast said, 'Do this in my remembrance.'" Hereof M. Harding concludeth thus: The priest excuseth himself; *ergo,* he offereth up the Son of God unto his Father. A young sophister would never so unskilfully frame his arguments. Otherwise the respondent might easily say: *Nego consequentiam, et consequens.* For what order or sequel is there in this reason? How may this antecedent and this consequent agree together?

M. Harding knoweth there be other sundry causes wherefore the priest should excuse his unworthiness, and not this only that he imagineth. The priest in the liturgy or communion that beareth the name of St Basil prayeth thus: *Fac nos idoneos,... ut tibi offeramus sacrificium laudis*[10]: "Make us meet to offer unto thee (not Christ thine only Son, but) the sacrifice of praise." In like manner Nazianzene saith: "How can they or dare they offer unto God (he saith not the body of Christ really and indeed, but) the figure of these great mysteries[11]?" But M. Harding, being utterly void of other reasons, proveth his imagined sacrifice of the Son of God only by the unworthiness of the priest.

Lit. Basil.

Nazianz. Apol. *τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.*

This is the just judgment of God, that whoso endeavoureth himself to deceive and blind others, shall be deceived and blinded himself. For Dionysius useth the very like words, speaking of the sacrament of baptism: *Sacerdos, cogitans negotii magnitudinem, horret, atque hæsitat*[12]: "The priest, considering the weight of the matter, is in an horror, and in an agony." Likewise St Basil excuseth his own unworthiness of hearing the word of God: *Quæ auris digna est magnitudine earum rerum quæ dicuntur?... Cogitemus quisnam ille sit*

Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. *ἀποβλέψας τὸ τοῦ πράγματος μέγεθος, φρίττει, καὶ ἀμηχανεῖ.*

[7 The Greek text is...*ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ἱερουργίας ἀπολογεῖται.*—Ibid.]

[8 *Ἐνθεν ὁ θεῖος Ἱεράρχης...ὑμνεῖ τὰς εἰρημένας ἱερὰς θεουργίας Ἰησοῦ...ἃς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν...ἐτελείωσεν· ὑμνήσας δὲ καὶ τὴν σεβασμίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ νοητὴν θεωρίαν ἐν νοεροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐποπτεύσας, ἐπὶ τὴν συμβολικὴν αὐτῶν ἱερουργίαν ἔρχεται.*—Id. ibid.]

[9 Pachym. Paraphr. in eod. p. 327.]

[10 Basil. Lit. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. pp. 48, 9.]

[11 *...πῶς ἔμελλον θαῤῥῆσαι προσφέρειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἔξωθεν, τὴν τῶν κ. τ. λ.*—Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]

Basil. Hexaem. I. *πρία ἀκουὴ μέγεθους τῶν λεγομένων ἀξία;*

[12 Dionys. Areop. Op. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. ii. 2. Tom. I. p. 252. It is the sponsor, and not the priest, to whom these words are applied.]

qui nos affatur[1]: "What ear is worthy to hear the majesty of these things? Let us consider who it is that speaketh to us." St Paul, speaking of the glory and puissance of the gospel, in the end, in respect of his own unworthiness, useth this exclamation: *Et ad hæc quis idoneus?* "And who is meet to publish and to speak these things?" St Cyprian saith: "We are not worthy to look up into heaven and to speak unto God. O," saith he, "what merciful favour of our Lord is this, that we may call God our Father; and, even as Christ is God's Son, so may we be called the children of God!" *Quod nomen nemo nostrum in oratione auderet attingere, nisi ipse nobis sic permisisset orare*[2]: "Which name (of Father) none of us in our prayers would dare to utter, saving that he hath given us leave so to pray."

2 Cor. ii.

Cypr. in Orat. Domin.

By these the slenderness of M. Harding's reason may soon appear: The priest excuseth his own unworthiness; *ergo*, he offereth up the Son of God. It is a *fallax, ex meris particularibus*, or *a non distributo ad distributum*, and concludeth *in secunda figura affirmative*. An error known unto children.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Irenæus received the same from St John the evangelist by Polycarpus, St John's scholar. He declareth it with these words: Eum, qui ex creatura panis est, accipit[3], et gratias egit, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum. Et calicem similiter, qui est ex ... creatura quæ est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est, et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia, ab apostolis accipiens, in universo mundo offert Deo.... De quo in duodecim prophetis Malachias sic præsignificavit, Non est mihi voluntas in vobis, dicit Dominus exercituum[4]; et munus non suscipiam de manu vestra[5]: "*He took that which by creation is bread, and gave thanks, saying, 'This is my body.' And likewise the cup full of that creature which is here with us, and confessed it to be his blood, and thus taught the new oblation of the new testament, which the church, receiving of the apostles, doth offer to God through the whole world; whereof Malachi, one of the twelve prophets, did prophesy thus: 'I have no liking in you, saith our Lord almighty, neither will I take a*[6] *sacrifice of your hands; because from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same my name is glorified among the nations, and incense is offered to my name in every place, and pure sacrifice, for that my name is great among the nations.'" What can be understanded by this new oblation of the new testament, other than the oblation of that which he said to be his body, and confessed to be his blood? And if he had offered bread and wine only, or the figure of his body and blood in bread and wine, it had been no new oblation, for such had been made by Melchisedech long before. Neither can the prophecy of Malachi be understanded of the oblation of Christ upon the cross; forasmuch as that was done but at one time only, and in one certain place of the world, in Golgotha, a place without the gates of Hierusalem, near to the walls of that city. Concerning the sacrifice of a contrite and an humble*[7] *heart, and all other sacrifices of our devotion that be mere spiritual, they cannot be called the new oblation of the new testament; forasmuch as they were done as well in the old testament as in the new, neither be they altogether pure. Wherefore this place of Irenæus, and also the prophecy of Malachi, wherewith it is confirmed, must needs be referred to the sacrifice and oblation of the body and blood of Christ daily throughout the whole world offered to God* (226) *in the mass, which is the external sacrifice of the church, and proper to the new testament; which, as Irenæus saith, the church received of the apostles, and the apostles of Christ.*

Lib. iv. cap. xxxii.

Mal. i.

The two hundred and twenty-sixth untruth. For Irenæus neither

[1] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. In Hexaem. Hom. i. Tom. I. pp. 1, 2; where ἀκοὴ τοῦ μεγέθους.]

[2] Quanta autem Domini indulgentia, quanta circa nos dignationis ejus et bonitatis ubertas; qui sic nos voluerit orationem celebrare in conspectu Dei, ut Deum Patrem vocemus, et ut est Christus Dei Filius, sic et nos Dei filii nuncupemur? Quod &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 143.]

[3] Accepit, 1565, 1690, and H. A. 1564.]

[4] Exercitum, 1611.]

[5] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xvii. 5. p. 249; where *accepit, meum corpus*, and *Dominus omnipotens, et sacrificium non accipiam de manibus vestris.*]

[6] 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564, omit *a*.]

[7] Humbled, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

speaketh of the mass, nor calleth it a sacrifice, neither saith, either that the church received it from the apostles, or the apostles from Christ.

Here at last M. Harding hath found out the name of a sacrifice that was not denied him. But the sacrifice that he hath so long sought for, and hath so assuredly promised to find, hitherto he hath not found. For Irenæus not once nameth neither the mass nor this real oblation of the Son of God unto his Father. Thus only he saith: "God hath utterly misliked and refused the old carnal sacrifices of the Jews; and hath taught us to offer up the new sacrifice of the new testament, according to the prophecy of Malachi." This sacrifice M. Harding imagineth can be none other but the offering up of Christ in the mass. These conclusions be very sudden. The old learned fathers could never understand so much. One of M. Harding's own new-found doctors, Martialis, saith thus: *Oblatio munda non tantum in ara sanctificata offertur, sed etiam ubique*[8]: "The pure sacrifice which Malachi meaneth is offered not only upon the holy altar (or communion-table), but also every where." M. Harding saith, It is offered only upon the altar: Martialis saith, "It is offered every where, and not only upon the altar." Certainly, if Malachi meant the sacrifice that may be offered in all places, and without an altar, as Martialis saith, then he meant not the sacrifice of the mass. Tertullian saith, that "the prophet Malachi by that pure sacrifice meant the preaching of the gospel, the offering up of a contrite heart, and prayer proceeding from a pure conscience[9]." St Hierome likewise expoundeth the same of "the sacrifice of prayer[10]," and openeth it by these words of the prophet David: "Let my prayer be directed as incense before thy sight[11]." St Augustine calleth the same *sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis*[12], "the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving[13]."

Mal. i.

Mart. ad Burdeg.

Tertull. contr. Jud. Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv. Hieron. in i. cap. Mal. Hieron. in Zach. Lib. ii. cap. viii. August. contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. cap. xx. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. ii. cap. lxxxvi.

In like sort Irenæus also expoundeth his own meaning: *Ecclesia... offert Deo....cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus....Est ergo altare in cœlo: illuc...preces et oblationes nostræ diriguntur*[14]: "The church offereth up to God (not his own and only Son, but) a natural thing of God's creation. Neither is our altar here in earth, but in heaven. Thither our prayers and sacrifices be directed." So likewise Eusebius saith: *Sacrificamus, et incendimus memoriam magni illius sacrificii, secundum ea quæ ab ipso tradita sunt mysteria celebrantes, et gratias Deo...pro salute nostra agentes*[15]: "We sacrifice and offer up unto God the remembrance of that great sacrifice, using the holy mysteries accordingly as Christ hath delivered them, and giving God thanks for our salvation."

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. x.

And that Irenæus meant not any such real sacrifice of the Son of God, nor may not in any wise so be taken, it is evident by the plain words that follow touching the same. For thus he saith, speaking of the very same sacrifice of the new testament that is mentioned by Malachi: *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem;... sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, existens pura, sanctificat sacrificium*[16]: "The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man; but the conscience of the offerer, being pure, sanctifieth the sacrifice." I trow, M. Harding will not say the priest is not sanctified by the Son of God, but the Son of God is sanctified

---

[8 Nec solum in ara sanctificata, sed ubique offertur Deo oblatio munda. — Mart. ad Burdeg. Epist. i. cap. iii. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-24. Tom. I. p. 167.]

[9 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 5. p. 211. Id. adv. Marc. Lib. IV. 1. p. 502. See before, page 110, note 2.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Mal. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1813. See before, page 110, note 3.]

[11 ...de quo incenso et alibi legimus: Dirigatur oratio mea, sicut incensum in conspectu tuo.—Id. Comm. Lib. II. in Zach. Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 1747.]

[12 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. I. cap. xx. 39. Tom. VIII. col. 571. Id. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. II. cap. lxxxvi. 190. Tom. IX. col. 272. In both these places Augustine quotes Psalm l. 14, as explanatory of the sacrifice intended. His words in the last cited place are...laudari nomen Domini; quod est vivum sacrificium.]

[13 Of thanksgiving, 1565, 1609.]

[14 Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. 4, 6. pp. 251, 2; where *offert Fabricatori, cœlis*, and *preces nostræ et oblationes.*]

[15 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 40.]

[16 Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. 3. p. 250; where *non sacrificia*, and *sanctificat sacrificium pura exsistens.*]

Malachi. by the conscience of the priest; for that were blasphemy. And yet thus must he needs say, if Irenæus meant the real sacrificing of the Son of God.

But M. Harding hath devised a great many replies to the contrary. First he saith: The offering up of prayer, praises, and thanksgiving cannot be called a new sacrifice; for the same was made by Moses, Aaron, the prophets, and other holy men in the old law. This objection serveth well to control Tertullian, St Augustine, and St Hierome, and other learned fathers that thus have taken it; who, by M. Harding's judgment, wrote unadvisedly they knew not what. Hereunto Irenæus himself answereth thus: *Oblationes hic: oblationes illic. Sacrificia in populo [Israel]: sacrificia in ecclesia. Sed species immutata est tantum. Quippe cum jam non a servis, sed a liberis offeruntur*[1]: "There were sacrifices in the old testament: there be sacrifices in the new. There were sacrifices in the people of Israel: there be sacrifices in the church. Only the manner or form is changed. For now they be offered, not by bondmen (as before), but by freemen." In like sense writeth Angelomus: *Mandatum novum scribo vobis, non alterum; sed ipsum, quod dixi vetus, idem est novum*[2]: "I write unto you a new commandment; none other, but that I called the old, the self-same is the new." "And it is called a new sacrifice," saith Chrysostom, "because it proceedeth from a new mind, and is offered not by fire and smoke, but by grace, and by the Spirit of God[3]." And in this consideration Irenæus thinketh "David said unto the children of the church of Christ, 'O sing unto the Lord a new song[4].'"

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

Angelom. Antikeim. Lib. iii.

Chrysost. contr. Jud. Lib. ii.

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxi.

M. Harding saith further: "The words of Malachi may in no wise be taken for the oblation of Christ upon the cross. For that," saith he, "was done at one time only, and in one certain place, in Golgotha, without the gates of Hierusalem, and not in every place." Yet M. Harding may easily understand that the remembrance of that sacrifice, and thanksgiving for the same, may be made at all times and in all places. And therefore Eusebius, as it is noted before, calleth our sacrifice *magni illius sacrificii memoriam*[5], "the remembrance of that great sacrifice, and the thanksgiving which we yield unto God for our salvation." Dionysius calleth it *συμβολικὴν ... ἱερουργίαν*[6]: "a figurative sacrifice." And St Augustine saith: *Cum credimus in Christum, ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis Christus nobis quotidie immolatur*[7]: "When we believe in Christ, even of the very remanents of our cogitation (in what place soever we be) Christ is sacrificed unto us every day." Likewise St Hierome saith: *Cum audimus sermonem Domini, ... caro Christi et sanguis ejus in auribus nostris funditur*[8]: "When we hear the word of the Lord, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured out into our ears." And, whereas M. Harding saith further, that the spiritual sacrifices of our devotion cannot altogether be called pure, and therefore cannot be sacrifices[9] of the new testament; it must needs be confessed, that all our righteousness, in respect of many imperfections, may be compared, as the prophet Esay saith, "unto a filthy clout:" yet in respect of God's mercy, and in Christ, the prophet David saith: "Thou shalt wash me; and I will be whiter than the snow."

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. x

Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii.

August. in Psalm. lxxv.

Hieron. in Psalm. cxlvii.

Isai. lxiv.

Psal. li.

Howbeit, herein I will remit M. Harding to the judgment of them whose

---

[1 Oblationes enim et illic, oblationes autem et hic: sacrificia &c...offeratur.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 2. p. 250.]

[2 The Stromata of this author on the books of Kings are doubtless what Jewel intends. See Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. IX. Pars i. pp. 700, &c.; but the editor has not succeeded in discovering the passage quoted.]

[3 Καθαρὰν δὲ λέγει θυσίαν, ὡς τῆς προτέρας ἀκαθάρτου οὔσης, οὐ διὰ τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν προσαγόντων...οὐ γὰρ διὰ καπνοῦ καὶ κνίσσης, οὐδὲ δι' αἱμάτων καὶ λύτρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος προσάγεται χάριτος.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Adv. Jud. Orat. v. Tom. I. p. 648.]

[4 Irenæus is explaining Matt. xiii. 52. He says that the "things new and old" are the two testaments, and proceeds...novum autem, quæ secundum evangelium est conversatio, ostendit, de qua David ait: Cantate Domino canticum novum.—Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 237.]

[5 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 40. See before, page 723.]

[6 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 298.]

[7 Et semel nobis Christus immolatus est, cum credimus; tunc fuit cogitatio:...ex ipsis reliquiis cogitationis, id est, ex ipsa memoria, quotidie nobis sic immolatur, quasi quotidie nos innovet, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psal. lxxv. Enarr. 15. Tom. IV. col. 801.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504; where *quando* for *cum*, and *sermonem Dei*.]

[9 The sacrifices, 1565, 1600.]

authorities he cannot well deny. Eusebius calleth our prayers *mundum sacrificium*[10], "a pure sacrifice." Tertullian saith: "We make sacrifice unto our God for the safety of our emperors *pura prece*, 'with a pure prayer'[11]." St Hierome, speaking of the sacrifice of christian prayers, saith thus: "A pure sacrifice is offered unto me in every place; not in the oblations of the old testament, but in the holiness of the purity of the gospel[12]." To be short, St Paul saith: *Volo viros precari in omni loco, levantes manus puras:* "I would that men should pray in all places, lifting up pure hands (unto God)."

The Sacrifice is Christ.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. vi. Orationis .. sacrificium, quod mundum dictum est.

Tertull. ad Scap.

Touching the sacrifice of the Lord's table, Eusebius writeth thus: μνήμην ... ἡμῖν παρέδωκε ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ Θεῷ διηνεκῶς προσφέρειν[13]: "He gave us a remembrance instead of a sacrifice to offer up continually unto God." And this he calleth *incruentum et rationabile sacrificium*[14]: "the unbloody and reasonable sacrifice." "This," saith Irenæus, "is the sacrifice of the new testament. This sacrifice the church received of the apostles; and the same the apostles received of Christ, that made all things new[15]."

Hieron. in Zach. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

In Sanctitate Evangelicæ Puritatis.

1 Tim. ii.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

*Now let us hear what St Cyprian hath written to this purpose. Because his works be common, to be shorter, I will rehearse his words in English. "If in the sacrifice, *which is Christ, none but Christ is to be followed, soothly it behoveth us to obey, and do that which Christ did and commanded to be done. For, if Jesus Christ our Lord and God, very he himself, be the high priest of God the Father, and himself first offered sacrifice to God the Father, and commanded the same to be done in his remembrance; verily that priest doth occupy the office of Christ truly, who doth by imitation the same thing that Christ did. And then he offereth to God the Father in the church a true and a perfect*[18] *sacrifice, if he begin to offer right so as he seeth Christ himself to have offered*[19]*." Thus*[20] *far St Cyprian. How can this article be avouched in more plain words?* (227) *He saith that Christ offered himself to his Father in his supper, and likewise commanded us to do the same.*

[*Lib. ii. Epist.* 3. H.A. 1564.[16]]

*Even so Chrysostom saith, Christ's baptism is Christ's blood[17]. Ad Heb. Hom. 16.

The two hundred and twenty-seventh untruth. For St Cyprian saith not, neither that Christ offered himself at the supper, nor that we are commanded to offer Christ.

Here we have proved that it is lawful, and hath always from the beginning of the new testament been lawful, for the (228) *priests to offer up Christ unto his Father, by the testimonies of three holy martyrs, two Greeks and one Latin, most notable in sundry respects, of antiquity, of the room they bare in Christ's church, of learning, of constancy, of faith stedfastly kept to death, suffered in places of fame and knowledge, at Paris, at Lions, at Carthage.*

The two hundred and twenty-eighth untruth. For none of all these three fathers ever spake these words.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The[21] place of St Cyprian, as it not once toucheth the real sacrificing of Christ unto his Father, so it utterly condemneth the communion under one kind; the common prayers in a strange unknown tongue; and briefly the whole disorder and abuse of M. Harding's mass.

But St Cyprian saith: *In sacrificio, quod Christus est:* "In the sacrifice, that is Christ." If M. Harding think to find great advantage in these words, it may

---

[10] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. I. cap. VI. p. 19.]

[11] Itaque et sacrificamus pro salute imperatoris, sed Deo nostro et ipsius...pura prece.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 2. p. 86.]

[12] ...incensum offertur nomini Domini in omni loco, et sacrificium mundum; nequaquam in victimis veteris testamenti; sed in sanctitate, &c.—Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. II. in Zach. Proph. cap. viii. Tom. III. col. 1747.]

[13] Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 38; where παραδούς. See before, page 716, note 3.]

[14] Id. ibid. p. 39.]

[15] See before, page 722, note 5.]

[16] H. A. 1565 omits this reference.]

[17] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See before, page 518, note 4.]

[18] Perfite, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[19] Nam si in sacrificio quod Christus obtulerit, non nisi Christus sequendus est: utique id nos obaudire et facere oportet, quod Christus fecit, et quod faciendum esse mandavit.... Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris; et sacrificium Patri seipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit: utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur: et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 154, 5.]

[20] This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[21] This, 1565, 1609.]

The Sacrifice is Christ.

please him to remember that St Augustine saith: [*Illis*] *petra ... erat Christus*[1]: "Unto the Jews the rock was Christ." Verily, the sacrifice after the order of Melchisedech, which is the propitiation for the sins of the world, is only Jesus Christ, the Son of God, upon the cross. And the ministration of the holy mysteries, in a phrase and manner of speech, is also the same sacrifice; because it layeth forth the death and blood of Christ so plainly and so evidently before our eyes. So saith St Augustine: "The very remembrance of Christ's passion stirreth up such motions within us, as if we saw Christ presently hanging upon the cross[2]." Upon which words the common gloss noteth thus: [*Christus*] *immolatur, id est, Christi immolatio repræsentatur, et fit memoria passionis*[3]: "Christ is sacrificed, that is to say, the sacrifice of Christ is represented, and there is made a remembrance of his passion." So St Cyprian saith: *Vinum exprimit sanguinem: in aqua populus intelligitur: in vino sanguis ostenditur. [Itaque] passionis ejus mentionem in sacrificiis ... facimus. Passio enim Domini est sacrificium, quod offerimus*[4]: "The wine sheweth the blood: in the water we understand the people: the blood is expressed in the wine. And therefore in our sacrifices we make mention of Christ's passion. For the sacrifice that we offer is the passion of Christ." As the ministration of the holy communion is the death and passion of Christ, even so and in like sort and sense may the sacrifice thereof be called Christ. Therefore St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *in seipso immortaliter ... vivens, ... iterum in hoc mysterio moritur. ... Ejus caro in populi salutem patitur*[5]: "Christ, living immortally in himself, dieth again in this mystery. His flesh suffereth (in the mystery) for the salvation of the people." I reckon, M. Harding will not say that Christ dieth indeed, according to the force and sound of these words, or that his flesh verily and indeed is tormented and suffereth in the sacrament. St Gregory better expoundeth himself in this wise: *Hoc sacramentum ... passionem unigeniti Filii ... imitatur*[6]: "This sacrament expresseth or representeth the passion of the only-begotten Son." And the very barbarous gloss touching the same saith: *Christus moritur et patitur, id est, mors et passio Christi repræsentatur*[7]: "Christ dieth and suffereth, that is to say, Christ's death and passion is represented."

August. in Johan. Tract. 29.

August. in Psalm. xxi. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Semel.

Cypr. Lib. ii.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit. In Gloss.

So St Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis mors Christi perficitur*[8]: "The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries." So saith Beda: *Exaltatio serpentis ænei passio Redemptoris nostri est in cruce*[9]: "The lifting up of the brasen serpent is the passion of our Redeemer upon the cross." So saith St Hierome: *Quotidie nobis Christus crucifigitur*[10]: "Unto us Christ is daily crucified." So St Ambrose: *Christus quotidie immolatur*[11]: "Christ is daily sacrificed." So St Augustine: *Tunc unicuique* [*Christus*] *occiditur, cum credit occisum*[12]: "Then is Christ slain to every man, when he believeth that Christ was slain." To conclude, so St Hierome saith: *Semper Christus credentibus immolatur*[13]: "Unto the faithful Christ is evermore sacrificed." Thus may the sacrifice of the holy communion be called Christ; to wit, even so as the ministration of the same is called the passion or the death of Christ.

Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 21. Beda exponens illud, Sicut Moses exaltavit, &c. Johan. iii. Hieron. in Psal. xcvii. Ambros. de Virgin. August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. ii. Hieron. ad Damas.

And that the weakness of M. Harding's guesses may the better appear,

---

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[2 Id. in Psalm. xxi. Enarr. ii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 93. See before, page 467, note 23. See also Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 51. col. 1938.]

[3 Gloss. in can. 52. ibid.; where *ejus immolatio.*]

[4 ...videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi...passionis, &c., passio est enim Domini, &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. pp. 153, 4, 6.]

[5 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953; where *semetipso.* Op. Par. 1705. Dial. Lib. IV. cap. lviii. Tom. II. col. 472.]

[6 Id. ibid.; where *hoc sacrificium.*]

[7 *Moritur.* Id est, ejus mors repræsentatur... *patitur.* Passio repræsentatur.—Gloss. ibid.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[9 Exaltatio autem serpentis ænei...passionem nostri Redemptoris signat in cruce.—Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. In Evang. Joan. cap. iii. Tom. V. col. 476.]

[10 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psalm. xcv. Tom. II. Append. col. 377.]

[11 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Virgin. Lib. II. cap. ii. 18. Tom. II. col. 166. See below, page 730.]

[12 August. Op. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 260; where *tunc enim cuique.*]

[13 Hieron. Op. Ad Damas. Epist. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 156.]

understand thou, good christian reader, that the holy catholic fathers have used to say, that Christ is sacrificed, not only in the holy supper, but also in the sacrament of baptism. St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ passionis ... eo tempore pro se quisque offert, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur*[14]: "The sacrifice of our Lord's passion every man then offereth for himself, when he is confirmed in the faith of his passion." And again: *Holocaustum Domini ... tunc pro unoquoque offertur quodammodo, cum ejus nomine ... baptizando signatur*[15]: "Then is the sacrifice of our Lord in a manner offered for each man, when in baptism he is marked with the name of Christ." And again: *Non relinquitur sacrificium pro peccatis: id est, non potest denuo baptizari*[16]: "There is left no sacrifice for sin; that is to say, he can be no more baptized." And in this consideration Chrysostom saith: *Baptisma Christi sanguis Christi est*[17]: "Christ's baptism is Christ's blood." And likewise St Ambrose: *In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei*[18]: "In baptism we crucify in ourselves the Son of God."

August. in Expos. inchoata ad Rom.

In eod. lib.

In eod. lib.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 16.

Ambros. de Pœnit. Lib. ii. cap. ii.

M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

Our adversaries crack much of the sealing up of their new doctrine with the blood of such and such, who be written in the book of lies, not in the book of life, whom they will needs to be called martyrs. Verily, if those monks and friars, apostates and renegades, wedded to wives, or rather (to use their own term) yoked to sisters, be true martyrs, then must our new gospellers pull these holy fathers and many thousands more out of heaven. (229) *For certainly the faith in defence of which either sort died is utterly contrary. The worst that I wish to them is, that God give them eyes to see and ears to hear, and that he shut not up their hearts, so as they see not the light here, until they be thrown away into the outward darkness, where shall be weeping and grinding of teeth.*

Matt. xxv.

The two hundred and twenty-ninth untruth. For M. Harding well knoweth that the whole substance of our doctrine fully agreeth with the fathers.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This talk was utterly out of season, saving that it liked well M. Harding to sport himself with the scriptures of God, and a little to scoff at the words of St Paul. Which thing, becoming him so well, may be the better borne withal, when it shall please him likewise to scoff at others. St Paul calleth wives sometimes "sisters," sometimes "yoke-fellows;" and thinketh matrimony to be "honourable in all persons," and the forbidding of the same to be "the doctrine of devils." Neither doth it any way appear, that ever honest godly matrimony either displeased God, or was thought uncomely for a martyr and witness of God's truth.

1 Cor. ix. Phil. iv. Heb. xiii. 1 Tim. iv.

St Paul was married, as it appeareth by Ignatius[19], Clemens[20], Eusebius[21]; and yet nevertheless was a martyr. St Peter, the chief of the apostles, had a wife; and yet nevertheless stood by and gave her comfort and constancy at her martyrdom[22]. "The twelve apostles," saith St Ambrose, "only St John excepted, were all married[23];" and yet nevertheless the same, St John only excepted, as it is thought, were all martyrs. Spiridion was a married bishop; and yet, as Sozomenus writeth, he was thereby nothing hindered, neither to discharge his duty nor to any other godly purpose[24]. Tertullian was a priest, as appeareth by St Hierome[25], and married, as appeareth by his own book written to his wife[26]; and yet not-

Ignat. ad Philadelph. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Clement. Stromat. Lib. vii. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxx. Ambros. in 2 ad Cor. cap. xi. Sozom. Lib. i. cap. xi. Ad res divinas nihilo deterior. Hieron. de Eccles. Script.

[14] August. Op. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937; where *holocausto*, and *offert quisque pro peccatis suis*.]

[15] Id. ibid.]

[16] ...non ei relinquatur pro peccatis sacrificium, hoc est, non possit denuo baptizari.—Id. ibid. cols. 937, 8.]

[17] See before, page 518, note 4.]

[18] ... de baptismo ... in quo crucifigimus Filium Dei in nobis.—Ambros. Op. De Pœnit. Lib. II. cap. ii. 10. Tom. II. col. 418.]

[19] Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philadelph. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

[20] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. III. Tom. I. p. 535.]

[21] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxx. p. 82.]

[22] Id. ibid.]

[23] ... omnes apostoli, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.—Ambros. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. II. cap. xi. v. 2. Tom. II. Append. col. 198.]

[24] Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. cap. xi. pp. 338, &c.]

[25] Tertullianus presbyter.—Hieron. Op. Catal. Script. Eccles. 53. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 115.]

[26] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Libr. II. pp. 182, &c.]

withstanding, as some report, was a martyr. St Hilary was a reverend father and bishop of Poiters, and yet married, as may be gathered by his epistle written to his daughter Abra[2].

Regino. in Rebus Germanicis[1]. Hilar. ad Abr. Fil.

And, to leave infinite others, St Chrysostom saith: *Ita pretiosa res est matrimonium, ut possis cum eo ad sanctum episcopatus solium subvehi*[3]. *Utere moderate nuptiis, et eris primus in regno cœlorum*[4]: "So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou mayest be promoted even to[5] the bishop's chair." "Use marriage with discretion, and thou shalt be the chief in the kingdom of heaven."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Tit. Hom. 2.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 7.

St Hierome saith: *Hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habent matrimonia*[6]: "Even now a great number of priests live in matrimony." Thus the apostles of Christ and many other learned fathers and godly bishops were married, and, as M. Harding saith in his mirth and pleasance, had their sisters and yoke-fellows. But how and with what sisters or fellows a great number of the wifeless sort of M. Harding's side be yoked, for very regard of honesty it may not be uttered.

Hieron. contr. Jovin.

Epiphanius writeth thus of certain of his time: *Repudiant nuptias, at non libidinem. In honore enim apud illos est non sanctitas sed hypocrisis*[7]: "They refuse marriage, but not filthy lust. For they esteem not holiness, but hypocrisy." Who seeth not that in the church of Rome priests, bishops, and cardinals, notwithstanding they be utterly forbidden to have wives, yet are easily allowed to have concubines? They themselves have confessed it by these words unto the world: *Etiam in hac urbe Romana meretrices, ut matronæ, incedunt per urbem, seu mula*[8] *vehuntur; quas assectantur de media die nobiles familiares cardinalium, clericique*[9]: "Even here, in this city of Rome, harlots pass through the streets, or ride upon their mules, like honest gentlewomen; and gentlemen of the cardinals' bands and priests at noon-days wait upon them."

Epiph. contr. Orig. ἀθετοῦσι... γάμου, ἀλλ' οὐ λαγνείαν... περιλοτίμηται γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἡ ἁγνεία, ἀλλὰ ὑποκριτική.

In Concil. Delect. Card.

As touching them whom it so much grieveth you, M. Harding, to be called martyrs, you have slain not only such and such, whom it liketh you by your own name (if ye have not forgotten your own name) to call renegades, but also great numbers of others more, married, unmarried, learned, unlearned, old, young, boys, maids, laymen, priests, bishops, archbishops, without mercy. Ye scourged them with rods, ye set burning torches to their hands, ye cut off their tongues, ye hanged them, ye beheaded them, ye burnt them to ashes, ye took the poor innocent babe falling from the mother's womb, and threw it cruelly into the fire. Briefly, ye did with them whatsoever your pleasure was. The worst word that proceeded from them was this: "O Lord, forgive them: they know not what they do." "O Lord Jesu, receive my spirit." In the mean while ye stood by, and delighted your eyes with the sight. Ye digged up the poor carcases of God's saints, that had been buried long before: ye served them solemnly with process, and ascited them to appear at your consistories, and by public sentence adjudged them to die the second death; and so, to the perpetual shame of your cruel folly, ye wreaked your anger upon the dead. O M. Harding, your conscience knoweth these are no lies. They are written in the eyes and hearts of many thousands. These be the marks of your religion. O what reckoning will you yield, when so much innocent blood shall be required at your hands? And where you say, we must pull the old martyrs out of heaven to place our own, for that our doctrine and theirs (as you bear us in hand) is quite contrary; all this is but a needless ostentation of idle words. If vaunts were proofs, then were this matter fully ended. But we say, that in these cases that I have moved you are not able to allege one sufficient clause or sentence of your side out of any of all

---

[1 It is not clear for what Jewel refers to this author. His chronicle may be found Germ. Rer. Quat. Chronogr. Franc. 1566. fols. 14, &c.]

[2 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Abr. Fil. Epist. cols. 1209, &c.]

[3 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738.]

[4 Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. v. Hom. vii. Tom. XII. p. 80.]

[5 Unto, 1565, 1609.]

[6 Quasi non hodie quoque plurimi sacerdotes habeant matrimonia.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Jovin. Lib. i. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 165.]

[7 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. ii. Hær. lxiii. 1. Tom. I. pp. 520, 1; where καὶ οὐ παύεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ λαγνεία.]

[8 Multa, 1611.]

[9 In hac etiam urbe meretrices, &c.—Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 823.]

the old learned fathers. And hitherto your muster appeareth but very simple, notwithstanding the great promise of your store.

Certainly the holy fathers and martyrs of God will say unto you: We know not your private masses: we know not your half-communion: we know not your strange unknown prayers: we know not your adoration of corruptible creatures: we know not this sacrificing of the Son of God: we know not your new religion: we know not you. God open the eyes of your hearts, that ye may see the miserable state ye stand in, and recover the place that ye have lost, and find your names written in the book of life!

M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

Leaving no small number of places that might be recited out of divers other doctors, I will bring two of two worthy bishops, one of Chrysostom, the other of St Ambrose, confirming this truth. Chrysostom's words be these: Pontifex noster ille est, qui hostiam mundantem nos obtulit; ipsam offerimus et nunc, quæ tunc oblata quidem consumi non potest. Hoc autem quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei commemorationem[10]: "*He is our bishop that hath offered up the host which cleanseth us. The same do we offer also now, which, though it were then offered, yet cannot be consumed. But this that we do is done in remembrance of that which is done. For 'do ye this', saith he, 'in my remembrance'.*" *St Ambrose saith thus:* Vidimus Principem sacerdotum ad nos venientem: vidimus et audivimus offerentem pro nobis sanguinem suum[11]: sequamur, ut possumus, sacerdotes, ut offeramus pro populo sacrificium, etsi infirmi merito, tamen honorabiles sacrificio. Quia etsi... Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris, quando Christi corpus offertur[12]: "*We have seen the Prince of priests come to us: we have seen and heard him offer for us his blood: let us that be priests follow him, as we may, that we may offer sacrifice for the people, being, though weak in merit, yet honourable for the sacrifice. Because, albeit Christ be not seen to offer, yet he is offered in earth, when the body of Christ is offered.*" *Of these our Lord's words, "which is given for you," and "which is shed for you and for many," here St Ambrose exhorteth the priests to offer the body and blood of Christ for the people, and willeth them to be more regarded than commonly they be now-a-days, for this sacrifice*[13] *sake, though otherwise they be of less desert.*

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 17.

In Psalm. xxxviii.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This allegation argueth no great abundance of store. For Chrysostom in these words both openeth himself, and sheweth in what sense other ancient fathers used this word "sacrifice," and also utterly overthroweth M. Harding's whole purpose touching the same. For as he saith "we offer up the same sacrifice that Christ offered," so in most plain wise and by sundry words he removeth all doubt, and declareth in what sort and meaning we offer it. He saith not as M. Harding saith: "We offer up the Son of God unto his Father, and that verily and indeed;" but contrariwise thus he saith: *Offerimus quidem, sed ad recordationem facientes mortis ejus.... Hoc sacrificium exemplar illius est. ... Hoc quod nos facimus in commemorationem fit ejus quod factum est.... Id ipsum semper offerimus; magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur*[14]: "We offer indeed, but in remembrance of his death. This sacrifice is an example of that sacrifice. This that we do is done in remembrance of that that was done. We offer up the same that Christ offered; or rather, we work the remembrance of that sacrifice." Thus we offer up Christ, that is to say, an example, a commemoration, a remembrance of the death of Christ. This kind of sacrifice was never denied; but M. Harding's real sacrifice was yet never proved. So saith St Augustine: *Cum hostia frangitur, et sanguis... in ora fidelium funditur, quid*

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 17.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Cum frangitur.

[10 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. p. 169.]

[11 Suam, 1611.]

[12 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. col. 853; where *sequimur*.]

[13 Sacrifices, H. A. 1564.]

[14 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. x. Hom. xvii. Tom. XII. pp. 168, 9.]

Melchisedech.

aliud quam dominici corporis in cruce immolatio ... significatur[1]? "When the oblation is broken, and the blood (that is to say, the sacrament of the blood) is poured into the mouths of the faithful, what other thing is there signified, but the sacrifice of our Lord's body upon the cross?"

Ambros. in Psal. xxxviii. Rev. M.

Even so St Ambrose saith Christ is offered here in the earth (not really and indeed, as M. Harding saith, but) in like sort and sense as St John saith "the Lamb was slain from the beginning of the world;" that is, not substantially or in real manner, but in signification, in a mystery, and in a figure. And thus St Ambrose expoundeth his own meaning, even in the same place that is here alleged:

Ambros. in Psal. xxxviii.

Primum ... umbra præcessit: sequuta est imago: erit veritas. Umbra in lege; imago ... in evangelio; veritas in cœlestibus.... Ascende ... homo, in cœlum, et videbis illa, quorum hic umbra erat vel imago[2]: "First the shadow went before: the image followed: the truth shall be. The shadow in the law, the image in the gospel, the truth in the heavens. O man, go up into heaven, and thou shalt see those things whereof here was an image and a shadow." To like purpose

Ambros. in Luc. Lib. v. cap. vii.

St Ambrose writeth thus: *Vidimus eum, et oculis nostris perspeximus, et in vestigia clavorum ejus digitos nostros inseruimus. Videmur enim ... vidisse* [*eum*] *quem legimus, spectasse pendentem, et vulnera ejus spiritu ecclesiæ scrutante tentasse*[3]: "We have seen him, and looked upon him with our eyes; and we have thrust our fingers into the dents of his nails." The reason hereof is this: "For we seem to see him that we read of, and to have beholden him hanging on the cross, and with the feeling spirit of the church to have searched his wounds."

Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi.

So St Hierome saith: *Quod semel natum est ex Maria quotidie ... in nobis nascitur*[4]: "Christ, that was once born of Mary, is born in us every day." Now, as St Ambrose saith, "We see Christ even with our eyes hanging upon the cross, and thrust in our fingers, and search his wounds;" even so do we see Christ coming unto us, and offering himself in sacrifice unto God. And, as St Hierome saith, "Christ is born every day;" even so, and none otherwise, St Ambrose saith, "Christ is sacrificed every day." In like manner St Ambrose writeth unto certain

Ambros. de Virgin. Lib. ii.

virgins: *Vestras mentes confidenter altaria dixerim, in quibus quotidie pro redemptione corporis Christus offertur*[5]: "I may boldly say your hearts be altars; upon which hearts Christ is daily offered for the redemption of the body." Hitherto M. Harding hath found no manner token of that he sought for.

M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

Now, for proof of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ by the doctors' mind upon the figure of Melchisedech, first St Cyprian saith thus: Qui magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit, et obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedech,...id est, panem et vinum, suum, scilicet, corpus et sanguinem[6]? *"Who is more the priest of the highest God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered the self-same that Melchisedech did, that is, bread and wine, that is to say, his own body and blood?" St Hierome, in an epistle that he wrote for the virtuous women Paula and Eustochium to Marcella, hath these words:* Recurre ad Genesim, et Melchisedech regem Salem. Hujus principem invenies civitatis, qui jam...in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium christianum in Salvatoris sanguine et corpore dedicavit[7]: *"Return to the book of Genesis, and to Melchisedech the king of Salem, and thou shalt find the prince of that city, who even at that time in the figure of Christ offered bread and wine, and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of our Saviour." Here this learned father*

Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

[1 Cum frangitur hostia, dum sanguis &c. designatur.—August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 38. col. 1930.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25, 6. Tom. I. cols. 852, 3; where *umbra hic.*]

[3 Id. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. v. cap. vii. v. 19. 97. Tom. I. col. 1378.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. lxxxiv. Tom. II. Append. col. 345.]

[5 ... quarum mentes altaria confidenter, &c.—Ambros. Op. De Virgin. Lib. II. cap. ii. 18. Tom. II. col. 166.]

[6 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 149; where *quis magis.*]

[7 Hieron. Op. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcel. Epist. xliv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 547.]

maketh a plain distinction between the oblation of the figure, which was bread and wine, and the oblation of the truth, which is the mystery of christian people, the blood and the body of Christ our Saviour. Of this St Augustine speaketh largely in his first sermon upon the thirty-third psalm[8], *and in the seventeenth book* De Civitate Dei, cap. xx.[9] Melchisedech.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If M. Harding mean plainly, and will have St Cyprian's words taken as they lie, without figure, then must he say that Melchisedech offered up verily and really Christ himself. For St Cyprian's words be clear: *Christus...obtulit hoc idem, quod Melchisedech obtulerat*[10]: "Christ offered up the same thing that Melchisedech had offered." Notwithstanding, it is certain that the sacrifice that Melchisedech made, if it were granted to be a sacrifice, yet in plain and common manner of speech was not Christ the Son of God, but only material bread and wine, and other like provision of victuals prepared for Abraham and for his men. And therefore the old learned fathers say not, Melchisedech offered the same in sacrifice unto God; but, he brought it forth as a present, as the manner was, to refresh them after the pursuit and chase of their enemies. And St Hierome in his translation turneth it not *obtulit*, "he sacrificed;" but *protulit*[11], "he brought it forth." Josephus reporteth the matter thus: *Melchisedech milites Abrahami hospitaliter habuit, nihil illis ad victum deesse passus. Simulque ipsum adhibuit mensæ*[12]: "Melchisedech feasted Abraham's soldiers, and suffered them to want nothing that was necessary for their provision. And likewise he received Abraham himself unto his table." Chrysostom[13] and Epiphanius[14] say thus: "He brought forth unto them bread and wine." Tertullian saith: *Abrahamo revertenti de prœlio obtulit panem et vinum*[15]: "Melchisedech offered bread and wine (not unto God, but) unto Abraham returning from the fight." So St Ambrose: *Occurrit ... Melchisedech,...et obtulit Abrahamo panem et vinum*[16]: "Melchisedech came forth to meet, and offered (not unto God, but) unto Abraham, bread and wine."

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

Joseph. Antiquit. Lib. i. cap. xi.

Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 35. Epiph. contr. Melchis. Lib. ii. ἐξέβαλεν αὐτῷ ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον. Tertull. contr. Jud. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii.

By these few it may appear, that Melchisedech brought forth bread and wine and other provision, not as a sacrifice unto God, but as a relief and sustenance for Abraham and for his company.

St Paul compareth Christ with Melchisedech, in that, like unto Melchisedech, he was the King of justice; in that he was the Prince of peace, as Melchisedech was; and in that he had neither father nor mother; for so it is[17] likewise written of Melchisedech. But of the sacrifice of bread and wine he speaketh nothing. Yet, notwithstanding, the ancient holy fathers oftentimes resemble the same present of Melchisedech unto the sacrifice that Christ made upon the cross. And in that respect St Cyprian saith, Christ offered the same thing that Melchisedech offered; that is to say, as M. Harding himself must needs expound it, the same thing in performance of truth upon the cross that Melchisedech had before offered in a figure.

Heb. vii.

So saith St Augustine: *Illis petra Christus*[18]: "Unto them the rock was Christ;" and yet not really and indeed, but only by way of signification, because it signified and represented Christ.

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

Sometimes they compare it with the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and with the ministration of the holy communion, and make it equal with the same.

---

[8] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxiii. Enarr. i. 5, &c. Tom. IV. cols. 210, &c.]

[9] Id. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XVII. cap. xx. 2. Tom. VIII. col. 484.]

[10] See above, note 6.]

[11] ... proferens panem et vinum.—Hieron. Op. Lib. Gen. cap. xiv. Tom. I. col. 14.]

[12] Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726. Antiq. Jud. Lib. I. cap. x. 2. Tom. I. p. 32. The Greek text of the latter part of the quotation is, καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο.]

[13] Chrysostom simply says, Ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ ἄρτους καὶ οἶνον.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xiv. Genes. Hom. xxxv. Tom. IV. p. 357. But see Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. In cap. Genes. xiv. Hom. xxxv. Tom. I. col. 291; where *extulit enim illi panem et vinum.*]

[14] Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lv. 6. Tom. I. p. 472.]

[15] ... Melchisedech...Abrahæ...revertenti de prœlio panem et vinum obtulit.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Jud. 3. p. 207.]

[16] Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. IV. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 367; where *ei* for *Abrahamo.*]

[17] Is it, 1565.]

[18] ... petra autem erat Christus...Petra Christus in signo.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

Melchisedech.

St Augustine saith: *Melchisedech...Abrahæ primum, quasi patri fidelium, tradidit eucharistiam...corporis et sanguinis Domini*[1]: "Melchisedech gave first unto Abraham, as unto the father of the faithful, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ." So St Hierome saith: *Melchisedech...in typo Christi panem et vinum obtulit, et mysterium Christianorum in Salvatoris corpore et sanguine dedicavit*[2]: "Melchisedech in the figure of Christ offered bread and wine, and dedicated the mystery of Christians in the body and blood of Christ." These authorities might serve to make some shew that Melchisedech said mass, and consecrated the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and offered up Christ in sacrifice unto his Father; but of M. Harding or any other such priest they touch nothing.

August. in Quæst. Novi et Veter. Testamenti, Quæst. 109. Hieron. ad Marcel.

And lest any man happen of simplicity to be deceived, thinking that St Hierome hereby meant M. Harding's real presence, for that he saith, "Melchisedech dedicated the christian mystery in the body and blood of Christ;" it may please him to consider that both St Hierome and all[3] other ancient fathers have often used the same manner of speech in other cases, wherein M. Harding can have no manner suspicion of real presence. St Hierome saith: *Evangelium...passione et sanguine Domini dedicatur*[4]: "The gospel is dedicated in the passion and blood of Christ." St Augustine saith: *Quid est* [*Mare*] *Rubrum? Sanguine Domini consecratum*[5]: "What is the Red Sea?" He answereth: "Consecrate in the blood of Christ." Again he saith: *Unde rubet baptismus Christi, nisi Christi sanguine consecratus*[6]? "Whereof is Christ's baptism red, but that it is dedicate in the blood of Christ?" Thus Melchisedech dedicated the christian mystery in the blood of Christ.

Hieron. adv. Jovin. Lib. i.

August. in Psal. lxxx.

August. in Johan. Tract. 11.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

Of all other Œcumenius speaketh most plainly to this purpose upon this place of St Paul alleged out of the psalm: Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech: "*Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.*" *His words be these:* Significat sermo, quod non solum Christus obtulit incruentam hostiam (siquidem suum ipsius corpus obtulit), verum etiam qui ab ipso fungentur sacerdotio, quorum Deus pontifex esse dignatus est, sine sanguinis effusione offerent. Nam hoc significat "in æternum." Neque enim de ea, quæ semel a Deo facta est oblatio et hostia, dixisset in æternum; sed respiciens ad præsentes sacrificos, per quos medios Christus sacrificat et sacrificatur, qui etiam in mystica cœna modum illis tradidit hujusmodi sacrificii[8]: "*The meaning of this place is,*" *saith he,* "*that not only Christ offered an unbloody sacrifice, for he offered his own body, but also that they which after him shall do the office of a priest* (*whose bishop he vouchsafeth to be*) *shall offer without shedding of blood. For that signifieth the word 'for ever.' For concerning that oblation and sacrifice which was once made by God, he would never say,* in æternum '*for ever.*' *But he said so, having an eye to those priests that be now, by the mediation of whom Christ sacrificeth and is sacrificed; who also in his mystical supper taught them by tradition the manner of such a sacrifice.*"

Psal. cix.[7]

Concerning the prophecy of Malachi for proof of this oblation, though the place of Irenæus above recited may stand in stead of many authorities, yet I will not let to rehearse the sayings of a father or two for confirmation of this article.

Chrysostom saith very plainly: In omni loco sacrificium offertur nomini meo, et sacrificium purum. Vide quam luculenter quamque dilucide mysticam interpretatus est mensam, quæ est incruenta hostia[9]: "*In every place a sacrifice shall be offered to my name, and that a pure sacrifice. See how plainly and clearly he interpreted the mystical table, which is the unbloody sacrifice.*"

In Psal. xcv.

---

[1] Id. Quæst. ex Utroq. Mixt. Quæst. cix. Tom. III. Append. col. 108.]

[2] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Paul. et Eustoch. ad Marcel. Epist. xliv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 547. See before, page 730.]

[3] Also, 1565, 1609.]

[4] Id. Adv. Jovin. Lib. I. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 167; where *ipsius dedicatur.*]

[5] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. lxxx. Enarr. 8. Tom. IV. col. 861.]

[6] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 4. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 377.]

[7] H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[8] Œcumen. Op. Lut. Par. 1631. In Epist. ad Hebr. Comm. cap. v. Tom. II. p. 348.]

[9] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Hom. in Psalm. xcv. Tom. V. p. 630. This homily is spurious.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Sacrificed daily. Christ the Priest and the Oblation.

Here might I justly take exception against this doctor, as finding him without the compass of the first six hundred years. Howbeit, he saith not that "the priest hath power or authority to sacrifice the Son of God," nor seemeth any way to favour M. Harding's purpose. Therefore we shall not need to touch his credit.

The whole contents of his words are these: That there is in the church an unbloody sacrifice, and that Christ himself offereth up the same by the mean and ministry of the priest, and that Christ himself is that sacrifice. Which words, with due construction and in the sense and meaning of the ancient fathers, may well be granted. For like as St Hierome saith, as it is alleged before, *Quod natum est ex virgine, nobis quotidie nascitur*[10]: *Christus nobis quotidie crucifigitur*[11], "Christ, that was born of the virgin, is born unto us every day:" "Christ unto us is daily crucified;" and as St Augustine saith, *Tum* [*Christus*] *cuique occiditur, cum credit occisum*[12], "Then is Christ presently slain to every man, when he trusteth wholly in his death, and believeth he was slain;" and as the same St Augustine saith, *Tibi* [*Christus*] *quotidie resurgit*[13], "Christ riseth again to thee every day;" and as Chrysostom saith, "In the holy mysteries is wrought and perfited the death of Christ[14];" briefly, as Gregory saith, [*Christus*] *iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*[15], "Christ is slain in this mystery, and dieth again;" even so, and in the same sense and meaning, and none otherwise, Œcumenius saith: "Christ is offered in the holy supper."

Hieron. in Psal. lxxxvi. Hieron. in Psal. xcvii. August. Quæst. Evang. Lib. ii. August. de Verb. Dom. sec. Luc. Serm. 38. Chrysost. in Act. Hom. 21. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit.

But, as Christ is neither[16] daily born of the virgin, nor daily crucified, nor daily slain, nor daily riseth from the dead, nor daily suffereth, nor daily dieth, but only in a certain manner of speech, not verily and indeed; even so Christ is daily sacrificed only in a certain manner of speech, and in a mystery; but really, verily, and indeed he is not sacrificed.

The rest that followeth in Œcumenius only expresseth the two several natures in Christ, the Godhead and the manhood[17], that, touching his manhood[17], he was sacrificed; touching his Godhead, he was the priest, and made the sacrifice; and further to M. Harding's purpose it maketh nothing. So Beda saith, although somewhat otherwise: *Filius Dei...et orat pro nobis, et orat in nobis, et oratur a nobis. Orat pro nobis ut sacerdos:...orat in nobis ut caput:...oratur a nobis ut Deus*[18]: "The Son of God both prayeth for us, and prayeth in us, and is prayed of us. He prayeth for us as our priest, he prayeth in us as our head, he is prayed of us as our God." Epiphanius saith: *Christus est victima, sacerdos, altare, Deus, homo, rex, pontifex, ovis, agnus, omnia in omnibus pro nobis factus*[19]: "Christ is our sacrifice, our priest, our altar, God, man, king, bishop, sheep, lamb, made for our sakes all in all." Thus is Christ our sacrifice, thus is Christ our sacrificer; not to be offered by the priest, as M. Harding imagineth, but, as the old masters and fathers of the church have taught us, offered by himself upon the cross. St Augustine saith: *Ecce istic oblatus est: ibi seipsum obtulit:...simul et hostia et sacerdos....et altare erat crux*[20]: "Behold, there was he offered; there he offered himself: he was both the priest and the sacrifice; and his cross was the altar."

Bed. in Epist. ad Ephes. cap. ii. Epiph. de Melchised. Lib. ii. August. de Temp. Serm. 130.

This word *incruentum*, that M. Harding hath here alleged out of Chrysostom, is thought to bear great weight; but, being well considered of that side it is alleged for, as it shall appear, it weigheth nothing. The holy learned fathers

[10] Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. lxxxiv. Tom. II. Append. col. 345. See before, page 730.]

[11] Id. ibid. Psal. xcv. col. 377. See before, page 726.]

[12] August. Op. Quæst. Evang. Lib. II. Quæst. xxxiii. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 260. See before, page 726, note 12.]

[13] Id. Serm. lxxxv. 3. Tom. V. Append. col. 153. Conf. Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. v. cap. iv. 26. Tom. II. col 379.]

[14] Chrysost. Op. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[15] Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953. See below, page 743, note 15.]

[16] Neither is, 1565.]

[17] Manhead, 1565.]

[18] Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Ephes. cap. i. Tom. VI. col. 566; where *oret pro nobis et oret*, and *oretur*.]

[19] Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lv. 4. Tom. I. pp. 471, 2.]

[20] August. Op. Serm. clv. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 273. The Benedictine editors consider this a mutilated version of a homily ascribed to Chrysostom.]

Unbloody Sacrifice.

apply that word sometime to prayer and other devotion of the mind, and sometime[1] to the ministration of the holy communion.

For the better opening hereof it may please thee, good christian reader, to understand that, in the time of Moses' law, the priests and Levites offered up unto God oxen, calves, rams, and goats, and with the blood thereof sprinkled the book, the instruments of the ministry, the whole tabernacle, and all the people; and, as St Paul saith, in the ceremonies of that law "without blood-shedding there was no remission of sin." Likewise the heathens killed and offered up their cattle unto their idols, sometimes an hundred fat oxen in one day. Sometime they proceeded further, and made their sacrifices of man's blood. Erichtheus of Athens and Marius of Rome killed and offered up their own daughters in the honour of Pallas[2]. The nobles of Carthage, in the honour of their idol Saturnus, killed and offered up three-score and ten of their own male children in one sacrifice.

Heb. ix.

Clemens in Orat. contr. Gent.

In respect of these gross and fleshly and bloody sacrifices, our christian sacrifices in the gospel, because they are mere spiritual, and proceed wholly from the heart, are called unbloody. Eusebius saith: *Incendimus orationis suffitum; et sacrificium, quod appellatur purum, non per cruores facimus, sed per puras actiones*[3]: "We burn the incense of prayer; and we offer up the sacrifice that is called pure, not by shedding of blood, but by pure and godly doings."

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. cap. vi. τὴν οὐ δι' αἱμάτων.

So Chrysostom: *Offerimus non per fumum, nidorem, aut sanguinem, sed per Spiritus gratiam*[4]: "We make our sacrifices not by smoke, smell, and blood, but by the grace of the Holy Spirit." He addeth further: "For God is spirit, and he that adoreth him must adore in spirit and truth[5]."

Chrysost. contr. Jud. Orat. 3.

And this is the unbloody sacrifice. So saith Eusebius: *Offerent illi rationabiles et incruentas hostias*[6]: "They shall offer unto him reasonable (or spiritual) and unbloody oblations." And the same he expoundeth "the sacrifice of praise[7]."

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. ii. λογικὰς καὶ ἀναίμους θυσίας.

In like sort St Hierome seemeth to say: *In sinceritate azyma epulamur*[8]: "We feast in pureness, without leaven." In like consideration the sacrifices that in old times were made unto Fides and Terminus were called ἀναίμακτα, "unbloody," because they consisted only in suffumigations and odours, and were not imbrued with any blood. And for the like cause Thucydides calleth certain of the heathen oblations ἁγνὰ θύματα, "pure sacrifices." Likewise Cyrillus calleth the prayers and melody of the angels and blessed spirits in heaven, continually praising and glorifying the name of God, *incruenta sacrificia*[9], "unbloody sacrifices." Again he saith: *Nos, relicto crasso ministerio Judæorum, præceptum habemus, ut tenue et spirituale et subtile sacrificium faciamus. Itaque offerimus Deo in odorem suavitatis virtutes omne genus, fidem, spem, caritatem*[10]: "We, having left the gross ministry of the Jews, have a commandment to make a fine, thin, and spiritual sacrifice. And therefore we offer unto God all manner virtues, faith, hope, charity, as most sweet savours."

Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv.

Cyril. ad Regin. Cyril. contr. Jul. Lib. x.

For this cause the sacrifices of our prayers and other like devotions are called unbloody, for that they require no fleshly service or shedding of blood, as did the sacrifices of the Jews and heathens, but are mere ghostly and spiritual, and stand wholly in the lifting up and elevation of the mind.

In like manner the ministration of the holy communion is sometimes of the ancient fathers called an "unbloody sacrifice;" not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding, but for that

---

[1 Sometimes, 1565.]

[2 Ἐρεχθεὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττικὸς, καὶ Μάριος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, τὰς αὐτῶν ἐθυσάτην θυγατέρας· ὧν ὁ μὲν τῇ Φερεφάττῃ ... ὁ δὲ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, ὁ Μάριος. —Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Cohort. ad Gent. Tom. I. p. 37.]

[3 Euseb. Demonst. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. 19.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Adv. Jud. Orat v. Tom. I. p. 648.]

[5 Id. ibid. pp. 648, 9.]

[6 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 39; where τὰς ἀναίμους καὶ λογικὰς ... θυσίας.]

[7 Id. ibid.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. iv. Tom. V. col. 1043.]

[9 ... τὰς νοητὰς δηλονότι καὶ ἀναιμάκτους θυσίας, ὕμνους καὶ δοξολογίας.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Ad Regin. de Rect. Fid. Lib. ii. 38. Tom. V. Pars ii. p. 160.]

[10 Id. Contr. Julian. Lib. x. Tom. VI. p. 345.]

it representeth and reporteth unto our minds that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in his body upon the cross. Therefore Eusebius saith: *Excitamus illi altare incruentorum et rationabilium sacrificiorum, secundum nova mysteria*[11]: "We erect unto God an altar of unbloody and reasonable or spiritual sacrifices, according to the new mysteries." Again: *Sacrificium incendimus illi, memoriam magni illius sacrificii*[12]: "We burn a sacrifice unto God, that is, the remembrance of that great sacrifice." Likewise again: *Christus obtulit mirabile sacrificium pro salute omnium nostrum, jubens nos offerre memoriam pro sacrificio*[13]: "Christ offered up that marvellous sacrifice for our salvation, commanding us to offer a remembrance thereof instead of a sacrifice." So likewise saith St Hierome, although not altogether in like respect: *Pane et vino, puro et simplici sacrificio Christi dedicavit sacramentum*[14]: "He dedicated the sacrament of Christ in bread and wine, which is (not a bloody or loathsome, but) a pure and a simple sacrifice."

Unbloody Sacrifice.

Euseb. de Demonstr. Lib. i. θυσιαστήριον ἀναίμων καὶ λογικῶν θυσιῶν κατὰ τὰ καινὰ μυστήρια.

In eod. libro.

In eod. μνημήμην... ἡμῖν παραδοὺς ἀντὶ θυσίας... προσφέρειν.

This remembrance and oblation of praises and rendering of thanks unto God for our redemption in the blood of Christ is called of the old fathers "an unbloody sacrifice," and of St Augustine "the sacrifice of the new testament[15]."

Hieron. ad Evang. August. de Grat. Nov. Test. ad Honorat.

Justinus Martyr saith: *Esaias non pollicetur cruentarum victimarum instaurationem, sed veras et spirituales oblationes laudis et gratiarum actionis*[16]: "Esaias promiseth not the restoring of bloody sacrifices, but the true and spiritual oblations of praises and thanksgiving."

Just. Mart. in Dial. cum Tryph.

St Chrysostom saith: *Non jam sanguinem aut adipem offerimus, &c.*[17]: "We offer not now the fat or blood of beasts. All these things are abolished. And instead thereof there is brought in a reasonable or spiritual duty. But what is this duty that we call reasonable or spiritual? That it is that is offered by the soul and spirit."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Hom. 11.

This kind of sacrifice, because it is mere spiritual, and groweth only from the mind, therefore it needeth not any material altar of stone or timber to be made upon, as doth that sacrifice that M. Harding imagineth in his mass. Chrysostom saith: *Munus evangelii sine sanguine, sine fumo, sine altari, ceterisque sursum ascendit*[18]: "The sacrifice of the gospel ascendeth up without blood, without smoke, without altar, and other the like." In the second council of Nice it is written thus: *Nos Christiani propemodum quid sit ara, et quid sit victima, nescimus*[19]: "What sacrifice or altar meaneth, we, being christian people, in a manner cannot tell."

Chrysost. in Psal. xcv.

St Hierome saith: *Unusquisque sanctus altare Domini in se habet, quod est fides*[20]: "Every holy man hath in himself the altar of God, which is faith." To be short, St Augustine saith: *Sacrificium novi testamenti est, quando altaria cordis... nostri munda et pura in conspectu divinæ Majestatis offerimus*[21]: "The sacrifice of the new testament is when we offer up the altars of our hearts pure and clean in the sight of the divine Majesty." In these respects our prayers, our praises, our thanksgiving unto God for our salvation in the death of Christ, is called an unbloody sacrifice. Hereof the slenderness of M. Harding's guesses may soon appear. For thus he would seem to reason: The ministration of the holy communion, and our humble remembrance of the death of Christ, is called

Hieron. in Psal. xxvi.

August. de Temp. Serm. 125.

[11 Euseb. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. I. cap. vi. p. 20.]

[12 Id. ibid. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 40.]

[13 Id. ibid. p. 38.]

[14 Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. Tom. II. col. 571; where *simplici puroque sacrificio*, and *dedicaverit*.]

[15 ... ut ostenderet sacrificium novi testamenti ... Immola, inquit, Deo sacrificium laudis.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Grat. Nov. Test. Lib. ad Honorat. seu Epist. cxl. cap. xviii. 46. Tom. II. col. 439.]

[16 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 211.]

[17 ... οὐκέτι αἷμα καὶ κνίσσαν. πάντα ταῦτα λέλυται, καὶ ἀντεισενήνεκται ἀντὶ τούτων ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία. τί δέ ἐστιν ἡ λογικὴ λατρεία; τὰ διὰ ψυχῆς, τὰ διὰ πνεύματος.—Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. vi. Hom. xi. Tom. XII. p. 115.]

[18 Id. Hom. in Psalm. xcv. Tom. V. p. 630.]

[19 Leont. Episc. Neap. ex Quint. Serm. pro Christ. Apol. in Concil. Nic. II. Act. IV. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VII. col. 243.]

[20 Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. xxv. Tom. II. Append. col. 183.]

[21 The following is probably the passage meant: ... duplex a nobis sacrificium quærit Deus ... Tunc enim ordinem legitimum consecrationis altaris cum gaudio celebramus, quando altaria &c.—August. Op. Serm. ccxxx. 4. Tom. V. Append. col. 378. It is very doubtful whether this is really a sermon of Augustine's.]

Melchisedech. an unbloody sacrifice; *ergo*, the priest hath power to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

St Augustine hath many evident sayings touching this matter in his works. One shall suffice for all, which is in a little treatise he made contra Judæos, *uttered in these words:* Aperite oculos tandem aliquando, et videte ab oriente sole usque ad occidentem, non in uno [loco], ut vobis fuit constitutum, *Cap. ix.* sed in omni loco offerri sacrificium christianorum, non cuilibet deo, sed ei qui ista prædixit, Deo Israel[1]: "*Open your eyes at last, you Jews, and see that from the rising of the sun to the setting, not in one place, as it was appointed to you, but in every place the sacrifice of the christian people is offered, not to every god, but to him that prophesied of these things before, the God of Israel.*" *And even so with that protestation which St Augustine made to the Jews I end this tedious matter, consisting in manner altogether in allegations, to M. Jewel. Open you your eyes*[2] *at last, M. Jewel, and see how* (230) *all the holy and learned fathers that have preached the faith of Christ from the rising of the sun to the setting, have taught this doctrine, by word and writing left to the posterity, that they, which under Christ do use the office of a priest after the order of Melchisedech, have not only authority, but also express commandment to offer up Christ unto his Father.*

The two hundred and thirtieth untruth. For not one of all these fathers here alleged ever said that the priest hath either power or commandment to offer up the Son of God unto his Father.

The proof of which doctrine, although it depend of the weight of one place, yet I have thought good to fortify it with some number[3]*, that it may the better appear to be a most undoubted truth, not moved greatly with the blame of tediousness, where no thanks are sought, but only defence of the catholic religion is intended.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

St Augustine, as in these words he neither toucheth nor signifieth this new manner of offering up Christ unto his Father, so in sundry other places he openeth his own meaning plainly and fully touching the same. In his treaty against the Jews he writeth thus: *Sacerdotium Aaron jam nullum est in aliquo templo; at Christi sacerdotium ... æternum perseverat in cœlo*[4]: "The (bloody) priesthood of Aaron is now in no temple to be found; but the priesthood of Christ continueth still (not upon any earthly altar, but) in heaven." Again: "The priest offereth up the sacrifice of praise, not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedech[5]." *Ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in suæ passionis memoriam commendavit; et illud, quod Melchisedech obtulit Deo, jam per totum orbem terrarum... videmus offerri*[6]: "Christ hath left unto us a likeness or token of that sacrifice in remembrance of his passion; and the same that Melchisedech offered unto God we see is now offered throughout the whole world." *Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandam dedit*[7]: "Christ hath given us to celebrate in his church an image or token of that sacrifice, for the remembrance of his passion." *Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimas similitudinum promittebatur: in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur: post ascensionem Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur*[8]: "The flesh and blood of this sacrifice before the coming of Christ was promised by sacrifices of resemblance: the same was performed in deed in the time of Christ's passion; but after Christ's ascension it is frequented by a sacrament of remembrance." *Sacrificium hoc visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est*[9]:

August. adv. Jud. cap. i.

Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. i. cap. i. August. in Lib. lxxx. Quæst. Quæst. 61.

In ead. Quæst.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Sacrificium.

[1 Id. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VIII. col. 38; where *in occidentem*, and *sicut vobis erat*.]

[2 Open, open your eyes, H. A. 1564.]

[3 Some good number, H. A. 1564.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tractat. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 13. Tom. VIII. col. 39; where *Aaron sacerdotium*, and *et* for *at*.]

[5 Iste immolat Deo sacrificium laudis, non secundum ordinem Aaron, sed secundum ordinem Melchisedec. — Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. i. cap. xx. 39. Tom. VIII. col. 570.]

[6 Id. Lib. de Div. Quæst. Octog. Trib. Quæst. lxi. 2. Tom. VI. col. 34; where *ut illud*, and *videamus*.]

[7 Id. ibid. col. 35.]

[8 Id. Contr. Faust. Lib. xx. cap. xxi. Tom. VIII. col. 348; where *adscensum*.]

[9 Id. de Civ. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v. Tom. VII. col. 241; where *ergo* for *hoc*. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 32. col. 1925; where the reading is somewhat different.]

"This visible sacrifice is a sacrament, that is to say, a token or sign of the sacrifice invisible." *Quod appellamus sacrificium, signum est et repræsentatio sacrificii*[10]: "The thing that we call a sacrifice is a sign and representation of a sacrifice." August. de Civit. Dei, Lib. x. cap. v.

Thus many ways St Augustine himself teacheth us what he meant by this word "sacrifice," an oblation of praise, a similitude, a resemblance, a likeness, an image, a remembrance, a token, a sign, a representation of a sacrifice. So Nazianzene calleth it *τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον*[11], "the figure or token of the great mysteries." To conclude, St Hierome saith thus: *Tunc acceptabis sacrificium, ... vel cum te pro nobis offers Patri, vel [cum] a nobis laudes et gratiarum actiones accipis*[12]: "Then shalt thou receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest thyself[13] (upon thy cross) for us unto thy Father, or when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgiving." Nazianz. in Apolog. Hieron. in Psal. li.

Neither hath God appointed any certain order of outward priesthood to make this sacrifice. Every faithful christian man hath authority to offer up and to make the same. Howbeit, this I mean not of the ministration of the holy sacraments, which only pertaineth unto the minister, but only of the oblation and making of the[14] spiritual sacrifice. Thus much I say, lest any man either of malice take occasion or of ignorance be deceived. St Cyprian saith: *Omnes, qui a Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum sacrificium, ordinati a Deo sanctimoniæ sacerdotes*[15]: "All that of Christ be called Christians offer up unto God the daily sacrifice, being ordained of God priests of holiness." Origen saith: *Omnes, quicunque, &c.*[16]: "All that are bathed with the holy ointment are made priests; even as Peter saith unto the whole church, 'You are the chosen stock, and the kingly priesthood.'" St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ*[17] *passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis*[18]: "Every man offereth up the sacrifice of our Lord's passion for his own sins." St Ambrose saith: *Invicem exspectate, ... ut multorum oblatio simul celebretur*[19]: "Wait ye one for another, that the sacrifice of many may be offered together." St Chrysostom saith: *In mysteriis nihil differt sacerdos a subdito*[20]: "In the holy mysteries (the ministration only excepted) the priest differeth nothing from the people." Cyprian. de Unct. Chrism. Orig. in Levit. Hom. 9. 1 Pet. ii. August. in Expos. Inch. ad Rom. Ambros. in 1 Cor. cap. xi. Chrysost. in 2 Cor. Hom. 18.

It appeareth by these ancient learned fathers, that every christian man is bound to offer up the unbloody and daily sacrifice of the new testament, and that in as full and ample sort as is the priest. And therefore M. Harding himself saith even in the very canon of his mass: *Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum, ... et omnium circumstantium, ... pro quibus tibi offerimus, vel qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis*[21]: "Remember, O Lord, thy servants and all them that stand about, for whom we offer unto thee, or else which do offer unto thee this sacrifice of praises."

Out of St Augustine's words M. Harding in the end concludeth thus: Christ is a priest after the order of Melchisedech; *ergo*, the priest hath authority to offer up the Son of God in sacrifice unto his Father. It were hard to

---

[10] ... quoniam illud quod ab omnibus appellatur sacrificium, signum est veri sacrificii.—Id. ibid. col. 242.]

[11] Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 95. Tom. I. p. 56.]

[12] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psal. l. Tom. II. Append. col. 254; where *quum vel te*, and *accipis actiones*.]

[13] Theeself, 1565.]

[14] This, 1565, 1609.]

[15] ... ita et participes ejus quotquot sunt .. dicantur a Christo Christiani ... et offerant Deo &c.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48.]

[16] Omnes enim quicumque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt, sacerdotes effecti sunt, sicut et Petrus ad omnem dicit ecclesiam: Vos autem genus electum, et regale sacerdotium, gens sancta.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. ix. 9. Tom. II. p. 243.]

[17] Dominici, 1611.]

[18] ... holocausto Dominicæ passionis, quod eo tempore offert quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur, &c.—August. Op. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937.]

[19] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. I. cap. xi. v. 33. Tom. II. Append. col. 150.]

[20] Ἔστι δὲ ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου· οἷον, ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δέῃ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xviii. Tom. X. p. 568.]

[21] Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. fol. 156. 2.]

tell us how this antecedent and this consequent came together. No man hath authority thus to mince his logic but M. Harding.

Christ only is that priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech: he hath made an endless sacrifice: he himself hath offered up himself unto God his Father upon the cross. Therefore God the Father saith unto him:

Heb. vii. & ix. Psal. cx. "Thou art that priest for ever;" not any mortal creature or worldly[1] wight, but thou (only), being both God and man, art that priest for ever. St Paul

Heb. x. saith: "We are made perfit and sanctified by that one sacrifice once made

1 John ii. upon the cross." St John the evangelist saith: "He is the propitiation and

1 Pet. ii. sacrifice for our sins." St Peter saith: "He carried our sins in his body upon

2 Cor. v. the tree." St Paul saith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto him-

John i. self." Therefore St John the Baptist saith: "Behold that Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

If M. Harding and his fellows doubt hereof, as they seem to do, let Christ himself bear witness to the price of his own blood. Hanging upon the cross and yielding up the spirit, he sealed up all with these words: *Consummatum est:* that is to say: "This is the sacrifice for sin: hereby my Father's wrath is pacified: hereby all things are made perfit."

The[2] sacrifice is but one: we may look for none other. It is full and perfit: we may look for no better.

1 Pet. iii. St Peter saith: "Christ offereth us[3] unto God his Father." St Paul saith:

Heb. iv. "Through Christ we have access to the throne of glory." What then meaneth M. Harding thus to tell us, and to bear the world in hand, that contrariwise he hath authority to offer up Christ, and to present him before the throne of glory? Or how dareth he to desire God to receive his only-begotten Son into favour, and favourably and fatherly to look upon him at his request? For thus he biddeth his prayer even in his canon, even in the secretest and devoutest part of his mass: *Super quæ propitio ac sereno vultu, &c.*[4]: "Upon these things (that is to say, saith Gabriel Biel, upon the body and blood of Christ thy Son[5]), O Lord, look down with a merciful and a cheerful countenance, and receive the same (the body and blood of thy Son) as thou didst in old times receive the sacrifice of Abel and of Abraham" (which was a wether, or a calf, or some other like thing). Thus he not only taketh upon him to pray for Christ, but also compareth the sacrifice of the Son of God with the sacrifice of brute cattle. If he deny any part hereof, his own canon, his own mass-book will reprove him. If this be not blasphemy, what thing can be called blasphemy?

But God will answer such a blasphemous and rash sacrificer: I know my Son; in him my heart is pleased. But what art thou? Who bade thee thus to pray? Who required such sacrifice at thy hand?

O, M. Harding, God open the eyes of your heart, that you may see the miserable nakedness of your side! Deceive not yourself. Mock not the world. Consider better of your authorities. Of all the holy learned fathers, of whom ye tell us ye have such store, ye are not yet able to shew us one, either Greek or Latin, or heretic or catholic, from the rising of the sun to the sun going down, that ever said as you say: "A mortal man hath authority and power to offer up in sacrifice the Son of God."

Talk of your store when ye have tried it better. Thraso[6] will talk of that he hath not. And somewhat it may serve to fray the simple; but the wise will think it folly.

---

[1] Worty, 1611.]

[2] This, 1565, 1609.]

[3] Offereth up us, 1565.]

[4] Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. Can. Miss. fol. 159. See below, page 773, note 12.]

[5] ... [supra quæ] scilicet dona et data tibi in hoc sacrificio oblata, corpus scilicet et sanguinem Christi Filii tui, &c.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. lv. fol. 142. 2.]

[6] A character in the Eunuch of Terence.]

OF RECEIVING FOR OTHERS.

THE EIGHTEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that the priest had then authority to communicate and to receive the sacrament for others[7], as they do.

[OF THE PRIEST'S SAYING MASS FOR ANOTHER.—ARTICLE XVIII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

What you would say, M. Jewel, I wot not: what you say, I will not[8]. *Verily we do not communicate ne receive the sacrament for another. Neither hath it ever been taught in the catholic church, that the priest receive the sacrament for another.* (231) *We receive not the sacrament for another, no more than we receive the sacrament of baptism, or the sacrament of penance, or the sacrament of matrimony one for another. Indeed the priest saith mass for others, where he receiveth that he hath offered, and that is it you mean, I guess; in which mass, being the external sacrifice of the new testament, according unto Christ's institution, the thing that is offered is such as maketh our petitions and requests acceptable to God, as St Cyprian saith:* In hujus [(corporis)] præsentia non supervacue mendicant lacrymæ veniam[9]: "*In the presence of this body tears crave not forgiveness in vain.*"

The priest receiveth not the sacrament for another.

In Sermone de Cœna Domini.

The two hundred and thirty-first untruth. For in the church of Rome the priest receiveth for others, as it shall appear.

That the oblation of the mass is done for others than for the priest alone which celebrateth it, may sufficiently be proved by an hundred places of the fathers: the matters[10] *being undoubted, two or three may suffice. First, Chrysostom writeth thus in an homily upon the Acts:* Quid dicis? in manibus est hostia, et omnia proposita sunt bene ordinata: adsunt angeli, adsunt archangeli, adest Filius Dei, cum tanto horrore adstant omnes, adstant illi clamantes, omnibus silentibus; et putas simpliciter hæc fieri? Igitur et alia simpliciter, et quæ pro ecclesia, et quæ pro sacerdotibus offeruntur, et quæ pro plenitudine ac ubertate? absit. Sed omnia cum fide fiunt[11]: "*What sayest thou hereto? The host is in the priest's hands; and all things set forth are in due order. The angels be present, the archangels be present, the Son of God is present. Whereas all stand there with so great fear, whereas all they stand there crying out to God, and all other hold their peace, thinkest thou that*[12] *these things be done simply and without great cause? Why then be those other things done also simply, both the things which are offered for the church, for the priests, for*[13] *plenty and abundance? God forbid. But all things are done with faith.*"

In Acta, Hom. 21.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding of the printer's negligence hath taken good occasion to refresh himself out of season, and to play merrily with these two words, "for another." Which thing would rather become some other man than a doctor, professing such a countenance of gravity as do few others. It might[14] have

[7] For another, H. A. 1564.]

[8] Well I wot, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[9] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 43; where *supervacuæ*.]

[10] Matter, H. A. 1564.]

[11] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Act. Apost. Hom. xxi. Tom. IX. p. 176.]

[12] H. A. 1564, omits *that*.]

[13] H. A. 1564, omits *the church, for the priests, for*. They are supplied in H. A. 1565.]

[14] Mought, 1565.]

Presence. pleased him, without any great prejudice or hinderance of his cause, to allow us some simple ability of speaking English.

But God's judgments be just. He that will scorn shall be scorned. M. Harding, that is so learned, so circumspect, so curious, and maketh himself so merry with the error of one poor syllable committed only by the printer in my book, in the self-same place, and in the next side following, hath erred five syllables together in his own book; as it may easily appear by that his friend for shame hath restored and amended the same with his pen[1].

Fol. 172. b. line 19.

Howbeit, as he, so favourably bearing his own errors, is so witty to play with syllables, and so sharp and ready to carp others; so in this whole article, as poor apothecaries for want commonly use to do, he serveth out *quid pro quo*, and, instead of receiving the communion or sacrament for others, he sheweth us prayers, and sacrifices, and I know not what, and so allegeth one thing for another.

Whether the priest in the church of Rome have used to receive the sacrament for others or no, (which thing M. Harding now utterly denieth, and saith it was never used nor never meant,) in the end hereof, God willing, it shall appear.

"The thing that is offered," saith M. Harding, "maketh our prayers acceptable unto God." True it is, God accepteth and mercifully beholdeth both us and also our prayers[2], and our whole obedience, in Jesus Christ his Son, and for his only sake; not for that he is now or can be offered verily and really by the priest, but only for that he was once offered for all upon the cross. St Paul saith: "By Christ we have access to the throne of grace." Christ himself saith: "No man cometh to my Father but by me." Irenæus saith: "Christ (being in heaven) is our altar; and upon him we must offer up and lay our prayers[3]." And therefore in time[4] of the holy mysteries the deacon saith thus unto the people: "Lift up your hearts."

Heb. iv. John xiv. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

But St Cyprian saith: "*In hujus* [*corporis*] *præsentia*[5]: "In the presence of this body." Howbeit, St Cyprian saith not, In the local presence of this body: for such presence M. Harding himself hath already refused. He meaneth only the presence of faith, and the virtue and power of Christ's body. And in this sense St Augustine saith: *Rerum absentium præsens est fides; et rerum, quæ foris sunt, intus est fides*[6]: "Of things that be absent faith is present: of things that be without faith is within." Again he saith: *Accedamus ad Jesum, non carne, sed corde; non corporis præsentia, sed fidei potentia*[7]: "Let us approach unto Jesus, not with our flesh, but with our heart; not with presence of body, but with power of faith." Likewise again: *Habes Christum ... in præsenti, et in futuro: in præsenti per fidem; in præsenti per signum; in præsenti per baptismatis sacramentum; in præsenti per altaris cibum et potum*[8]: "Thou hast Christ both in the time present and also in the time to come: in the time present by faith; in the time present by the sign (of the cross in thy forehead); in the time present by the sacrament of baptism; in the time present by the meat and drink of the altar (or communion-table)." St Hierome, writing the epitaph of Paula unto Eustochium, saith thus: *Paula ingressa in stabulum, me audiente, jurabat cernere* [*se*] *oculis fidei infantem pannis involutum,* [*et*] *vagientem in præsepi Dominum*[9]: "Paula, entering into the stable (at Bethlehem), affirmed with an oath, in my hearing, that with the eyes of her faith she saw (Christ, as) an infant in his swathing-clouts, and the Lord crying in the manger like a child." So mighty is the power of faith. That virtuous lady Paula saw by faith that indeed she saw not. She saw Christ

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

August. de Trin. Lib. iii.

August. adv. Jud. cap. i.

August. in Johan. Tract. 51.

Hieron. ad Eustoch. de Epitaph. Paul.

---

[1] See the preceding page, note 13.]

[2] Also all our prayers, 1565, 1609.]

[3] Est ergo altare in cœlis; illic enim preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 6. p. 252.]

[4] In the time, 1565.]

[5] Cypr. Op. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 43.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Trin. Lib. xiii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 928.]

[7] There appears to be an error in the reference given; as the words quoted do not appear in the Tractat. adv. Jud. They may be found, however, Contr. Faust. Lib. xxxiii. cap. viii. Tom. VIII. col. 468; where *accedant.*]

[8] Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. I. 12. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 633.]

[9] Atque in Bethleem ingressa...postquam vidit ...stabulum...me, &c.—Hieron. Op. 1693-1706. Ad Eustoch. Epist. lxxxvi. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 674.]

as an infant in his swathing-clouts; and yet then Christ was neither infant, nor swathed in clouts, nor in corporal presence indeed and verily present there. Therefore St Augustine saith: *Absentia Domini non est absens. Habe fidem, et tecum est, quem non vides*[10]: "The absence of our Lord is not absent. Have faith; and he whom thou seest not is present with thee." Likewise St Ambrose saith: "St Stephen, standing in the earth, toucheth the Lord being in heaven[11]." Ambros. Serm. 58. De Magd.

Presence.

Thus saith St Cyprian: "Christ's body is present at the holy communion, not by any corporal or real presence, but by the effectual working and force of faith." In like sort Eusebius Emissenus saith: *Ut perennis illa victima viveret in memoria, et semper præsens esset in gratia*[12]: "That that everlasting sacrifice might live in our remembrance, and evermore be present in grace." He saith not, that the sacrifice of Christ's body should be present locally, really, verily, or indeed, but in remembrance and in grace. Germanus hereof writeth thus: *Non amplius super terram sumus; sed in throno Dei regi assistimus in cœlis, ubi Christus est*[13]: "We are no longer upon the earth; but we are assistant unto the king in the throne of God in heaven, where Christ is." For that Lamb's sake, whom we thus see and thus have present, whatsoever we pray, our tears beg not in vain. For he is our Advocate and Mediator, and evermore maketh intercession for us. Whatsoever we desire the Father in his name, shall be done unto us.

De Conseer. Dist. ii. Quia corpus.

Germanus in Rer. Eccles. Theor.

1 John ii. Rom. viii. Heb. vii. John xvi.

Thus "the angels and archangels," as Chrysostom by way of amplification saith, "lifting up, and shewing forth, and presenting unto God in heaven that body of Christ, make their prayers for mankind, and thus they say: For them we pray, O Lord, whom thou lovedst so tenderly, that for their salvation it pleased thee to suffer death, and to yield thy soul upon the cross: for them we pray, for whom thou hast given thy blood, and offered up this body[14]."

Chrysost. de Incomp. Dei Nat. Hom. 3.

This certainly is the meaning of Chrysostom's words. And therefore he saith again: "Whether we pray for the church, or for the ministers, or for the increase of the earth, our prayers are acceptable unto God only in Christ and for his sake[15]."

Touching that he writeth further of the presence and assistance of angels and heavenly powers, it is the ordinary manner and course of Chrysostom's eloquence, and serveth him both to beautify the matter, and also to stir up and inflame the hearers' minds; and that not only in the time of the holy mysteries, but also at all other holy assemblies and public prayers. For thus he saith unto the people: *Angeli sunt ubique, et maxime in domo Dei adsunt regi, et omnia plena sunt incorporeis illis virtutibus*[16]: "The angels of God are every where, but specially in the house of God. They are assistant unto the king; and all places are full of spiritual powers." In like manner of amplification he saith: "The martyrs are here present in the church. If thou wilt see them, open the eyes of thy faith, and thou shalt see a great company[17]."

Chrysost. Hom. 15. ad Heb.

Chrysost. in Hom. de Ascens.

So saith St Basil: "The angels of God are present amongst us, and mark and register them that keep their fast[18]." So saith Tertullian: "Let no man

Basil. de Jejun. Hom. 2.

Tertull. de Baptism.

[10 August. Op. Serm. ccxxxv. In Dieb. Pasch. vi. 3. Tom. V. col. 999; where *non est absentia*, and *habeto*.]

[11 Stephanus in terris positus Christum tangit in cœlo.—Maxim. Taur. Hom. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Sep. Dom. et de Mar. Magdal. Hom. iv. col. 612. See before, page 499, note 10.]

[12 Euseb. Emiss. in Corp. Jur. Can. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 35. col. 1927; where *et perennis victima illa*.]

[13 German. Constant. Rer. Eccles. Contempl. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. XIII. p. 225.]

[14 ... οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τότε ἀντὶ κλάδων ἐλαΐων αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ δεσποτικὸν προτείνόμενοι, τὸν Δεσπότην παρακαλοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως, μονονουχὶ λέγοντες, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τούτων δεόμεθα, οὓς αὐτὸς φθάσας οὕτως ἀγαπῆσαι κατηξίωσας, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπιδοῦναι τὴν σεαυτοῦ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐκχέομεν τὰς ἱκετηρίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς τὸ αἷμα ἐξέχεας, ὑπὲρ τούτων παρακαλοῦμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο κατέθυσας.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Incomp. Dei Nat. Hom. iii. Tom. I. p. 470.]

[15 The passage referred to is that quoted in p. 739.]

[16 Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xv. Tom. XII. p. 156.]

[17 Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀγγελοι πάρεισιν, ἀγγέλων καὶ μαρτύρων ἡ σύνοδος γέγονε σήμερον. καὶ εἰ βούλει ἰδεῖν καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἀγγέλους, ἀνοιξον τῆς πίστεως τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ὄψει τὸ θέατρον ἐκεῖνο.—Id. In Ascens. Dom. Hom. Tom. II. p. 448.]

[18 Ἄγγελοί εἰσιν οἱ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἀπογραφόμενοι τοὺς νηστεύοντας.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. De Jejun. Hom. ii. Tom. II. p. 11.]

be hard to believe that the holy angel of God is present, and tempereth the water to the salvation of man[1]."

This is it that Chrysostom meaneth by his vehement exornation of the presence of angels.

And whereas M. Harding saith he hath passed over an[2] hundred authorities and more that might be alleged to like purpose, this is one of his accustomed colours, and an artificial shift of his rhetoric. Verily, hitherto he hath not found one authority to prove that thing that is in question.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

St Ambrose, in his funeral oration of the death[3] *of Valentinian the emperor, calling the sacrament of the altar the holy and heavenly mysteries and the oblation of our mother (by which term he understandeth the church), saith that he will prosecute the holy*[4] *soul of that emperor with the same*[5]. *This father, writing upon the 38th Psalm, exhorteth priests to follow Christ, that, as he offered for us his blood, so priests offer sacrifice for the people. His words be these:* Vidimus Principem sacerdotum, &c.[6]: "*We have seen the Prince of priests coming unto us: we have seen and heard him offering for us his blood. Let us that be priests follow as we can, so as we offer sacrifice for the people, though weak in merit, yet honourable for the sacrifice,*" &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This objection is easily answered. St Ambrose saith that in the congregation, and in the time of the holy mysteries, he would offer up unto God praises and thanksgiving for that godly emperor Valentinian. But he saith not that he would offer Christ the Son of God unto God his Father, or receive the sacrament for the emperor. Therefore M. Harding might well have passed this authority over among the rest.

Neither did St Ambrose think that the emperor Valentinian was in purgatory, whereas M. Harding imagineth he might be relieved; but contrariwise he presumeth him undoubtedly to be in heaven. For thus he writeth of him: *Quænam est hæc anima, &c.*[7]: "What is this soul that looketh forth as the day-star, beautiful as the moon, chosen as the sun? O blessed soul, thou lookest down from above upon us, being here beneath: thou hast escaped the darkness of this world: thou art as bright as the moon: thou shinest as the sun." Further he saith: *Cum fratre conjunctus æternæ vitæ fruitur voluptate. Beati ambo*[8]: "Being now with his brother, he enjoyeth the pleasure of everlasting life. Blessed are they both." Therefore the sacrifice that St Ambrose made was not a propitiatory, or satisfactory, or other like mass, whereby M. Harding thinketh himself able to bail souls out of purgatory; but only a sacrifice of thanksgiving for that godly emperor, being now in heaven.

Ambros. de Obit. Valent. Imper.

The other place of St Ambrose, as it nothing toucheth this question, so it is already answered fully and at large, Artic. VI, Divis. 7, and Artic. XVII, Divis. 12.

---

[1] Ne quis durius credat angelum Dei sanctum aquis in salutem hominis temperandis adesse.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 5. p. 258.]

[2] A, 1565, 1609.]

[3] Made of the death, H. A. 1564.]

[4] Godly, H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565 has *holy*.]

[5] Date manibus sancta mysteria, pio requiem ejus poscamus affectu. Date sacramenta cœlestia, animam nepotis nostris [*al.* animam piam matris] oblationibus prosequamur. Extollite populi mecum manus in sancta, ut eo saltem munere vicem ejus meritis rependamus.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Obit. Valent. Consol. 56. Tom. II. col. 1189.]

[6] Id. in Psalm. xxxviii. Enarr. 25. Tom. I. col. 853. See before, page 490, note 5, and page 729, note 12.]

[7] Quænam est hæc prospiciens sicut diluculum, speciosa ut luna, electa ut sol?...Prospicis nos igitur, sancta anima, de loco superiore, tamquam inferiora respiciens. Existi de tenebris istius seculi, et ut luna resplendes, ut sol refulges.—Id. De Obit. Valent. Consol. 64. Tom. II. cols. 1190, 1.]

[8] Id. ibid. 77, 8. col. 1194.]

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

That the oblation of the mass is profitably made for others, St Gregory witnesseth very plainly, homilia 37, *expounding the place of St Luke, cap. xiv.:* Alioqui...legationem mittens, ea quæ pacis sunt postulat: "*Else he sendeth forth an ambassade, and sueth for peace.*" *Hereupon he saith thus:* Mittamus ad Dominum... legationem nostram, flendo[9]...sacras hostias offerendo. Singulariter namque ad absolutionem nostram, oblata cum lacrymis et benignitate mentis, sacri[10] altaris hostia suffragatur[11]: "*Let us send to our Lord our ambassade, with weeping, giving alms*[12]*, and offering of holy hosts. For the host of the holy altar (that is, the blessed sacrament) offered with tears, and with the merciful bounty of our mind, helpeth us singularly to be assoiled.*" *In that homily he sheweth that the oblation of Christ's body in this sacrament present, which is done in the mass, is help and comfort not only to them that be present, but also to them that be absent, both quick and dead, which he proveth by example*[13] *of his own knowledge.*

Whoso listeth to see antiquity for proof hereof, and that in the apostles' time bishops and priests in the dreadful sacrifice offered and prayed for others, as for every state and order of men, and also for wholesomeness of the air, and for fertility of the fruits of the earth, &c., let him read the eighth book of the Constitutions of the Apostles set forth by Clement[14].

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Prayer for the dead is none of those articles that M. Harding hath taken in hand to prove. And therefore, as his manner is, he sheweth us one thing for another. This kind of prayer, although it be mere superstitious, and utterly without warrant of God's word, yet I confess it was many wheres received and used, both in Gregory's time and also long before, and is avouched of Gregory by a number of vain and childish fables. Touching the sacrifice of the holy communion he saith: "In this mystery Christ suffereth again for our sake: in this mystery Christ dieth: we offer up the sacrifice of his passion: we renew again his passion unto ourselves[15]." As Christ suffereth and dieth, and as his passion and death is renewed in the holy communion; even so is he offered and sacrificed in the same, that is to say, as Gregory expoundeth himself, by representation and by memory, and not verily, really, or indeed.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit. Iterum in hoc mysterio moritur. Gregor. in Evang. Hom. 37.

Touching the matter itself that standeth in question, Gregory saith not, neither here nor elsewhere, either that the priest receiveth the communion for the rest of his parish, or that one man's receiving is available for another.

The sacrifice that he nameth is no more the sacrifice of the priest than the sacrifice of any other of all the people. For thus he writeth in the same fable: *Toties mariti vincula solvebantur in captivitate, quoties ab ejus conjuge oblatæ fuissent hostiæ pro ejus animæ absolutione*[16]: "The husband being taken prisoner had his gyves loosed from him as often as his wife offered up sacrifice for his soul."

Gregor. in Evang. Hom. 37.

The words of this supposed Clement, by whom M. Harding would seem to claim a shew of great antiquity, nothing touch the thing that is demanded. For thus only he saith: *Offerimus tibi, Regi et Deo, &c.*[17]: "We offer up unto thee, our

---

[9] Flendo, tribuendo, sacras, H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565 omits *tribuendo*.]

[10] Sacris, 1609, 1611.]

[11] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. In Evang. Lib. II. Hom. xxxvii. 6, 7. Tom. I. cols. 1630, 1; where *alioquin, rogat ea quæ pacis sunt*, and *mittamus ad hunc*.]

[12] Almose, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[13] Examples, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[14] Constit. Apost. Lib. VIII. capp. xii. xv. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. cols. 482, 6.]

[15] ... quia is qui in se resurgens a mortuis jam non moritur, adhuc per hanc in suo mysterio pro nobis iterum patitur. Nam quoties ei hostiam suæ passionis offerimus, toties nobis ad absolutionem nostram passionem illius reparamus.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. In Evang. Lib. II. Hom. xxxvii. 7. col. 1631. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953.]

[16] Id. ibid. 8. ibid.; where *cujus toties vincula*, and *animæ ejus*.]

[17] ...προσφέρομέν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι ὅτι' αὐτοῦ.—Const.

God and King, according to Christ's institution, this bread and this cup, by him rendering thanks unto thee." And, lest M. Harding happen to say this sacrifice was propitiatory to relieve the souls that were in purgatory, this Clemens saith further: *Offerimus tibi pro omnibus, qui a seculis tibi placuerunt, sanctis, patriarchis, prophetis, justis, apostolis, martyribus*[1]: "We offer unto thee for all holy saints that have been from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, and martyrs." I trow, M. Harding will not say all these were in purgatory.

Clem. Apost. Const. Lib. viii.

And touching the receiving of the communion he saith thus: *Postea recipiat episcopus, &c.*[2]: "Then let the bishop receive, and after him the priests, the deacons, the subdeacons, the readers, the singers, the religious, the women deacons, the virgins, the widows, the children, and the whole congregation in order, with sobriety and reverence without confusion." By this record of this Clemens it appeareth that the whole congregation received the holy communion all together, each man for himself, and not one man for another.

Now, whereas M. Harding utterly denieth that ever any man in his church received the sacrament instead of others, as somewhat misliking the open folly of the same, for short trial hereof I remit him both to the very practice of his mass, and also to the most catholic doctors of all his school.

In his *requiem* he singeth thus: *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi sumitur, &c.*[3]: "For whose remembrance the body of Christ is received." If he can happily devise some veil to shadow this, yet his doctors be both so plain that they cannot be shifted, and also of so good credit that they may not be refused. Certainly they have been evermore thought to teach the catholic doctrine of the church. Gabriel Biel saith thus: *Sicut os materialis corporis, &c.*[4]: "As the mouth of our material body not only eateth for itself, but also receiveth sustenance for the preservation of all other members, which sustenance is divided throughout the whole body; even so the priest receiveth the sacrament, and the virtue thereof passeth into all the members of the church, and specially into them that are present at the mass." Likewise saith Vincentius de Valentia: "The whole Christianity is one body knit together by faith and charity and having in it sundry members; and the priest is the mouth of this body. Therefore when the priest receiveth the sacrament, all the members are refreshed[5]." Again he saith: [*Nos*] *communicamus ore sacerdotis, audiendo missam*[6]: "We hearing mass do communicate or receive the sacrament by the mouth of the priest." Likewise Doctor Eckius saith: *Populus bibit spiritualiter per os sacerdotis*[7]: "The people drinketh spiritually by the mouth of the priest." These words be plain, and truly reported. Which being true, it must needs appear that M. Harding's avouching the contrary is untrue.

Biel. Lect. 81.

In Serm. 2. de Epiph.

Eck. de Utraq. Spec.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 40.

So Chrysostom saith, the old heretics called *Marcionitæ* used to baptize some that were living in the behalf and stead of others that were dead[8]. And from thence it seemeth they that now would be counted catholics have derived their doctrine in this point. And that M. Harding may the rather believe that such folly hath been used, let him remember that in his church the bishop, when he createth a reader, giveth him evermore this commission: *Accipe potestatem*

Apost. Lib. VIII. cap xii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 482.]

[1 Id. ibid.]

[2 ... *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μεταλαμβανέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ οἱ ἀναγνῶσται, καὶ οἱ ψάλται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταὶ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι, καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, καὶ αἱ χῆραι· εἶτα τὰ παιδία, καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἄνευ θορύβου.*—Id. ibid. cap. xiii. col. 483.]

[3 Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555, Miss. pro Defunct. fol. 141. 2.]

[4 Sicut os materialis corporis comedit, non solum pro se, sed pro salute omnium membrorum sumit cibum; qui per totum corpus diffunditur et membris singulis incorporatur, ut salvetur in sua subsistentia naturali: sic sacerdos sumit sacramentum, cujus virtus transit in omnia ecclesiæ membra hujus cibi spiritualiter susceptiva, et singulariter in eos qui missæ intersunt officio.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. lxxxi. fol. 238.]

[5 Tota christianitas est unum corpus fide et caritate conjunctum, habens multa membra. Sacerdos est os hujus corporis. Cum ergo sacerdos communicat, omnia membra reficiuntur.—Vincent. Serm. Hyemal. Antv. 1572. In Epiph. Dom. Serm. ii. p. 203.]

[6 Id. ibid.; where *sacerdotum.*]

[7 Joh. Eck. Enchir. Loc. Com. Col. 1532. cap. x. fol. E. 5. 2. See before, page 213, note 7.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 378.]

legendi evangelium...tam pro vivis, quam pro defunctis[3]: "Receive thou power to read the gospel, as well for the quick as for the dead." Therefore M. Harding, so earnestly denying this, denieth the manifest and known truth, and defaceth the credit of his own doctors.

To conclude, I may well say as before, that M. Harding, having nothing to allege touching the matter that lieth between us, and instead thereof filling up his papers with matters impertinent, of prayer and sacrifice, hath somewhat abused the patience of his reader, and shewed him one thing for another.

[3 Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Ord. Diac. p. 39; where *accipite.*]

OF APPLICATION.

THE NINETEENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that the priest had then authority to apply the virtue of Christ's death and passion to any man by mean[1] of the mass.

[OF THE APPLICATION OF THE BENEFITS OF CHRIST'S DEATH TO OTHERS BY MEAN OF PRAYER IN THE MASS.—Article XIX. H.A. 1564.]

M. HARDING.

The virtue of Christ's death and passion is grace and remission of sins, the appeasing of God's wrath, the reconciliation of us to God, deliverance from the devil, hell, and everlasting damnation. Our adversaries, imputing to us as though we said and taught that the priest applieth this virtue, effect, and merit of Christ's death to any man by the mean of the mass, either (232) *belie us of ignorance, or slander us of malice. Verily we say not so. Neither doth the priest apply the virtue of Christ's passion to any man by the mean of the mass. He doth but apply his prayer and his intent of oblation, beseeching almighty God to apply the merit and virtue of his Son's death (the memory whereof he celebrateth at the mass) to them for whom he prayeth.*

The two hundred and thirty-second untruth. For in the church of Rome the priest presumeth to apply the merits of Christ by mean of his mass, as shall appear.

What applieth the priest unto us in the mass.

It is God, and none other, that applieth to us remission of sin: the priest doth but pray for it, and, by the commemoration of his Son's death, moveth him to apply: so as all that the priest doth is but by way of petition and prayer, leaving all power and authority of applying to God; which prayer is to be believed to be of most force and efficacy when it is worthily and devoutly made in the mass, in the which the priest beareth the person of the whole church, and offereth his prayer in the sacrifice, wherein the church offereth Christ, and itself through Christ to God. Which his (233) *prayer and devout service he beseecheth to be offered up by the hands of angels unto the high altar of God, in the sight of the divine Majesty. Of what strength prayer made at the mass is, the holy bishop and martyr St Cyprian witnesseth* (that in all his books never once named the mass) *where he saith: "In the presence of this sacrament tears crave not in vain, and the sacrifice of a contrite heart is never denied his request[2]."*

The two hundred and thirty-third untruth. For the priest prayeth that the body of Christ may be carried up by the hands of angels.

Sermon. De Cœna Dom.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Neither have we of ignorance belied M. Harding's doctrine, nor have we of malice slandered it, but plainly and truly have reported the same; even as both he and his late doctors have taught it, and as the people in the church of Rome hath every where received it at their hands.

1 Sam. vi. But like as in old times God commanded the Philistines to offer up golden mice and golden hæmoroids, to be kept for ever in record, and to witness against them in what sort they had been plagued for their wickedness, if at any time they should happen afterward to deny it; even so hath God specially provided that the monuments of our adversaries' old errors, whereof they seem now to be ashamed, should still remain in sure record, even in their own doctors' books, to

[1] By the mean, H. A. 1564.]

[2] In hujus præsentia non supervacuæ mendicant lacrymæ veniam, nec unquam patitur contriti cordis holocaustum repulsam.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 43.]

witness against them if they should happen, as now, upon mislike, utterly to disclaim and deny the same, and to force them to confess that they are the children of them that have deceived the people.

For, whereas M. Harding, amongst many other words wherewith he laboureth to shadow and to darken the case, saith, "It is God only, and none other, that applieth unto us the death of Christ and the remission of our sins;" Johannes Scotus, one of his most famous and most catholic doctors, saith plainly the contrary: *Non solus Deus distribuit virtutem sacrificii, sed sacerdos quoque*[3]: "Not only God distributeth or applieth the virtue of the sacrifice, but the priest also." Quodlib. Quæst. 20. And Gabriel Biel, another of M. Harding's doctors, in like sort saith: "The force and effect of the sacrifice is distributed and applied, not only by God, but also by the priest[4]." "Only" and "not only" imply a contradiction: if the one be true, the other of necessity must be false. Again Biel saith: *Sacerdotis est determinare virtutem sacrificii, ut his vel illis indigentibus præmium reddendum per hujusmodi ecclesiæ sacrificia conferatur*[5]: "It is the priest's office to determine and limit the virtue of the sacrifice, that the meed that is given by such sacrifices of the church may be applied to these or them that stand in need." Biel. Lect. 26. Biel. in ead. Lect. Which thing he proveth by sufficient example in this wise: "As the pope, by right of his supremacy, hath power to divide the treasure of the church (whereby he meaneth his pardons), giving unto some full remission of all their sins, and dispensing with some other for the third part of their pains, and granting unto some pardon for certain[6] number of days or years, as he seeth it may be most expedient for the devotion of the people; even so," saith he, "may the priest dispense and divide the merits of the church, and apply the same to this man or that man, as he shall think it may stand him in some stead[7]." Ut illi vel illi possit applicare.

In *Summa Angelica* it is written thus: "The mass is available unto them unto whomsoever it pleaseth the priest to apply it by his intention[8]." And again: *Missa respectu operis operati, &c.*[9]: "The mass, in respect of the work that is wrought, is nothing else but the applying of the merits[10] of Christ's passion." Sum. Angel. in Miss.

So Vincentius de Valentia, a notable catholic schoolman of M. Harding's side: *Virgo Maria solum semel aperuit cœlum, &c.*[11]: "The virgin Mary never but once opened heaven; but the priest openeth it every day and at every mass." Doctor Holcot saith: *Quid est celebrare missam principaliter pro aliquo? R. Est applicare missam Johanni, quod sit quædam satisfactio apud Deum pro anima Johannis, si indigeat*[12]: "What is it to say mass principally for any man?" He answereth: "It is the applying of the mass unto John, to be a certain satisfaction for him before God, if John stand in need of it." And withal he moveth a great doubt, whether the priest may apply one mass to two several men, and nevertheless satisfy for them both[13]. Vinc. de Valent. in 1 Serm. de Corp. Christ. Holcot. in iv. Sent. Quæst. 3. In ead. Quæst.

And Biel saith that certain, the better to help the priest's memory, taught him to apply his mass throughout all the cases of declension; as for example, *nominativo*, "a mass for himself;" *genitivo*, "a mass for his father and mother;" *dativo*, Biel. Lect. 26.

---

[3] ... quod bonum ibi virtute sacrificii communicandum, non solum Deus distribuat, sed aliquis minister in ecclesia.—Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. Quodlib. Quæst. xx. Art. ii. Tom. XII. p. 524.]

[4] ...bonum in virtute sacrificii communicandum non solus Deus distribuat: sed aliquis minister in ecclesia.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxvi. fol. 49.]

[5] ...etiam ipsius est virtutem sacrificii et oblationis determinare: ut illis vel illis indigentibus præmium reddendum pro hujusmodi ecclesiæ sacrificio conferatur.—Id. ibid.]

[6] For a certain, 1565.]

[7] Unde sicut papa ratione supremitatis potestatem habet dispensandi thesaurum ecclesiæ, conferendo nunc plenissimam remissionem peccatorum, nunc partem tertiam pœnarum auferendo, nunc certi numeri dierum vel annorum indulgentiam conferendo secundum quod viderit ecclesiæ unitati et populorum devotioni expedire ... ita et in proposito recipit quilibet sacerdos potestatem ex ritu et institutione ecclesiæ; ut merita totius ecclesiæ illi vel illi possit applicare, ut pro ipsis illis aliquod bonum conferatur.—Id. ibid. fol. 49. 2.]

[8] ... valet specialiter si sunt in statu gratiæ illis qui faciunt eam dicere pro se; vel quibus prædicti vel sacerdos per intentionem applicant.—Clavas. Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Missa 52. fol. 208. 2.]

[9] ... missa respectu operis operati nihil aliud est quam applicatio meriti passionis Christi.—Id. ibid.]

[10] Merit, 1565, 1609.]

[11] Vincent. Sermon. Æstiv. Antv. 1572. In Fest. Corp. Christ. Serm. i. p. 322. This author proceeds: sed sacerdos quolibet die, et in qualibet missa.]

[12] ...expono quid voco missam celebrare principaliter pro aliquo. et videtur mihi quod celebrare principaliter est applicare, &c.—R. Holkot sup. Quat. Libr. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. IV. Quæst. iii. fol. n.]

[13] Id. ibid. foll. m. viii. n.]

"a mass for his founders or benefactors;" *accusativo*, "a mass for his enemies or accusers;" *vocativo*, "a mass for sinners and infidels;" *ablativo*, "a mass for his backbiters and slanderers[1]."

Of these things M. Harding seemeth now to be ashamed, notwithstanding it were of late the catholic and general doctrine of his church, universally taught by Holcot in England, by Vincentius in Spain, by Biel in France, by Angelus in Italy, or rather by all these and all others through the whole church of Rome. Hereof grew such merchandise and sale of masses, that the house of God was become a den of thieves.

Therefore M. Harding, having no other defence for all these follies, but only to cast off all that can be said of our side as malicious and ignorant surmises, sheweth himself little to have considered the state of his own church, and in the impatience of his heats to speak against us what him liketh, and so to spice his error both with ignorance and with malice.

But for resolution hereof, and some short satisfaction of the reader, it behoveth us to understand that it is not the priest, but God only it is, that applieth unto each man the remission of his sins in the blood of Christ; not by mean of the mass, but only by the mean of faith. St John saith: "He that believeth in the Son of God hath a witness in himself." St Augustine saith: *Holocaustum dominicæ passionis... eo tempore offert [unus]quisque pro peccatis suis, quo ejusdem passionis fide dedicatur*[2]: "Then doth every man offer the sacrifice of Christ's passion for himself, when he is dedicated in the faith of Christ's passion." So saith the old learned father Origen: *Siclo sancto comparandus est nobis Christus, &c.*[3]: "With the holy sicle we must buy Christ, that may put away our sins. The holy sicle beareth the form of our faith. For, if thou bring faith as the price, thou shalt receive the remission of thy sins." Likewise again he saith: *Christus factus est hostia et propitiatio pro peccatis. Quæ propitiatio ad unumquemque venit per viam fidei*[4]: "Christ is made the sacrifice and propitiation for sin. Which propitiation cometh (or is applied) to each man (not by the mass, but) by the way of faith."

1 John v.

August. in Expos. Inch. ad Rom.

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 2.

Orig. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. iii. cap. iii.

This is the most certain and undoubted application of the merits and death of Christ. St Paul saith: "God hath set Christ to be our reconciler through faith by the mediation of his blood."

[1 Unde quidam ex ordine sex casuum grammaticalis declinationis nominum, quasi magis celebranti noto, ordinem memorandorum tradiderunt: ut a nominativo sive a recto qui primus est casuum. i. a seipso sacerdos a quo ordinata caritas incipit vivorum memoriam exordiatur. Secundo genitivi. i. pro genitorum parentum ac propinquorum carnalium et spiritualium subdat memoriam. Tertio dativi. i. fundatorum patronorum offerentium ac benefactorum a quibus temporalia receperunt. Quarto accusativi. i. inimicorum: nam accusativus ex vocabuli interpretatione casus est adversariorum ... Quinto vocativi. i. errantium infidelium et peccatorum... Sexto ablativi. i. eorum quibus bona animæ, corporis, aut famæ abstulimus, occasionem damni spiritualis aut temporalis dedimus.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxvi. fol. 51.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Epist. ad Rom. Expos. Inch. 19. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 937. See before, page 737, note 18.]

[3 Siclo igitur sancto comparandus nobis est Christus, qui peccata nostra dissolvat. Siclus sanctus fidei nostræ formam tenet. Si enim fidem obtuleris tanquam pretium...remissionem accipies peccatorum. — Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. iii. 8. Tom. II. p. 198.]

[4 Secundum hoc ergo quod hostia est, profusione sanguinis sui propitiatio efficitur in eo quod dat remissionem præcedentium delictorum: quæ tamen propitiatio ad unumquemque credentium per viam fidei venit.—Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. III. cap. iii. 8. Tom. IV. p. 515.]

OF OPUS OPERATUM.

THE TWENTIETH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that it was then thought a sound doctrine to teach the people that the mass, *ex opere operato*, that is, even for that it is said and done, is able to remove any part of our sins[5].

[OF OPUS OPERATUM, WHAT IT IS, AND WHETHER IT REMOVE SIN.—ARTICLE XX. H.A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Indeed the doctrine uttered in this article is false, and derogatory to the glory of our Saviour Christ. For thereby the honour of Christ's sacrifice, whereby he hath once satisfied for the sins of all, should be transferred to the work of the priest, which were great wickedness and detestable blasphemy. And therefore we will not require M. Jewel to yield and subscribe unto this article. For we grant this was never thought a sound doctrine within six hundred years of Christ's ascension, nor shall be so thought within six thousand years after the same, of any man of sound belief. (234) *Neither hath it been at any time taught in the catholic church, howsoever it liketh our adversaries to charge the scholastical doctors with the slanderous report of the contrary. For it is Christ only, and none other thing, that is able to remove our sins; and that hath he done by the sacrifice of his body once done upon the cross. Of which sacrifice, once performed upon the cross with shedding of his blood, this unbloody sacrifice of the altar, which is the daily sacrifice of the church, commonly called the mass, is a sampler and a commemoration,* (235) *in the which we have the same body that hanged on the cross.* [*Neither is it a sampler or commemoration only, but the self-same sacrifice which was offered on the cross: a sampler or commemoration in respect of the manner, for that it is done without blood-shedding; the self-same, for that the thing which is offered is the same that was offered on the cross.*][6] *And whereas we have nothing of ourselves that we may offer up acceptable to God, we offer this his Son's body as a most acceptable sacrifice, beseeching him to look not upon our worthiness, our act or work, but upon the face of Christ his dear*[9] *Son, and for his sake to have mercy upon us.*

The two hundred and thirty-fourth untruth. For it hath been so taught and so used, as it shall appear.

The two hundred and thirty-fifth untruth. For Chrysostom saith: "In [vasis sacris]...non ...verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur." In Op. Imperf. Hom. 11.[8]

Psal. lxxxiv.[7]

How the mass is vailable ex opere operato.

And in this respect we doubt not this blessed sacrifice of the mass to be vailable and effectual ex opere operato, *that is, not as M. Jewel interpreteth, for that the mass is said and done, referring* opus operatum *to the act of the priest, not so; but for the work wrought itself, which God himself worketh by the ministry of the priest, without respect had to his merit or act, which is the body and blood of Christ,* [*whose breaking and shedding is in this mystical sacrifice, so far as the Holy Ghost hath thought expedient for man's behoof, represented, shewed, and recommended to memory.*][6] *Which* [*body and blood*][6]*, when it is* (236) *according to his commandment offered up to God, is, not in regard of our work, but of itself and of the holy institution of his only-begotten Son, a most acceptable sacrifice unto*[10] *him, both for quick and dead, *where there is no stop nor let to the contrary on the behalf of the receiver. The dead, I mean such only as through faith have recom-*

The two hundred and thirty-sixth untruth. For Christ never gave such commandment.

* A folly joined with a contradiction in itself. For the dead can make no stop.

[5] Sin, H. A. 1564.]

[6] The passages between brackets do not appear in H. A. 1564. They are in H. A. 1565.]

[7] This reference first appears in H. A. 1565.]

[8] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. v. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii.]

[9] His most dear, H. A. 1564.]

[10] To, H. A. 1564.]

mended themselves to the redemption wrought by Christ, "and by this faith have deserved of God, that after their departure hence," as St Augustine saith, "this sacrifice might profit them[2]."

De Octo Quæst. Dulcitii, Quæst. 2.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words, *opus operatum, opus operans, opus operantis*, as they are strange and barbarous, so are they not found neither in the scriptures, nor in the old doctors, nor in any ancient council, but have been lately devised by certain new scholastical doctors of M. Harding's own side, who, notwithstanding, cannot yet well agree upon their own device, nor can certainly tell us what they have found.

Biel. Lect. 27. Gers. contr. Floret. Lib. iv. Scot. Quod. lib. Art. 2. Innoc. Lib. iii. cap. v.

Opus operantis some of them call the "work and worthiness of the priest[3];" but Innocentius III. rather calleth *opus operantis* "the priest himself[4]." Likewise about these words, *opus operatum*, they have made much ado, and yet are not well resolved of it what it should be. Scotus and Biel say: "It is the consecration, the oblation, and the receiving of the sacrament[5]." Gerson saith: "It is the word of the Creator, and the power of the Holy Ghost[6]." Pighius saith: "It is the will of God that appointed the sacrament to this purpose[7]." Gropper of Colaine saith: "It is the body of Christ[8]." Howbeit, it were hard to say, either that Christ's body is a work, or that any work is Christ's body.

Biel. Lect. 27. Scot. Quod. lib. Art. 2. Gers. contr. Floret. Lib. iv. Grop. Art. 4. cap. xix.

It were a point of mastery to make all these contrary resolutions agree in one. Thus it fareth evermore where as men shoot without a mark. Howbeit, if neither M. Harding nor any other of his fellows for him be able to find these words, *opus operatum*, in any ancient doctor or council, then, notwithstanding the great multitude of his words, my assertion standeth still true. But, if he and others of his side have maintained this doctrine even in such sort as I have uttered it, then by his own confession they have deceived the world by wicked and blasphemous doctrine, to the great derogation of the glory and cross of Christ.

And, forasmuch as M. Harding seemeth now to blush at his own terms, and therefore beginneth to shun and to shift the same by vain and frivolous expositions, it shall not be amiss to open the true meaning thereof, both by the old records of the ancient writers in whose days the like folly began to grow, and was then reproved, and also by the plain words of M. Harding's own allowed doctors.

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xix.

St Augustine saith there were some in his time that thought and taught the people that, if a man had been baptized and had once received the communion, notwithstanding he lived wickedly and maintained heresies and wilful doctrine, yet he could not be condemned, only because he was baptized and had once received the holy communion[9]; which thing now is called *opus operatum*.

Chrysost. ad Pop. Ant. Hom. 19.

Chrysostom saith: *Mulieres et parvi pueri, pro magna custodia, ad collum*

[1 *H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.*]

[2 Neque negandum est defunctorum animas pietate suorum viventium relevari, cum pro illis sacrificium Mediatoris offertur, vel eleemosynæ in ecclesia fiunt. Sed eis hæc prosunt, qui cum viverent, ut hæc sibi postea possent prodesse, meruerunt. —August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Oct. Dulcit. Quæst. Quæst. ii. 4. Tom. VI. col. 130.]

[3 Ex opere operante, hoc est, ex merito personali personæ celebrantis.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50.

... quia non in merito consecrantis, sed in verbo perficitur Creatoris et virtute... et illud dicitur opus operatum.—Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 96. 2.

... missa non solum valet virtute meriti, sive operis operantis; sed etiam virtute sacrificii, et operis operati.—Joan. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. Quodlib. Quæst. xx. Tom. XII. p. 515. Conf. Art. ii. ibid. pp. 524, 5.]

[4 The words of Innocent in the place referred to are these: non in merito sacerdotis, sed in verbo conficitur Creatoris ... Quamvis igitur opus operans aliquando sit immundum, semper tamen opus operatum est mundum.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. iii. cap. v. Tom. I. p. 367.]

[5 Ex opere operato. i. ex ipsa &c.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50. See above, note 3, and the next page.]

[6 See above, note 3.]

[7 Baptismus et cetera illa sacramenta...valent ex ipso opere operato...Non quidem ex aliqua virtute quæ in ipsis symbolis hæreat...sed ex una Dei voluntate hoc pendet universum, &c.—Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. De Miss. Sacrif. Controv. v. fol. 117.]

[8 ... operi operato innitimur, hoc est, ei quod Deus per sacerdotis ministerium confert, insistimus. —Gropper. De Præst. Altar. Sacram. Antv. 1559. Quart. Art. Tom. II. p. 160.]

[9 Item sunt alii, ab æterno supplicio liberationem, nec ipsis saltem omnibus hominibus promittentes, sed tantummodo Christi baptismate ablutis, qui participes fiunt corporis ejus, quomodolibet vixerint, in quacumque hæresi vel impietate fuerint.—August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 639.]

suspendunt evangelia[10]: "Women and young children for great safety hang the gospel at their necks." They thought the gospel itself, and of itself, could save them from all mishaps, not because they believed in it, but only because it was hanged or tied about them; and this is also *opus operatum*. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. Hom. 43. Hieron. in Matt. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

So there were certain in old times, that of mere superstition used to minister the communion unto the dead, and to lay the sacrament in the mouths of them that were departed[11]; as St Benet also caused the sacrament to be laid upon a dead woman's breast, thinking that the very outward ceremony thereof, without faith or inward motion of the party, might be sufficient to do her good; which also is called *opus operatum*. Conc. Carth. III. can. 6. Inter Decret. Deusd. can. 12.[12]

Even in St Paul's time there were certain that of like superstition began to baptize the dead; which thing also continued a long while after, as may appear by the council of Carthage[13]. They thought the very outward work of baptism itself, only because it was done without any further motion of the mind, was sufficient to remit their sins. Conc. Carth. III. can. 6.

This old error our adversaries of late years have taken up and made it catholic, bearing the people in hand that their mass itself, *ex opere operato*, only of itself, and because it is said, is available for the remission of their sins.

Thus they expound their own dream: *Ex opere operato, id est, ex ipsa consecratione, [et] oblatione, et sumptione venerabilis eucharistiæ*[14]: "*Ex opere operato* is as much to say as for the very consecration, and oblation, and receiving of the reverend sacrament." Biel. Lect. 27. Sect. Quod. lib. Art. 2.

In *Manipulus Curatorum*, which not long sithence was thought to be a book most necessary for all parsons and curates, as containing all necessary doctrine for the church of God, it is written thus: *Opus operatum est actus exercitatus circa sacramentum; sicut opus operatum in baptismo est inspersio, vel immersio aquæ, et prolatio verborum*[15]. And therefore cardinal Cajetan, at Augusta in Germany, requiring Doctor Luther to recant this article, said thus: *Fides non est necessaria accessuro ad eucharistiam*[16]: "Faith is not necessary for him that will receive the sacrament;" meaning thereby that the very sacrament itself, only because it is ministered, is sufficient, although the receiver be utterly void of faith. Manip. Curat. In Paralip. Ursperg. An. 1518.

And therefore the bishops in the late council of Trident have determined thus: *Si quis dixerit, per sacramenta novæ legis non conferri gratiam ex opere operato, sed fidem solam divinæ promissionis sufficere ad gratiam consequendam, anathema sit*[17]: "If any man say that grace is not given by the sacraments of the new testament, even for the work that is wrought, but that faith only of the heavenly promise is sufficient to achieve grace, accursed be he." Concil. Trident. Sess. 6. can. 8.

Likewise Gabriel Biel: *Hoc sacrificium in illis, pro quibus offertur, non præexigit vitam spiritualem in actu, sed in potentia, &c.*[18]: "This sacrifice, in them for whom it is offered, requireth not a spiritual (or godly) life in act and in deed, but only in possibility. Neither is this against the saying of St Augustine: 'Who will offer the body of Christ, but only for them that are the members of Christ?' For Biel. Lect. 81.

---

[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xix. Tom. II. p. 197.
... *εὐαγγέλιον κρέμασθαι παρὰ τὴν κλίνην κ. τ. λ.* —Id. in Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xliii. Tom. X. p. 405.
Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iv. in Matt. cap. xxiii. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 109.]

[11] Concil. Carth. iii. cap. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 1168. See before, page 6, note 1.]

[12] The reference is to the council of Auxerre.—Concil. Autisiod. can. 12. in eod. Tom. V. col. 958. See before, page 7, note 11. Conf. Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. Tom. II. pp. 184, 5.]

[13] See above, note 11.]

[14] Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. xxvi. fol. 50. See before, page 750, notes 3 and 5.]

[15] Manip. Curat. Rothom. 1494. Tractat. i. Prim. Pars, cap. ii. fol. 6; where *vocatur actus, sacramenta,* and *est aspersio.*]

[16] Paraleip. Rer. Memor. ad calc. Chron. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. p. 472; where the article Luther was required to recant is thus expressed: Accessuro ad sacramentum necessarium esse ut credat.]

[17] Si quis dixerit, per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit.—Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. can. 8. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. col. 777.]

[18] ... unde ut dicit beatus Thomas...Eucharistia in quantum est sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur: in quibus non præexigit vitam spiritualem in actu; sed in potentia ... Nec contra illud est quod Augustinus ad renatos dicit: Quis offerat corpus Christi nisi pro his qui sunt membra Christi? [August. Op. De Anim. et ejus Orig. Lib. i. cap. ix. 10. Tom. X. col. 342.] Intelligitur enim pro membris Christi offerri, quando offertur pro aliquibus ut sint membra Christi.—Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Lect. lxxxv. fol. 152. 2. Conf. Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Quart. Sent. Dist. xii. Quæst. ii. Art. 2. Tom. VII. fol. 67. 2.]

thus we understand it, that the oblation is made for the members of Christ, when it is made for any that may be the members of Christ."

And therefore cardinal Cajetan, notwithstanding that he had spoken against Doctor Luther in open conference to the contrary, confesseth a general error therein in his time. For thus he writeth: *Unde in hoc videtur communis multorum error, quod putant, hoc sacrificium ex solo opere operato habere certum meritum, vel certam satisfactionem, quæ applicatur huic vel illi*[1]: "Wherefore herein appeareth the common error of many that think that this sacrifice, even of the work that is wrought, hath a certain merit or a certain satisfaction, that may be applied to this man or that man."

Cajet. in Quodlib. de Usu Spirit. Quæst. 3.

This of late years was the school-doctors' catholic meaning touching these new terms of their own inventing; which now M. Harding and his fellows are fain for shame to colour over with some finer varnish. Hereof, good christian reader, mayest thou judge how aptly this doctrine may stand with the glory and cross of Christ.

Now touching these words, "oblation" and "sacrifice," with the shew whereof M. Harding thinketh it good skill to dazzle and to abuse the eyes of the simple; first, where he saith, a mortal man offereth up the Son of God indeed and verily unto his Father, and that Christ commanded such a sacrifice to be made; he knoweth himself it is both a great untruth, and also a manifest and a wilful blasphemy. And further, where he addeth, that the same sacrifice so offered is available for the dead, unless there be some stop or let in the receiver; this is a very vain and unadvised folly: for children know that the dead can neither receive the sacrament, nor make let or stop against the receiving of the same. Therefore this addition might have been better surveyed ere it came abroad.

Indeed St Augustine, having occasion somewhat to touch the state of the faithful departed, saith that the prayers of the living, being either joined with alms-deeds[2], or made at the time of the holy communion, at which time the death of Christ is laid open before us, and therefore our mind the more inflamed to devotion, may be available for the dead. Howbeit St Augustine herein compareth the sacrifice of the holy communion with the sacrifice of alms-giving[3], and in that behalf of relieving the dead maketh either equal with the other. But for this present it is needless hereof to make further[4] treaty; for M. Harding well knoweth this is none of the articles we have now in question.

But certain it is that St Augustine, neither here nor elsewhere, ever moved one word of *opus operatum*, that now so mightily is defended.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

But to speak of this matter more particularly and more distinctly, the term "mass" may be taken two ways; either for the thing itself which is offered, or for the act of the priest in offering of it. If it be taken for the thing itself that is offered, which is the body of Christ, and is in this respect of the [a]*scholastical doctors called* opus operatum, *no man can justly deny but that it removeth and taketh away sin.* [b]*For Christ in his flesh crucified is our only sacrifice, our only price, our only redemption, whereby he hath merited to us upon the cross, and with the price of his blood hath bought the remission of our sins; and St John saith "he is the propitiation for our sins."* [c]*So Œcumenius saith:* Caro Christi... est propitiatorium nostrarum iniquitatum[5]: *"The flesh of Christ is the propitiation for our iniquities." And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass* [c]*specially, but for that he offered it once himself with shedding of his blood upon the cross for the redemption of all. Which oblation done upon the cross is become a perpetual and continual oblation, not in the same manner of offering, but in the same virtue and power of the thing offered. For since that time the same body of Christ, appearing always before the face of God in heaven, pre-*

Mass taken two ways.

1 Cor. vi. & vii. Tit. ii.

Rev. xiv.

1 John ii.

In iii. cap. ad Romanos.

Heb. ix.[6]

[a] M. Harding should have shewed what scholastical doctors have taken it thus, otherwise it may seem untrue.

[b] All these allegations utterly condemn the work that is supposed in the mass.

[c] The work of the priest is propitiatory, albeit not specially.

[1] Thom. a Vio Cajet. Quæst. et Quodl. Venet. 1530. De Celebr. Miss. Quæst. ii. Tom. III. fol. 76.]

[2] Almose-deeds, 1565.]

[3] Almose-giving, 1565.] [4] Farther, 1565.]

[5] Œcum. Op. Lut. Par. 1630-1. In Epist. ad Rom. Comm. cap. iii. Tom. I. p. 243.]

[6] This reference is not in H. A. 1564, but in H. A. 1565.]

senteth and exhibiteth itself for our reconciliation; and likewise it is exhibited and offered (237) *by his own commandment here in earth in the mass, where he is both priest and sacrifice, offerer and oblation,* [*verily and indeed*][7]*, though in mystery and by way of commemoration, that thereby we may be made partakers of the reconciliation performed,* [*applying the same unto us* (*so far as in this behalf man may apply*) *through faith and devotion, no less than if we saw with our eyes presently his body hanging on the cross before us, and streams of blood issuing forth.*][7] *And so it is a sacrifice in very deed propitiatory, not for our act or work, but for his own work already done and accepted. To this only we must ascribe remission and removing of our sins.*

The two hundred and thirty-seventh untruth. For God never commanded the priest, neither to say mass, as it is now used, nor to offer up the body of Christ.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding is driven to make wonderful hard shift, and to leave all the whole company of his school-doctors, and to go alone. The mass, saith he, sometime signifieth the body of Christ. Sometime, say you? And at what time, I beseech you? And if at one time, why not at all times? What ancient doctor or holy father ever told us this tale? But let us give M. Harding leave to make somewhat of himself, and to uphold his strange religion with strange phrases and forms of speech. For he hopeth that, whatsoever he list to say, the ignorant people will believe him.

But wherefore allegeth he not either the scriptures, or some old council, or some ancient doctor; at the least some one or other of his own school-doctors, Innocentius, Thomas, Scotus, Alexander, Henricus de Gandavo, Robertus de Collo Torto, or some other like, in this behalf? Is there none of all these that ever could understand that the mass is the body of Christ? And must we needs believe M. Harding in so strange a matter without witness? Verily, if the mass according to this new doctrine be Christ's body, and that verily and indeed, without shift or help of figure, then was the mass born of the blessed virgin; then was it crucified; then was it buried in the grave: for all these things happened to the body of Christ. Then whosoever denieth the mass denieth Christ's body; and whosoever believeth Christ's body believeth the mass. But what should M. Harding do? A monstrous doctrine requireth a monstrous kind of words.

Indeed, Christ's body crucified was "the price and propitiation for all our sins." Christ "with one oblation hath made perfit for ever all that be sanctified." For in his flesh "he was that Lamb of God that hath taken away the sins of the world." And now in the same flesh "he appeareth before God, and evermore entreateth for our sins."

1 John ii. Heb. x. John i. Rom. viii. Heb. vii.

But, M. Harding, what is all this to your mass? Who ever bade you to sacrifice Christ unto his Father? Who ever warranted you that your sacrifice, devised by yourselves, should be of the same virtue and power, as you say, that was the sacrifice of Christ himself upon his cross? Who ever told you that your sacrifice should be the price and propitiation for the sins of the whole world? or that Christ in your mass should evermore appear before God, and entreat for us?

But why add you further[8] this *special* exception of yourself, "And this, not for that it is offered of the priest in the mass specially?" What needeth you with this so *special* proviso so finely to mince this matter? Why should you so *specially* disable or discredit the unbloody sacrifice of the church? If the flesh of Christ be not *specially* available, for that (as you say) it is offered by the priest, how then, being so offered, can it be propitiatory for our sins? If it be propitiatory indeed, and if the priest offer up Christ unto his Father, and that in all respects of power and virtue as effectual and available as that Christ himself offered upon the cross, how then is it not *specially* profitable, for that (as you say) it is offered by the priest? Ye should have brought some Daniel with you to expound your dream, or some skilful surveyor to part tenures between Christ and the priest, and to limit each part *generally* and *specially* his own right.

---

[7] The passages between brackets are not in H. A. 1564. They appear in H. A. 1565.]

[8] Farther, 1565.]

O M. Harding, what a miserable doctrine is this! Remove only this vain shew of strange words, wherewith ye delight to astonne the simple, and the rest that remaineth is less than nothing.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

If the term "mass" be taken for the act of the priest in respect of any his only doing, it is not able to remove sin: for so we should make the priest God's peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ; as our adversaries do unjustly slander us. Yet hath the mass virtue and effect in some degree, and is acceptable to God by reason of the oblation of the sacrifice, which in the mass is done by the offerer, without respect had to Christ's institution, even for the faithful prayer and devotion of the party that offereth, which the school-doctors term ex opere operantis. *For then the oblation seemeth to be most acceptable to God, when it is offered by some that is acceptable. Now the party that offereth is of two sorts. The one offereth immediately and personally: the other offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally. The first is the priest that consecrateth, offereth, and receiveth the sacrament, who so doth these things in his own person, yet by God's authority, as none other in so offering is concurrent with him. The party that offereth mediately, or by mean of another, and principally, is the church militant, in whose person the priest offereth, and whose minister he is in offering. For this is the sacrifice of the whole church. The first party that offereth is not always acceptable to God, neither always pleaseth him, because oftentimes he is a sinner. The second party that offereth is evermore acceptable to God, because the church is always holy, beloved, and the only spouse of Christ. And in this respect the mass is an acceptable service to God* ex opere operantis, *and is not without cause and reason called a sacrifice propitiatory, not for that it deserveth mercy at God's hand of itself, as Christ doth, who only is in that principal and special sort a sacrifice propitiatory; but for that it moveth God to give mercy and remission of sin already deserved by Christ. In this degree of a sacrifice propitiatory we may put prayer, a contrite heart, alms*[1]*, forgiving of our neighbour, &c. This may easily be proved by the holy fathers.*

Origen's words be very plain: Si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat ... Deum[2]: "*If thou look to that commemoration whereof our Lord saith, 'Do this in my remembrance,' or in commemoration of me, thou shalt find that this is the only commemoration that maketh God merciful.*" *In Levit. Homil.* 13.

St Augustine saith thus: Nemo ... melius præter martyres meruit ... ibi requiescere, ubi et hostia Christus est, et sacerdos, scilicet ut ... propitiationem de oblatione hostiæ consequantur[3]: "*No man hath deserved better than the martyrs* to rest there where Christ is both the host and the priest,* (238) (*he meaneth to be buried under the altar*), *to the intent they might attain propitiation by the oblation of the host.*" *Sermone* II, *De Sanctis.*

*St Augustine speaketh not of any material altar in earth, but of the spiritual altar in heaven.

But here, to avoid prolixity in a matter not doubtful, I leave a number of places whereby it may be evidently proved that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory in this degree of propitiation, both for the quick and the dead, the same not being specially denied by purport of this article. [*Thus we have declared, as we might superficially treating of this article, that the mass is a sacrifice propitiatory, both* ex opere operato, *that is, through the merit of Christ's body that suffered on the cross, which is here* opus operatum, *and is by Christ through the ministry of the priest in the mass offered, truly, but in mystery, and also* ex opere operante, *that is, through the doing of the priest, if he have the grace of God, and so be acceptable, but in a far lower degree of propitiation, which is called* opus operans, *or* opus operantis.][5] *And this is the doctrine of the church touching the valor of the mass* ex opere operato, *whereby no part of Christ's glory is impaired.*

The two hundred and thirty-eighth untruth, standing in untrue construction. For St Augustine saith: "Vidi sub ara Dei (non corpora, sed) animas sanctorum[4]."

[1] Almose, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[2] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 255; where *facit.*]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccxxi. 1. in Natal. SS. Innoc. Tom. V. Append. col. 365. This sermon is spurious.]

[4] See below, page 756, note 1.]

[5] H.A. 1564 omits the sentence between brackets. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the worthiness of the priest, which they call *opus operantis*, it appeareth M. Harding could partly be contented to make it equal with the sacrifice of Christ, were it not that it should seem too great presumption. For thus he saith: "So we should make the priest God's peer, and his act equal with the passion of Christ." And therefore they say, "A wicked priest's mass is as good and as meritorious in this respect as a good priest's mass[6];" for that the worthiness of the work hangeth nothing of the worthiness of the priest. Thom. in iv. Sent. Dist. 14. Gers. contr. Floret. Lib. iv. Summ. Angel. in Missa.

Notwithstanding, St Hierome seemeth to say far otherwise: *Impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes eucharistiam imprecantis verba facere, non vitam*[7]: "They do wickedly against the law of Christ, thinking it is not the life, but the word of the minister, that maketh the sacrament." And likewise Irenæus saith: *Sacrificia non sanctificant hominem;... sed conscientia ejus, qui offert, sanctificat sacrificium, pura exsistens*[8]: "The sacrifice doth not sanctify the man; but the conscience of the priest, being upright and pure, doth sanctify the sacrifice." In like manner Gabriel Biel, his own doctor, saith: *Videant, ne, si peccato obnoxii offerant, sit illorum oblatio quasi ejus, qui victimat filium in conspectu patris, neve rursus crucifigant Filium Dei*[9]: "Let them take heed, lest, if they sacrifice, being in sin, their oblation be like unto the oblation of him that slayeth the child in the sight of the father; and lest they crucify again the Son of God." Verily, of wicked priests God saith: *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*: "That you bless I will curse." Hieron. in Zophon. Iren. Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv. Biel. Lect. 26. Mal. ii.

Touching St Augustine and Origen, that here are brought in for a countenance, if these ancient holy fathers were now alive, they would blush to hear their tales thus reported. Origen's words, if it might have pleased M. Harding to have laid them out whole and at large without clipping, as he found them, both would have been clear and plain in themselves[10], and also would have soon shaken down all this whole frame of *opus operatum*. For he neither speaketh of the mass, neither[11] promiseth remission of sins for any thing that is done in the mass; but only and wholly for the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross. His words be these: *Si redeas ad illum panem, qui de cœlo descendit, et dat huic mundo vitam, illum panem propositionis, [hoc est, Christum ipsum] quem proposuit Deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine ejus; et si respicias ad illam commemorationem, de qua dicit Dominus, Hoc facite ad meam commemorationem, invenies, quod ista est commemoratio sola, quæ propitium faciat hominibus Deum*[12]: "If thou turn to that bread that came down from heaven and giveth life to this world, I mean that shew-bread, that is, Christ himself, whom God hath appointed to be a propitiation by faith in his blood; and if thou behold that remembrance whereof the Lord saith, 'Do this in remembrance of me;' thou shalt find that it is this remembrance only (that is to say, the body of Christ crucified, and the price of his blood thus remembered) that maketh God merciful unto men." Now let M. Harding indifferently judge, whether these words be likely to prove his *opus operatum*, or any other thing belonging unto his mass.

The place of St Augustine is yet much plainer. For, as he toucheth none of all these M. Harding's fantasies, so he speaketh only of the innocents and blessed martyrs, that were slain only for the testimony of Christ; "whose souls," St John saith, "lie underneath the altar of God," not in earth, as M. Harding fancieth, but in heaven. For thus he writeth: *Vidi sub ara Dei animas occi-* August. de Sanct. Serm. 11.

[6 Sive ergo per bonos, sive per malos ministros intra ecclesiam dispensetur, sacrum tamen est, quia Spiritus sanctus vivificat: nec bonorum dispensatorum meritis ampliatur, nec malorum attenuatur.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In iv. Lib. Sentent. Dist. xiii. Quæst. 1. Tom. VII. fol. 70.

Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 96. 2.

Clavas. Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Missa 56. fol. 209.

In some respects these two authors last cited make the mass of a good priest better than that of a bad one.]

[7 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Sophon. Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1671; where *facere verba*.]

[8 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 3. p. 250. See before, page 723, note 16.]

[9 There is probably a mistake in the reference, as given above. But see for ideas very similar Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lectt. vii. viii. foll. 12, &c.]

[10 Themself, 1565.]

[11 Nother, 1565.]

[12 Orig. Op. In Levit. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. p. 255. See before, page 754, note 2.]

Rev. vi. *sorum propter verbum Dei, et propter testimonium Jesu, &c.*[1]: "'I saw under the altar of God" in heaven "the souls of them that were slain for God's word, and for the testimony of Jesus.' What thing is there either more reverend or more honourable than to rest under that altar" in heaven, "in which sacrifices are made and oblations are offered unto God, and wherein" no mortal man, but "the Lord himself is the priest? For so it is written: 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech.' It is right" not that the bodies, but "that the souls of the just should remain under the altar; because that upon that altar" in heaven "Christ's body is offered. And well it is that just men do there require revengeance of their blood, where as Christ's blood for sinners is poured out."

Immediately after this he intermeddleth somewhat touching altars or communion-tables in the earth. For thus he addeth further: *Convenienter igitur, et quasi pro quodam consortio, ibi martyribus sepultura decreta est, ubi mors Domini quotidie celebratur, &c.*[2]: "Therefore upon good discretion, and in some token of fellowship, martyrs' burials are appointed in that place" here in earth "where the Lord's death is daily remembered; as the Lord himself saith: 'As often as ye shall do these things, ye shall set forth my death until I come.' I mean, that they that died for the Lord's death may rest under the mystery of his sacrament."

After this he returneth again to the souls of the blessed martyrs under the altar in heaven: *Legimus plerosque justorum Abrahæ sinibus refoveri, &c.*[3]: "We read," saith St Augustine, "that many just men are refreshed in Abraham's bosom; and that many are in the pleasures of paradise. Yet no man deserved better than the martyrs to rest there" in heaven "where as Christ is both the sacrifice and the priest. I mean, that they may enjoy God's favour by the offering of that sacrifice, and may receive the blessing and ministry of that priest."

Hereby it is plain that St Augustine speaketh of heaven, and not of earth, nor of purgatory; of the souls received above, and not of the bodies buried beneath: for all these things St John, by revelation, saw in heaven. And for proof hereof St Augustine addeth further: *Inter ceteros igitur martyres, quos sub ara Dei consistere prædicamus, etiam beatas illas infantum lactentium pro Christo primitias martyrum laudemus*[4]: "Therefore amongst the rest of the martyrs whom we say to be under the altar of God" in heaven "let us commend those blessed first-fruits of sucking infants that were martyrs for Christ."

This is St Augustine's plain and undoubted meaning. But M. Harding, to serve his turn, is fain of souls to make bodies; of joy to make pain; and of heaven to make purgatory: and yet in all this great ado findeth neither *opus operatum*, nor his mass. Thus is it lawful for these men to carry about and to use their readers.

Touching the substance of this doctrine, which M. Harding now at last upon better advice seemeth in some part to mislike, notwithstanding it were not long sithence generally received both in schools and churches, and counted catholic, Origen, that ancient learned father, writeth thus: *Quod sanctificatur per verbum Dei, et per obsecrationem, non suapte natura sanctificat utentem. Nam id si esset, sanctificaret etiam illum, qui comedit indigne Domino*[5]: "The thing that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, of his own nature"

Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

[1] Vidi enim sub &c. ... Quid reverentius, quid honorabilius dici potest, quam sub illa ara requiescere, in qua Deo sacrificium celebratur, in qua offeruntur hostiæ, in qua Dominus est sacerdos, sicut scriptum est, Tu es sacerdos in æternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech? Recte sub altari justorum animæ requiescunt; quia super altare corpus Domini offertur. Nec immerito illic justi vindictam sanguinis postulant, ubi etiam pro peccatoribus Christi sanguis effunditur.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccxxi. 1. in Natal. SS. Innoc. Tom. V. Append. col. 365.]

[2] Convenienter &c. Sicut ipse ait, Quotienscumque hæc feceritis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis, donec veniat: scilicet ut qui propter mortem ejus mortui fuerant, sub sacramenti ejus mysterio requiescant.—Id. ibid.]

[3] Legimus &c. nonnullos paradisi amœnitate lætari: nemo tamen melius &c. [see before, page 754.] et benedictionem functionemque sacerdotis accipiant.—Id. ibid.]

[4] Inter &c. beati illi infantes lactentes, pro Christo primitiæ martyrum, ... coronas meruerunt.—Id. ibid.]

[5] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. 14. Tom. III. p. 499.]

or *ex opere operato* "sanctifieth not him that useth it. For otherwise it should sanctify him that eateth unworthily of the Lord."

Orig. in Matt. Tract. 25.

Again he saith: *Assiduitas communicationis, et alia... similia,... non ipsæ sunt justitiæ, sed conditurœ habentur justitiarum. Res autem spirituales, quæ ex se ipsis justitiæ sunt, dicuntur judicium,... misericordia, et fides*[6]: "The often using of the communion, and other like things, be not righteousness itself," of itself or of the work that there is wrought, "but only the seasoning and setting forth of righteousness. But the spiritual things, which be righteousness itself, are called judgment, mercy, and faith."

Hieron. 1 Cor. x.

So St Hierome: *Ne quis confidat in eo solo, quod baptizatus est; aut in esca spirituali vel potu putet Deum sibi parcere, si peccaverit*[7]: "Let no man presume of this thing only, that he is baptized; nor let him think that God for receiving the spiritual meat or drinking the spiritual cup," *ex opere operato*, "will pardon him if he offend."

August. in Johan. Tract. 80.

So St Augustine: *Non ait, mundi estis propter baptisma quo loti estis; sed ...propter verbum, quod locutus sum vobis*[8]: "Christ saith not, Ye are clean for the baptism's sake wherewith ye are washed; but for the word's sake that I have spoken unto you." And again: *Fœlix venter qui te portavit, &c.*[9]: "Blessed is that womb that bare thee. But Christ answered: 'Nay, blessed be they that hear the word of God and keep the same:' that is to say: My mother, whom ye call blessed, thereof is blessed, for that she keepeth the word of God."

August. in Johan. Tract. 10.

August. de Sanct. Virgin.

Likewise again: *Materna propinquitas nihil matri profuisset, nisi fœlicius Christum* [*in*] *corde, quam* [*in*] *carne gestasset*[10]: "The nearness of mother's blood should have profited Christ's mother nothing at all, unless she had more blessedly carried Christ in her heart than in her body."

Verily, to ascribe felicity or remission of sin, which is the inward work of the Holy Ghost, unto any manner outward action whatsoever, it is a superstitious, a gross, and a Jewish error.

Orig. in Luc. Hom. 5.

Origen of the sacrament of circumcision writeth thus: *Circumcisionis nisi reddatur ratio, nutus tantum est circumcisio, et opus mutum*[11]: "Unless there be a reason yielded of the meaning of circumcision, it is but an outward shew and a dumb labour," and availeth nothing.

And touching the use and order of the holy mysteries, Christ saith not, Do this for remission of your sins; but, "Do this in my remembrance."

The only and everlasting sacrifice for sin is the Son of God crucified upon the cross. He sitteth now in the nature and substance of our flesh at the right hand of his Father, "and evermore maketh intercession for us, and is the only sacrifice and propitiation for our sins."

Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to this doctrine is wicked and blasphemous, and, as M. Harding hath confessed, injurious to the glory and cross of Christ.

---

[6] Id. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 20. Tom. III. p. 843; where *justitiæ sunt, justitiarum habentur*, and *spiritales quæ a semetipsis*.]

[7] Ne quis confidens in eo solum, quod &c. ... sibi Deum parcere &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. x. Tom. V. col. 994.]

[8] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703.]

[9] Felix venter qui te portavit. Et ille, Immo felices qui audiunt verbum Dei, et custodiunt. Hoc est dicere, Et mater mea, quam appellastis felicem, inde felix, quia verbum Dei custodit.—Id. ibid. cap. ii. Tractat. x. 3. col. 369.]

[10] Id. Lib. de Sanct. Virgin. cap. iii. 3. Tom. VI. col. 342; where *Mariæ* for *matri*.]

[11] Nisi enim circumcisionis ratio reddatur, nutus est circumcisio et opus mutum.—Orig. Op. In Luc. Hom. v. Tom. III. p. 937.]

OF LORD AND GOD.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that then any christian man called the sacrament his Lord and God.

[OF CALLING THE SACRAMENT LORD AND GOD.—Article XXI. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

This word "sacrament" (as is declared before) is of the fathers taken two ways: (239) *either for the only outward forms of bread and wine, which are the holy sign of the very body and blood of Christ present, and under them contained; or for the whole substance of the sacrament, as it consisteth of the outward forms and also of the very body and blood of Christ* (240) *verily present,* (240) *which St Augustine calleth the invisible grace and the thing of the sacrament*[1], (240) *and Irenæus calleth it* rem cœlestem, *"the heavenly thing," as that other* rem terrenam[2], *"the earthly thing." Taken the first way* (as among the learned fathers it was never taken), *no christian man ever honoured it with the name of Lord and God: for that were plain idolatry to attribute the name of the Creator to the creature. But taken in the second signification* (as no ancient father ever took it), *it hath always of christian people and of the learned fathers of the church been called by the name of Lord and God. And of right so ought it to be; for else were it impiety, and a denial of God, not to call Christ the Son of God by the name of Lord and God, who is not only in truth of flesh and blood in the sacrament, after which manner he is there* ex vi sacramenti, *but also the*[3] *inseparable conjunction of both natures in unity of person,* ex necessaria concomitantia, *whole Christ, God and man. That the holy fathers called the sacrament taken in this sense Lord and God, I might prove it by many places: the rehearsal of a few may serve for many. Origen in a*[4] *homily speaking reverently of this blessed sacrament saith, that, when a man receiveth it, our Lord entereth under his roof, and exhorteth him that shall receive it to humble himself, and to say* (241) *unto it:* Domine, non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum[5]: *"I, Lord*[6]*, am not worthy that thou enter under my roof."*

The two hundred and thirty-ninth untruth. For the only outward forms were never called the sacrament, or Christ's body, by any of all the ancient fathers.

Sacrament two ways taken.

In Sentent. Prosper. De Consecr. Dist. 2.

The two hundred and fortieth untruth, standing in untrue exposition. For this was not these fathers' meaning.

Lib. iv. cap. xxxiv.

In Diversos Evangelii Locos, Hom. 5.

The two hundred and forty-first untruth. For Origen saith not, "unto it."

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whosoever erreth in this article committeth idolatry, and giveth God's honour to a corruptible creature, that is no god. Therefore it behoved M. Harding herein to leave his guesses, and to allege none but good, substantial, and weighty reasons; and that so much the more, for that none of the old catholic fathers ever either erected temples or proclaimed holy-days in the name of the sacrament, or ever willed the people to adore it as the maker of heaven and earth, or to believe in it, or to call it God.

This notwithstanding, the reasons that M. Harding hath here found out are so slender and so simple, and so guilefully and untruly gathered, that his friends

[1 August. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. cols. 1936, 7. See before, pages 592, 617.]

[2 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iv. cap. xviii. 5. p. 251. See before, page 517, note 15.]

[3 Also for the, H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565 omits *for*.]

[4 An, H. A. 1564. But H. A. 1565 has *a*.]

[5 Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. In Divers. Hom. v. Tom. II. p. 308. See before, page 536, note 2.]

[6 Lord, I, H. A. 1564.]

of that side may happily suspect he had[7] used some collusion to betray their cause. But to take away occasion of cavil, first, we stedfastly believe and plainly confess, that Christ is the Son of God, very God of very God; that "he is the true God, and life everlasting;" that "he is God blessed for ever;" and that "whosoever trusteth in him shall never be confounded." And we utterly detest and accurse the Arians, the Nestorians, the Photinians, and all other like heretics, that either have taught or any way do teach the contrary. Neither is this question moved of Christ himself, unto whom we know all manner godly reverence and honour is due; but only of the mystical bread, which by the witness of the catholic learned fathers is not Christ himself, but only a sacrament of Christ. "Which sacrament," Irenæus saith, "standeth of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly:" not that the one is really lapped up or shut within the other, wherein resteth M. Harding's error; but that, as Chrysostom saith, "the one is sensible, the other intelligible[8]," as it is also in the sacrament of baptism; or that, as St Augustine saith, "the one part is the sign, the other the thing signified[9];" or that, as Tertullian saith, "the one part is the figure, the other the thing figured[10]."

1 John v.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

August. contr. Adimant. cap. xii.

Tertull. contr. Marc. Lib. iv.

The sacrament is the earthly thing: Christ's body is the heavenly thing. The sacrament is corruptible: Christ's body is glorious. The sacrament is laid upon the table: Christ's body is in heaven. The sacrament is received into our bodies: Christ's body is only received into our souls.

For manifest proof of this difference St Augustine writeth thus: *Hujus rei sacramentum... alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in dominico præparatur, et de mensa dominica sumitur, quibusdam ad vitam, quibusdam ad exitium: res vero ipsa, cujus est sacramentum, omni homini ad vitam, nulli ad exitium, quicunque ejus particeps fuerit*[11]: "The sacrament of the body of Christ is prepared in the church in some places every day, in some places upon certain days; and is received from the Lord's table, of some unto life, of some unto condemnation. But the thing itself," that is, the body of Christ, being in heaven, "whereof it is a sacrament, is received of every man unto life, and of no man to condemnation, whosoever be partaker of it." Again he saith: *Qui non manet in Christo, &c.*[12]: "He that abideth not in Christ, nor hath Christ abiding in him, doubtless he eateth not his flesh, nor drinketh his blood, notwithstanding he eat and drink the sacrament of so great a thing unto his judgment."

August. in Johan. Tract. 26.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Qui discordat.

By these few examples it is plain that the sacrament of Christ's body is one thing, and Christ's body itself is another thing; and that, in common and natural manner of speech, neither is Christ's body the sacrament, nor the sacrament Christ's body.

By these words of Irenæus M. Harding, as he hath no manner likelihood to prove that he seeketh for, so he utterly overthroweth his whole fantasy of transubstantiation. For Irenæus calleth the earthly part of the sacrament, not the forms and accidents, as M. Harding imagineth, but the very substance and nature of the bread, and that such bread as "increaseth and nourisheth the substance of our flesh." For so he writeth: *Ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostra substantia*[13].

Iren. Lib. v.

But Origen teacheth us, when we receive the sacrament, to say, *Domine, non sum dignus;* therefore, saith M. Harding, the sacrament was called Lord and God. Alas, what a miserable case is this, that cannot possibly stand without falsifying and maiming of the holy fathers! Of the falsifying afterward. But touching the maiming and mangling of these words of Origen, if[14] it might have pleased M.

[7 Hath, 1565.]

[8 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787. See before, page 464, note 2.]

[9 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124. See before, page 592.]

[10 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447.]

[11 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500; where *in dominica mensa præparatur*, and *cujus sacramentum est.*]

[12 Id. in Lib. Sentent. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 65. col. 1946. See before, page 519, note 13.]

[13 Iren. Op. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294.]

[14 If, wanting in 1611.]

Harding to have reported them whole as he found them, there had been no manner cause of doubt.

For thus the words lie: *Intrat etiam nunc Dominus sub tectum credentium duplici figura, vel more, &c.*[1]: "Even now the Lord entereth under the roof of the faithful by two sundry ways. For even now, when the holy and godly bishops enter into your house, then through them the Lord entereth: and be thou persuaded, as if thou receivedst the Lord himself. And when thou receivest that holy meat and that uncorruptible banquet, the Lord entereth under thy roof."

"Our Lord," saith Origen, "entereth under our roof, both when we receive a holy man, and also when we receive the holy sacrament." And as Christ entereth into us by the one, so doth he also enter into us by the other. So saith the same learned father writing upon the gospel of St Matthew: *Qui ... discipulos Christi tradit, ipsum Christum tradit*[2]: "Whoso betrayeth the disciples of Christ betrayeth Christ himself." Now, if M. Harding will say by force of these words, that Christ entereth really and substantially into our mouths, then must he also say that Christ likewise entereth really and substantially into our material houses.

Orig. in Matt. Hom. 35.

But for full resolution hereof St Ambrose saith that the body of Christ itself entereth not into our bodies. Thus he writeth: *Non iste panis, ... qui vadit in ventrem; sed ... panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit*[3]: "Christ's body is not the bread that entereth into our body; but the bread of everlasting life, that feedeth the substance of our soul." And therefore St Cyprian saith: "The body of Christ is the meat of our soul, not the meat of our body[4]." For this cause Origen himself, in the self-same homily, saith thus: *Domine, ... non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum. Sed tantum dic verbo; ... tantum veni verbo. Verbum est aspectus tuus*[5]: "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof. But only speak the word: only come by thy word: thy word is thy sight." Again he saith: *Per evangelistarum ... prædicationem; per sui ... corporis ... sacramentum; per gloriosæ crucis signaculum ... nobiscum Deus, et ad nos, et in nobis*[6]: "God is with us, and cometh to us, and is within us, by the preaching of the evangelists, by the sacrament of his body, and by the sign of the glorious cross." Likewise again: *Fideles credunt adventum verbi, et libenter recipiunt Dominum suum*[7]: "The faithful believe the coming of the word, and gladly receive their Lord." So saith St Augustine: *Sancti, ... qui sunt in ecclesia, accipiunt Christum in manu, et in fronte*[8]: "The holy men that be in the church receive Christ in their hand and in their forehead." So likewise Tertullian: *Cum te ad fratrum genua protendis, Christum contrectas*[9]: "When thou fallest down to touch thy brethren's knees, thou touchest Christ."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Non iste.

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

Orig. in Divers. Evang. Locos, Hom. 5.

Orig. in Divers. Evang. Locos, Hom. 1.

Orig. in Divers. Evang. Locos, Hom. 2.

August. in Apoc. Serm. 11.

Tertul. de Pœnit.

Thus is Christ touched: thus is Christ received: thus is Christ present: thus Christ entereth under our roof. As Christ entereth into us by a godly minister, by his word, by the sacrament of baptism, by the cross, and by the poor; even so he entereth into us by the sacrament of his body and blood; even so, I say, and none otherwise. And at every such entering of Christ we ought to say: "O Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof."

Now, if these words be sufficient to prove that the sacrament was called Lord and God, then are they likewise sufficient to prove that the water of baptism,

---

[1] Intrat et nunc Dominus sub tectum credentium duplici figura vel more. Nunc enim quando sancti et Deo acceptabiles ecclesiarum antistites sub tectum tuum intrant, tunc ibidem per eos Dominus ingreditur. Et tu sic existimes tanquam Dominum suscipiens. Et aliud: quando sanctum cibum illudque incorruptum accipis epulum ... tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingreditur.—Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. In Divers. Hom. v. Tom. II. p. 303.]

[2] Id. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 83. Tom. III. p. 898; where *quicumque.*]

[3] Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 56. col. 1942. See before, page 571, note 18, and page 572, note 5.]

[4] Et sicut panis communis ... vita est corporis: ita panis iste supersubstantialis, vita est animæ et sanitas mentis.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40. See also before, page 141, note 11.]

[5] Orig. Op. Lat. Basil. 1545. In Divers. Hom. v. Tom. II. p. 308; where *aspectus tuus est.*]

[6] Id. ibid. Hom. i. Tom. II. p. 291; where *atque in nobis.*]

[7] Id. ibid. Hom. ii. p. 297.]

[8] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In B. Johan. Apoc. Expos. Hom. xi. Tom. III. Append. col. 172; where *Christum accipiunt.* This exposition seems to be a body of annotations collected from several authors.]

[9] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Pœnit. 10. p. 147.]

that the word of God, that a cross drawn in the forehead, and that a godly bishop or minister, was called Lord and God.

Here also appeareth a great untruth in M. Harding's translation. For whereas Origen saith, *Et tu ergo humilians teipsum, &c.*, "And thou therefore, humbling thyself[10], follow this centurion, and say, 'Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest enter under my roof;'" meaning thereby that we ought to humble ourselves unto Christ, and to say unto him, "Lord, I am not worthy," &c.; M. Harding thought it better cunning to corrupt the place, and to translate "it" instead of "him;" for thus he writeth: "Origen exhorteth him that shall receive *it* to humble himself and say unto *it*, 'Lord, I am not worthy,' &c." And so by open fraud, and by falsifying his author's words without fear or blushing, he teacheth God's people to worship a creature instead of God.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

St Cyprian, in Sermone de Lapsis, *telleth how a man, who had denied God in time of persecution, having notwithstanding (the sacrifice by the priest done) privily with others received the sacrament, not being able to eat it nor to handle it, opening his hands, found that he bare ashes. Where he addeth these words:* Documento unius ostensum est, Dominum recedere cum negatur[11]: "*By this example of one man it is shewed that our Lord departeth away when he is denied.*"

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This guess hangeth not of St Cyprian's words, but of M. Harding's exposition: for St Cyprian calleth the sacrament neither Lord nor God. The man that he speaketh of, having denied God in time of persecution, and nevertheless afterwards receiving the holy communion among other Christians, opened his hand and found the sacrament turned into ashes. "By this miracle," saith St Cyprian, "we are taught to understand that God, when he is denied, departeth from us."

I trow, M. Harding will not say, that the sacrament had ever denied God; and yet by his exposition God was departed and gone from it; nor will he say, that this man had denied the sacrament; for he came amongst others to receive the sacrament. But he had dissembled and forsaken God, and therefore God had likewise forsaken him; and in token thereof he caused the sacrament to moulder into ashes in his hands.

So St Augustine, speaking of the sacrament of baptism and of order[12] of priesthood, saith thus: *Si sancta malos fugiant, utrumque fugiat*[13]: "If these holy things (baptism and priesthood) fly[14] from ill men, let them both fly[14] from them, as well the one as the other." August. contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. ii. cap. xiii.

Prosper saith: *Non locorum intervallis [vel] acceditur ad Deum, vel a Deo disceditur: ... similitudo facit proximum, dissimilitudo longinquum*[15]: "We neither come to God nor go from God by distance of places. The likeness of mind maketh us near: the unlikeness removeth us far off." Prosp. Sent. 123.

When one Deuterius, an Arian bishop, would have baptized a man after his blasphemous sort, suddenly the water was sunken away, and the font stood dry[16]. The like story is uttered also by Socrates[17] and by others. This miracle was likewise a token that God, when he is denied, departeth from us. Paul. Diac. Lib. xv. in Hist. De Anastas. Socrat. Lib. vii. cap. xvii.

Yet may not M. Harding conclude hereof that the water of baptism was therefore called Lord and God.

[10 Theeself, 1565.]

[11 Et alius qui et ipse maculatus, sacrificio a sacerdote celebrato, partem cum ceteris ausus est latenter accipere: sanctum Domini edere, et contrectare non potuit; cinerem ferre se apertis manibus invenit. Documento &c.—Cypr. Op. De Laps. p. 133.]

[12 Of the order, 1565.]

[13 August. Op. Contr. Epist. Parmen. Lib. II. cap. xiii. 30. Tom. IX. col. 45; where *fugiunt.*]

[14 Flee, 1565.]

[15 Prosp. Lib. Sentent. in eod. Sent. cxxiii. Tom. X. Append. col. 231; where *vel receditur ab eo.*]

[16 Paul. Diac. Hist. Misc. Lib. xv. 9. in Hist. August. Script. Hanov. 1611. p. 921.]

[17 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. xvii. p. 289.]

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

The same St Cyprian, in the exposition of the Pater noster, *declaring the fourth petition of it, "Give us this day our daily bread," understandeth it to contain a desire of the holy communion in this blessed sacrament, and saith:* Ideo panem nostrum, id est, Christum dari nobis quotidie petimus, ut qui in Christo manemus et vivimus, a sanctificatione et corpore ejus non recedamus[1]: *"Therefore we ask our daily bread, that is to say, Christ, to be given unto us, that we which abide and live in Christ depart not from the state of holiness and communion of his body."* (242) *Here St Cyprian calleth the sacrament Christ, as he is indeed there present really, so as in the place alleged before he calleth it Lord. And, I ween, our adversaries will embrace*[2] *the sacrament of the name of Christ no less than of the name of Lord or God, unless they make less of Christ than of Lord and God.*

The two hundred and forty-second untruth. For St Cyprian calleth not the sacrament Christ, but only saith Christ is the bread or food by whom we live.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding avoucheth three sundry untruths with one breath. For St Cyprian neither in these words calleth the sacrament Christ, nor in the words before calleth it Lord, nor any where ever said that Christ's body is really present in the sacrament. Untruths should not so rifely flow from a good divine.

It is true that St Cyprian saith, that "Christ is our bread, even the same bread that came from heaven, and giveth life to the world; which bread whosoever eateth shall live for ever[3]." So saith St Basil: "Christ is called our life, our way, our bread, our vine, our light, our sword[4]." Which words must be taken not grossly, nor according to that soundeth in the letter, but of a mystical and spiritual meaning. Therefore, as Christ is our spiritual sword, our spiritual light, our spiritual vine, our spiritual way, and our spiritual life, so is he also our spiritual bread. Origen saith: *Ne mireris, quod verbum Dei ... caro dicitur: [nam] et panis, et lac, ... et olera dicitur; et pro mensura credentium vel possibilitate sumentium diverse nominatur*[5]: "Marvel not that the word of God is called flesh; for it is also called bread, and milk, and herbs; and, according to the measure of the believers or possibility of the receivers, it is diversly named."

Basil. in Psal. xliv.

Orig. in Exod. Hom. 7.

Verily St Cyprian saith not, neither that the sacrament is Christ, nor that Christ is the sacrament. Therefore, whereas M. Harding would reason thus: Christ is the bread of life; *ergo*, the sacrament is our Lord and God; he seemeth to presume over boldly of his logic.

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Verily this holy martyr acknowledgeth this sacrament not for Lord and Christ only, but (243) *also for God, by these words in his sermon* De Cœna Domini: Sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita sacramento visibili ineffabiliter divina se infudit essentia[6]: *"As in the person of Christ the manhood was seen and the Godhead was hidden; so the divine essence (or substance of God) hath infused it*[7] *into the visible sacrament unspeakably."*

The two hundred and forty-third untruth. For St Cyprian saith not the sacrament is God, but only sheweth that God with his power is assistant unto the sacrament, as also to the sacrament of baptism.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here is another proper kind of proof, even like the rest. O holy Cyprian, if thy manner of speaking were not known, the simple might easily be deceived. I grant, here is a great amplification and majesty of words, such as the holy fathers have much delighted to use in their sermons to the people,

---

[1] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Orat. Domin. p. 147; where *ejus et corpore.*]

[2] Imbar, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[3] ... cœlesti pane ... Christi corpore ... ipso prædicante ... Ego sum panis vitæ qui de cœlo descendi. Si quis ederit de meo pane, vivet in æternum.—Id. ibid.]

[4] Ὡς οὖν ζωή ἐστι καὶ ὁδός, καὶ ἄρτος, καὶ ἄμπελος, καὶ ἀληθινὸν φῶς, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὀνομάζεται, οὕτω καὶ μάχαιρα, κ.τ.λ.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xliv. 5. Tom. I. p. 163.]

[5] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. vii. 8. Tom. II. p. 155; where *quia* for *quod.*]

[6] Cypr. Op. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 40.]

[7] Itself, H. A. 1564. H. A. 1565 has *it.*]

but specially in treating of the sacraments. St Ambrose saith: *Sacerdos precem facit, &c.*[8]: "The priest maketh his prayer to sanctify the font, and that the presence of the whole Trinity may be in it." Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. iii.

Tertullian saith: "The Holy Ghost cometh down from heaven, and resteth upon the water of baptism, and sanctifieth it of himself[9]." Tertull. de Baptism.

Even thus St Cyprian saith: "The divine substance infuseth itself unspeakably into the visible sacrament;" none otherwise than as the Holy Ghost, or the whole blessed Trinity, infuseth itself into the water of baptism.

Paulinus seemeth to write much agreeably to these words of St Cyprian:

Sanctus in hunc cœlo descendit Spiritus amnem;
Cœlestique sacras fonte maritat aquas.
Concipit unda Deum[10]:

"The Holy Ghost into this water cometh down from heaven, and joineth the heavenly waters and these waters both in one. Then the font receiveth God." What can be spoken with greater majesty? "Then," saith he, "the water or the font receiveth God."

If M. Harding out of these words of St Cyprian be able by this simple guess to prove that the sacramental bread was called Lord and God, then by the like guess and the like words of Tertullian, St Ambrose, and Paulinus, he may also prove that the water of baptism was likewise called Lord and God. For the form and manner of speech is all one.

But these and other like phrases be usual and ordinary among the ancient learned fathers. St Augustine writeth thus: *Baptismi sanctitas pollui non potest; et sacramento suo divina virtus assistit*[11]: "The holiness of baptism cannot be defiled. The heavenly power is assistant unto the sacrament." And again: *Deus adest sacramentis et verbis suis*[12]: "God is present with his words and sacraments." Likewise St Cyprian, touching the hallowing of the oil, writeth thus: [*In sacramentis*] *virtus divina potentius operatur.... Adest veritas signo et Spiritus sacramento*[13]: "In sacraments the heavenly power worketh mightily. The truth is present with the sign, and the Holy Ghost is present with the sacrament." August. de Baptism. contr. Donatist. Lib. iii. cap. x. August. de Baptism. contr. Donatist. Lib. v. cap. xix. Cypr. de Unct. Chrism.

All these words of the holy fathers notwithstanding, I think M. Harding will not call neither the water of baptism nor the oil hallowed Lord and God.

M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

(244) *Chrysostom doubteth not to call the sacrament God in this plain saying:* Nolimus, obsecro, nolimus impudentes nos ipsos interimere; sed cum honore et munditia ad Deum accedamus, et quando id propositum videris, dic tecum, Propter hoc corpus non amplius terra et cinis ego sum; non amplius captivus, sed liber[14]: "*Let us not, let us not, for God's sake, be so shameless as to kill ourselves (by unworthy receiving of the sacrament); but with reverence and cleanness let us come to God. And, when thou seest the sacrament set forth, say thus with thyself: By reason of this body I am no more earth and ashes, no more captive, but free.*" *In priorem ad Cor. Hom.* 24. The two hundred and forty-fourth untruth. For Chrysostom saith not the sacrament is God, but contrariwise saith: "Quid significat panis?" And answereth: "Corpus Christi."

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Chrysostom, saith M. Harding, calleth the sacrament God by plain words. First, Chrysostom calleth not the sacrament God by any manner or kind of words. Therefore we may by plain words and boldly say, M. Harding here hath uttered another great untruth.

---

[8] ... sacerdos ... precem defert; ut sanctificetur fons, et adsit præsentia Trinitatis æternæ.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. I. cap. v. 18. Tom. II. col. 353.]

[9] Supervenit enim statim Spiritus de cœlis, et aquis superest, sanctificans eas de semetipso.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Baptism. 4. p. 257.]

[10] Paulin. Op. Antv. 1622. Ad Sever. Epist. xii. p. 144.]

[11] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. III. cap. x. 15. Tom. IX. col. 113; where *ipsa ejus sanctitas.*]

[12] Id. ibid. Lib. v. cap. xx. 27. col. 154.]

[13] Cypr. Op. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 47.]

[14] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. pp. 216, 7.]

But Chrysostom, entreating of the holy communion, saith unto the people: *Accedamus ad Deum:* "Let us come unto God." "Here," saith M. Harding, "the sacrament by these words is called God." O, when will these men deal plainly and simply with their readers? M. Harding knoweth full well that he much abuseth this good old father, and reporteth of him that he never thought. He knoweth that we come to God, not by travail of body, or by shifting of places, but by inclining and bending our hearts unto God. So St Paul saith: Heb. iv. "Let us go with boldness to the throne of grace."

St Augustine, speaking of the sacrament of baptism, agreeth fully with these words of Chrysostom: *Ad medicum Christum, hoc est, ad percipiendum sacramentum salutis æternæ... portantur*[1]: "Children are carried unto Christ the physician, that is to say, to receive (baptism, which is) the sacrament of everlasting salvation." By these plain words of St Augustine it appeareth, that coming to baptism is coming to Christ. Yet may not M. Harding conclude thereof, that the water of baptism was called Christ. August. de Pecc. Mer. et Remiss. Lib. i. cap. xviii.

Our coming unto Christ is believing in Christ. St Augustine saith: *Quid est accedite, nisi credite?... Accedite ad eum, qui in vestris auribus prædicatur. Accedite ad eum, qui ante oculos vestros glorificatur. Ambulando non laborabitis. Ibi enim acceditis, ubi creditis*[2]: "What is *come*, but *believe?* Come unto him that is preached in your ears. Come unto him that is glorified before your eyes. Ye shall have no pain in going. For there ye come, where ye believe." August. adv. Jud. cap. i.

So Chrysostom: *Nunquid longe est a te Deus, ut vadas ad locum aliquem? Non includitur loco; sed semper est in proximo*[3]: "Is God far away from thee, that thou shouldest need to remove to some place to come unto him? God is not contained in any place, but is evermore at hand." Chrysost. Hom. 12. De Mul. Can.

Likewise saith Nazianzene: *Accede fidens ad Christum; riga pedes ejus*[4]: "Come boldly unto Christ, and wash his feet." Therefore St Augustine saith: *Accedant ad Jesum, non carne, sed corde; non corporis præsentia, sed fidei potentia*[5]: "Let them come unto Jesus, not with their flesh, but with their heart; not by presence of body, but by the power of faith." Naz. de Pœnit. August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxxiii. cap. i.

Thus we come unto Christ in baptism, in God's word, in the sermon, and in the holy communion, not by moving of the body or changing of places, but by the devotion of the heart and travail of the mind.

Now, that the reader himself may see some part of M. Harding's courteous dealing in this behalf, it shall not be amiss briefly to touch certain other words of Chrysostom that immediately went before; by which words he seemeth of purpose to teach us where we ought to seek for Christ, and by what ways and means we may come unto him.

His words be these: *Aquilæ in hac vita facti ad ipsum cœlum evolemus, &c.*[6]: "Being made eagles in this life, let us fly[7] up into heaven, or rather above the heavens. For where as the carcase is, there are the eagles. The carcase is our Lord's body in respect of his death. But he calleth us eagles, to shew us that whoso will come near to that body must mount on high, and have no dealing with the earth, not[8] to bow downward, or creep[9] beneath, but ever to soar aloft, and to behold the Sun of Justice, and to have a quick eye in our heart."

Thus St Chrysostom teacheth us, both where Christ resteth in the glory of his Father, and by what means we may come unto him, and with what eyes we may behold him. Then, having thus advanced[10] our minds into heaven, he saith: *Propter hoc corpus, &c.*: "For this body's sake (that I see at the right hand of

---

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Pecc. Mer. et Remiss. Lib. i. cap. xviii. 23. Tom. X. cols. 13, 4.]

[2 Id. adv. Jud. cap. ix. 14. Tom. VIII. col. 40.]

[3 Μὴ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν, ἵνα ἀπέλθῃς εἰς τόπον; Θεὸς ἀεὶ ἐγγύς ἐστιν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Chanan. Hom. Tom. III. p. 442. Jewel has quoted the Latin version.]

[4 The editor has failed to discover the passage intended.]

[5 August. Op. Contr. Faust. Lib. xxxiii. cap. viii. Tom. VIII. col. 468. See before, page 740, note 7.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216. See before, page 12. The passage proceeds: καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μηδὲ κάτω σύρεσθαι καὶ ἕρπειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηνεκῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνορᾶν, καὶ ὀξυδερκὲς τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν.]

[7 Flee, 1565.]

[8 Nor, 1565.]

[9 Or to creep, 1565, 1609.]

[10 Avaunced, 1565.]

God) I am no more a prisoner: I am no longer dust and ashes." Touching the sacrament, by these most plain words he calleth it bread: for thus he saith, even in the same homily: *Quid significat panis? Corpus Christi*[11]: "What doth the bread (of the sacrament) signify?" He answereth: "The body of Christ." He saith not, The bread is Christ; but, "The bread signifieth the body of Christ."

Yet, notwithstanding, M. Harding saith that these words, *accedamus ad Deum*, import as much as "Let us come to the sacrament;" and thereof imagineth that the sacrament by plain words is called God. But indeed that holy father by these words carrieth us so far above M. Harding's God, as the spirit is above the body, or as heaven is above the earth. For he teacheth us to come to Christ's body, not as lying presently before our eyes, but as being in the glory of God in heaven.

M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

And lest this sense taken of Chrysostom should seem over strange, this place of St Ambrose, who lived in the same time, and agreeth with him thoroughly in doctrine, may seem to lead us to the same: Quid edamus, quid bibamus, alibi tibi per prophetam Spiritus sanctus expressit, dicens: Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus: beatus vir qui sperat in eo: in illo sacramento Christus est, quia corpus est Christi[12]: "*What we ought to eat, and what we ought to drink, the Holy Ghost hath expressed by the prophet in another place, saying: 'Taste and see how that our Lord is sweet: blessed is the man that trusteth in him.' In that sacrament is Christ, because there is the body of Christ.*" *Here St Ambrose,* (245) *referring those words of the psalm to the sacrament, calleth it Lord, and that Lord in whom the man that trusteth is blessed, who is God.*

De iis qui Mysteriis initiantur, cap. ix.

Psal. xxxiv.

The two hundred and forty-fifth untruth. For St Ambrose applieth these words unto Christ himself, and not unto the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

To say that Christ is either in the scriptures, or in the manna, or in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of his body, it is no new phrase or manner of speech, but commonly used of the ancient fathers. St Hierome saith: *Christus clausus latebat in litera*[13]: "Christ lay hidden in the letter." St Augustine saith: [*Pii*] *in manna Christum intellexerunt*[14]: "The godly in manna understood Christ." Again he saith: *Ut petra erat Christus propter firmitatem; ita manna erat Christus, quia descendit de cœlo*[15]: "As the rock was Christ in respect of constancy and steadiness; even so was the manna Christ, because it came down from heaven."

Hieron. ad Paulin.

August. de Util. Pœnit.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xii. cap. i.

St Hierome saith: *Lapis ille, qui erat ad caput Jacob, Christus erat.... Lapis ille Christus est*[16]: "The stone that lay under Jacob's head was Christ. That stone is Christ."

Hieron. in Psal. cxxxiii.

Origen saith: *Mare baptismus est: nubes Spiritus sanctus est: agnus Salvator est*[17]: "The sea is baptism: the cloud is the Holy Ghost: the lamb is the Saviour." And, to be short, a doctor, although not very ancient, yet of M. Harding's own side, one that wrote the "Fort of Faith," and therefore in this case may not justly be refused, writeth thus: *Christus vendebatur in Josepho, suspendebatur in botro, crucifigebatur in serpente*[19]: "Christ was sold in Joseph, hanged in the cluster of grapes, and crucified in the serpent."

Orig. in Cant. Hom. 2.[18]

Fortal. Fid. Lib. i.

All these and such other like phrases of speech must be taken, not of any

[11] See before, page 538, note 6.]

[12] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 58. Tom. II. col. 341.]

[13] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. l. ad Paulin. ii. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 571; where *Jesum qui clausus.*]

[14] August. Op. Serm. cccli. De Util. Agend. Pœn. ii. cap. i. 3. Tom. V. col. 1365.]

[15] Si enim petra Christus propter firmitatem, cur non et manna Christus, tamquam panis vivus qui de cœlo descendit?—Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XII. cap. xxix. Tom. VIII. col. 241.]

[16] Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. cxxxiii. Tom. II. Append. col. 476; where *lapis iste.*]

[17] The passage has not been found in the place cited; but one nearly resembling it appears elsewhere: Quod Judæi transitum maris putant, Paulus baptismum vocat: quam illi existimant nubem, Paulus Spiritum sanctum ponit, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. v. Tom. II. p. 144.]

[18] Our, 1565.]

[19] Fuit enim Christus venditus in Joseph... suspensus in botro qui portabatur in vecte, et in serpente æneo &c.—Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. I. Consid. iii. Art. 6. Punct. 3. fol. 19. 2.]

real or fleshly being, according to the shew of the letter, but only as in a sacrament or in a mystery.

But M. Harding will say: "The sacrament of St Ambrose is called Lord." This is another untruth, and like the rest of M. Harding's proofs. Christ, sitting now at the right hand of God, is the bread and food of life: thither St Ambrose calleth us: there he biddeth us "to taste and see that the Lord is sweet and gracious." And he addeth immediately: *Beatus vir qui sperat in eo:* "Blessed is the man that trusteth in him." Notwithstanding it might very well serve his purpose, yet I think M. Harding will not say, The man is blessed that trusteth in the sacrament. For so to say, as it shall hereafter appear, it were great blasphemy.

And that St Ambrose meant this not of the sacrament, but of the body of Christ itself that is represented by the sacrament, it is plain by other his words, both going before and also immediately following after. A little before, in the same chapter, he writeth thus: *Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus [Christi] significatur*[1]: "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called another kind; but after consecration the body of Christ is signified."

Ambros. de illis qui initiantur Myst. cap. ix.

The words next following in the same sentence are these: *Non ergo corporalis esca, sed spiritualis est*[2]: "Therefore Christ's body is not corporal food (to be received into the body), but spiritual food;" that is to say, to be received with the spirit. Which words M. Harding, as his manner is, thought it best skill to dissemble. God quicken the inward senses of his understanding, that he may taste and see that the Lord is sweet and gracious!

M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

Agreeably to this saith St Augustine, in a sermon De Verbis Evangelii, *as Beda reciteth:* Qualem vocem Domini audistis invitantis nos? Quis [vos] invitavit? Quos invitavit? Et quis præparavit? Invitavit Dominus servos, et præparavit eis cibum seipsum. Quis audeat manducare Dominum suum? Et tamen ait: Qui manducat me, vivat[3] propter me[4]: "*What manner of*[5] *voice is it*[6] *that ye have heard of our Lord inviting and bidding us to the feast? Who hath invited? Whom hath he invited? And who hath made preparation? The Lord hath invited the servants, and hath prepared* himself to be meat for them. Who dareth be so bold as to eat his Lord? And yet he saith: 'He that eateth me shall live for 'cause of me.'*"

In collectaneis in x. cap. prioris ad Corin.

* These words are spoken, not of the sacrament, but of Christ's body itself represented by the sacrament.

Cyrillus accounteth (246) *the sacrament for Christ, and God the Word, and for God in this saying:* Qui carnem Christi manducat, vitam habet æternam. Habet enim hæc caro Dei Verbum, quod naturaliter vita est. Propterea dicit: Quia ego resuscitabo eum in novissimo die. Ego enim, dixit, id est, corpus meum quod comedetur, resuscitabo eum. Non enim alius ipse est, quam caro sua, &c.[7]: "*He that eateth the flesh of Christ hath life everlasting. For this flesh hath the Word of God, which naturally is life. Therefore saith he that 'I will raise him in the last day.' For I, quoth he, that is to say, my body which shall be eaten, shall raise him up again; for he is no other than his flesh, &c.*"

In Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xv.

John vi.

The two hundred and forty-sixth untruth. For Cyril speaketh these words of Christ's body itself, and not of the sacrament of Christ's body.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is true that St Augustine saith that Christ prepared himself to be meat for us. For Christ himself saith: "He that eateth me shall live through me." Neither was it so needful for proof hereof to borrow St Augustine's words out of Beda: he might have found the same meaning, both in St Augustine himself, and also in other old fathers in sundry places. St Augustine writeth thus: *Panis est, et panis est, et panis est, Deus Pater, Deus Filius, et Deus Spiritus sanctus....*

August. de Verb. Dom. secund. Luc. Serm. 29.

[1] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[2] Id. ibid. 58. col. 341.]

[3] Vivet, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[4] August. in Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 364; where *quid præparavit*, and *vivit*.]

[5] A, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[6] H. A. 1564 omits *it*.]

[7] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Johan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 363.]

Deus, qui tibi dat, nihil melius quam se tibi dat[8]: "It is bread, it is bread, and it is bread (meaning thereby not the sacrament, but the spiritual bread of life), God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. God, that giveth it unto thee, giveth thee no better thing than himself." So St Hierome: [*Sancti*] *vescuntur cœlesti pane, et saturantur omni verbo Dei, eundem habentes Dominum, quem et cibum*[9]: "Holy men eat the heavenly bread, and are filled with every word of God, having the same Lord that is their meat." Hieron. ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Hierosol.

So St Gregory: *Præsepe ... natus implevit, qui cibum semetipsum mortalium mentibus præbuit*[10]: "Being born, he filled the manger, that gave himself meat to the minds or souls of men." In this sense, and none otherwise, Cyrillus saith: "I, that is to say, my body that shall be eaten, shall raise him up again. For Christ is none other than his flesh." Gregor. in Job. Lib. vii. cap. iv.

All these sayings be true, and out of question. Yet notwithstanding that M. Harding would gather hereof is not true; that is, that either St Augustine or any of these holy fathers ever called the sacrament either Lord, or God, or Christ himself.

St Augustine in divers places teacheth us that Christ's body itself and the sacraments[11] thereof are sundry things. And the difference he openeth in this sort: "That Christ's body is received inwardly with the mind; but the sacrament is outwardly pressed and bruised with the tooth[12]." And therefore he calleth the sacrament *panem Domini*, "the bread of the Lord." But Christ himself he calleth *panem Dominum*[13], "the bread that is our Lord." And, expounding these words of Christ, "Give us this day our daily bread," he saith thus: "This daily bread we may understand either for the sacrament of Christ's body, which we receive every day (as then the whole people used to do), or for that spiritual food (of Christ's body itself) of which our Lord saith, 'Work ye the meat that perisheth not;' and again, 'I am that bread of life that came from[14] heaven[15].'" Here we see another notable difference between Christ's body itself and the sacrament of his body. August. in Johan. Tractat. 26. Qui manducat mente, non qui premit dente. August. in Johan. Tractat. 59. August. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. ii.

And, if it had pleased M. Harding to have taken better view of his places, thus he might have seen St Augustine himself, even in the same place, expound himself. For thus he saith: *Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis et sanguinis Domini participem fieri, quando in baptismate membrum Christi efficitur; nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiamsi, antequam panem illum comedat et calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate corporis Christi constitutus abscedat. Sacramenti enim illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc, quod illud sacramentum significat, invenit*[16]: "No man may any wise doubt but that every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ; and that he is not put from the fellowship of that bread and cup, although he depart this life in the unity of Christ's body, before he eat of that bread or drink of that cup. For he loseth not the partaking and benefit of that sacrament, so long as he findeth the thing (that is, the body of Christ itself) which is signified by that sacrament." Here St Augustine teacheth us, that a faithful man is partaker of Christ's body itself, yea, although he receive not the sacrament of his body. August. ad Infant. citat. a Beda in 1 Cor. x.

And as St Augustine, in these words here alleged by M. Harding, saith, *Christus præparavit cibum seipsum;* so, writing upon St John, he saith thus:

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Luc. xi. Serm. cv. 4. Tom. V. cols. 542, 3.]

[9 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. Epist. xxxviii. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 324.]

[10 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. VII. in cap. vi. B. Job. 7. Tom. I. col. 215; where *mentibus mortalium.*]

[11 Sacrament, 1565, 1609.]

[12 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499; where *manducat in corde.*]

[13 Id. ibid. in cap. xiii. Tractat. lix. 1. col. 663.]

[14 Came down from, 1565.]

[15 Panis quotidianus ... dictus est ... aut pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus; aut pro spiritali cibo, de quo idem Dominus dicit, Operamini escam quæ non corrumpitur: et illud, Ego sum panis vitæ, qui de cœlo descendi.—Id. de Serm. Dom. in Mont. Lib. II. cap. vii. 25. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 209.]

[16 Ven. Bed. Op. Ad Cor. I. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365. Conf. Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. ad calc. Epist. de Baptism. Æthiop. col. 587. See before, page 132, note 2.]

August. in Johan. Tractat. 7.

[*Christus*] *invitavit... nos ad evangelium suum; et ipse cibus noster est; quo nihil dulcius, sed si quis habeat palatum... in corde*[1]: "Christ hath called us unto his gospel; and he himself is our meat; than which meat there is nothing sweeter, if a man have wherewith to taste it in his heart."

August. Confess. Lib. i.

So again he saith: *Deus panis intus est animæ meæ*[2]: "God is the inward bread (not to enter into my bodily mouth, but) of my soul."

Thus we see the one part of M. Harding's tale is true, that Christ himself is our bread; but the other part is untrue, that the sacrament is that bread. And it were a strange form of reasoning to say thus: Christ is our food; we eat him with our soul and with our spirit, and live by him; *ergo*, the sacrament in St Augustine's time was called Lord and God. The error and falsehood[3] of this argument, besides sundry other infirmities, standeth in the equivocation or double taking of this word "eating," which hath relation sometime to the material mouth of our body, sometime to faith, which is the spiritual mouth of our soul. St John saith: "Christ hath washed us with his blood." And St Bernard saith: *Lavemur in sanguine ejus*[4]: "Let us bathe ourselves in the blood of Christ." Yet M. Harding may not hereof conclude, that the water of baptism indeed and verily is that blood.

Rev. i.

Bernard. Sup. Missus est, Serm. 3.

M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

He lived eleven hundred years after Christ, in the great corruption of the church.

No man more expressly calleth the sacrament by the name of God than St Bernard in his godly sermon De Cœna Domini ad Petrum Presbyterum, *where he saith thus:* Comedunt... angeli Verbum de Deo natum: comedunt homines Verbum fœnum factum[5]: "*The angels eat the Word born of God: men eat the Word made hay;*" *meaning hereby the sacrament, which he calleth "the Word made hay," that is to wit, the Word incarnate. And in another place there he saith:* Hæc est vere indulgentia cœlestis, hæc est vere cumulata gratia, hæc est vere superexcellens gloria, sacerdotem Deum suum tenere, et aliis dando porrigere[6]: "*This is verily an heavenly gift, this is verily a bountiful grace, this is verily a passing excellent glory, the priest to hold his God, and in giving to reach him forth to others.*" *In the same sermon, speaking of the marvellous sweetness that good bishops and holy religious men have experience of by receiving this blessed sacrament, he saith thus:* Ideo...ad mensam altaris frequentius accedunt, omni tempore candida facientes vestimenta [sua], id est, corpora, prout possunt, melius, utpote Deum suum manu et ore contrectaturi[7]: "*For this cause they come the oftener unto the board of the altar, at all times making their garments, that is to say, their bodies, so white as they can possible*[8]*, as they who shall handle their God with hand and mouth.*" *Another place of the same sermon, for that it containeth a wholesome instruction, beside the affirming of our purpose, I cannot omit: I remit the learned to the Latin: the English of it is this: "They are marvellous things, brethren, that be spoken of this sacrament: faith is necessary: knowledge of reason is (here) superfluous. This let faith believe: let not understanding require, lest that either, not being found, it think it incredible; or, being found out, it believe it not to be singular and alone. And therefore it behoveth it to be believed simply, that cannot be searched out profitably. Wherefore search not, search not how it may be: doubt not whether it be. Come not unto it unreverently, lest it be to you to death;* Deus enim est, et quanquam panis mysteria habeat, mutatur tamen in carnem; *for it is God, and, though it have mysteries of bread, yet is it changed into flesh. God and man it is, that witnesseth bread truly to be made his flesh. The vessel of election it is, that threateneth judgment to him that putteth no difference in judging of that so holy flesh. The self-same thing think thou, O christian man, of the wine: give that honour to the wine.*

1 Cor. xi.

---

[1] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. i. Tractat. vii. 2. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 342; where *habet.*]

[2] ... Deus...panis oris intus animæ meæ.—Id. Confess. Lib. I. cap. xiii. 21. Tom. I. col. 77.]

[3] Falshead, 1565.]

[4] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Sup. Missus est, Hom. iii. 14. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 748.]

[5] Id. De Excell. Sacram. Serm. 2. Vol. II. Tom. V. col. 669. This is spurious.]

[6] Id. ibid. 3; where *sacerdotum.*]

[7] Id. ibid. 10. col. 672.]

[8] Possibly, H. A. 1564.]

The Creator of wine it is, that promoteth the wine to be the blood of Christ[9]." *Thus*[10] *far holy Bernard.*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Bernard was a monk, and lived at Clara Vallis, about the same time that Thomas Becket lived here in England: at which time, as it appeareth by his often complaints, the church of God was miserably defaced. For thus he writeth, namely touching the clergy of Rome: *Nihil integri est in clero, &c.*[11]: "In the whole clergy (wherein he includeth the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and all the rest) there is no part left sound." "It remaineth now that the man of sin, that is, antichrist, be revealed." "From the top to the toe there is no health." "The servants of Christ now serve antichrist." Therefore Bernard, living in a time of such corruption, and being carried away with the tempest and violence of the same, must needs in these cases bear the less credit. Howbeit in other places he seemeth somewhat to rectify his own meaning. For thus he writeth: *Quasi vero* [*Christus*], *cum jam ascenderit* [*in cœlum*], *tangi a Maria aut velit aut possit. Et utique poterit; sed affectu, non manu; voto, non oculo; fide, non sensibus*[12]: "As though Christ, after he is ascended into heaven, either can or will be touched of Mary. And verily he may be touched; but with love, not with hand; with desire, not with eye; with faith, not with senses."

An. Dom. 1117.

Bernard. in Psalm. Qui habitat. De Conv. Paul. In Cant. Cantic.

Bernard. in Cant. Cantic. Serm. 28.

If M. Harding will press us further with that St Bernard saith, "The priest holdeth God in his hands;" it may please him to consider that the rigour thereof may be qualified by a convenient exposition. So St Chrysostom saith: *Adest sacerdos gestans... Spiritum sanctum*[13]: "The priest is present bearing the Holy Ghost."

Chrysost. de Sacerdot. Lib. iii.

And St Gregory saith: [*Paulus*] *prædicando* [*Deum*] *infundebat audientibus*[14]: "Paul by his preaching poured God into his hearers." And again: *Latens in Pauli pectore, quasi sub tentorio, ibat Deus*[15]: "God went in Paul's heart, as under a tent." St Hierome saith: *His qui baptizandi sunt... publice tradimus sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem*[16]: "Unto them that are to receive baptism we openly deliver the holy Trinity." The meaning hereof is this, that he receiveth the Trinity that receiveth the faith and doctrine of the Trinity.

Gregor. in Job Lib. XXVII. cap. vi.

Hieron. ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Hierosol.

Now, as St Chrysostom saith, "The priest beareth the Holy Ghost;" as St Gregory saith, "St Paul poured God into his hearers;" and as St Hierome saith, "We deliver the holy Trinity;" even so it may seem Bernard saith, "The priest holdeth God in his hand;" that is to say, not really or indeed, but in a certain peculiar manner and form of speech. For by a rhetorical amplification of words he holdeth God that holdeth any thing specially pertaining unto God.

Thus must these and other like words be salved, namely these of Bernard, for that they seem expressly to require the same. For thus they stand, far otherwise than M. Harding hath reported them: *Deum suum manu et ore contrectaturi, et colloquentem sibi ipsis audituri*[17]: "To touch God with their hand and with their mouth, and to hear him speaking unto them." Which latter[18] clause

---

[9] Mira sunt, fratres, quæ de sacramento isto dicuntur. Fides est necessaria: scientia rationis supervacua... Augustinus contra Felicianum: Hoc fides credat, intelligentia non requirat, ne aut non inventum putet incredibile, aut repertum non credat singulare. [August. Op. Contr. Felic. Arian. De Unit. Trin. cap. viii. Tom. VIII. Append. col. 43. This treatise is really by Vigilius Tapsensis.]...Et ideo credi oportet simpliciter, quod investigari non potest utiliter....Nolite itaque, nolite quærere quomodo fiat: nolite dubitare, utrum fiat. Deus enim &c. habet &c. Deus et homo est, qui testatur panem veraciter fieri carnem suam. Vas electionis est, qui minatur judicium non dijudicanti tam sanctam carnem. Id ipsum, O Christiane, de vino sentias, id honores in vino. Creator vini est, qui vinum provehit in sanguinem Christi.—Id. ibid. 12. col. 673.]

[10] This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[11] Id. In Psalm. Qui hab. Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838. In Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. col. 956. In Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. col. 1393. See before, pages 382, 707.]

[12] Id. in Cant. Serm. xxviii. 9. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1369; where *tunc tangi ab ea velit.*]

[13] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Sacerdot. Lib. III. Tom. II. p. 383.]

[14] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. XXVII. in cap. xxxvi. B. Job. 19. Tom. I. col. 861.]

[15] Id. ibid.; where *in ejus pectore.*]

[16] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Pammach. Epist. xxxviii. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 313, 4; where *tradamus.*]

[17] Bernard. Op. De Excell. Sacram. Serm. 10. Vol. II. Tom. V. col. 672.]

[18] Later, 1565.]

M. Harding, as his manner is, hath purposely dissembled. As the priest heareth Christ speak unto him, so he holdeth Christ in his hand. But the priest heareth not Christ speak verily and indeed, but by a figure: therefore it seemeth it may reasonably be gathered of the same, that he holdeth not Christ in his hand really and indeed, but only by way of a figure.

Thus much touching Bernard. Notwithstanding it is likely, and thought of many, that, as well herein as in other cases of religion, he was led alway[1] with the errors and ignorance of his time.

M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

Here let our adversaries, touching this article, consider and weigh with themselves, whether they be Lutherans, Zuinglians, or Genevians, what English they can make of these words used by the fathers, (247) *and applied to the sacrament in the places before alleged:* Dominus, Christus, divina essentia, Deus, seipsum, Verbum Dei, ego, Verbum fœnum factum, Deum suum: *the number of the like places that might be alleged to this purpose be in manner infinite. Yet M. Jewel promiseth to give over and subscribe if any one may be found. Now we shall see what truth is in his word.*

The two hundred and forty-seventh untruth. For not one of all these words is applied to the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I doubt not but, by these few well considered, it may easily appear unto the discreet reader that none of all these ancient fathers, neither Irenæus, nor Origen, nor Cyprian, nor Chrysostom, nor Ambrose, nor Augustine, nor Cyrillus, for ought that may appear by their words, ever called the sacrament either Lord, or Christ, or divine substance, or God, or himself, or the Word of God, or their God; notwithstanding M. Harding hath taken some pains, by guileful translations and unadvised asseverations, to make some appearance of the same. St Hierome saith: *Falsi testes sunt, qui non eodem sensu dicta proferunt, quo dicuntur*[2]: "They that report words in other sense than they were spoken are false witnesses."

Hieron. in Matt. cap. xxvi.

M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

*In the weighing of this doctrine of the church, little occasion of wicked scoffs and blasphemies against this blessed sacrament shall remain to them that be not blinded with that gross and fond error, *that denieth the inseparability of Christ, but affirmeth in this mystery to be present his flesh only, without blood, soul, and a*[3] *Godhead. Which is confuted by plain scriptures. "Christ, raised from the dead, now dieth no more." Rom. vi. He suffereth himself no more to be "divided." 1 Cor. i. "Every spirit that loseth*[4] *Jesus, this is antichrist." 1 John iv. Hereof it followeth that, if Christ be verily under the form of bread in the sacrament, as it is other wheres sufficiently proved, then is he there entire and whole, flesh, blood, and soul, whole Christ, God and man, for the inseparable union of both natures in one person. Which matter is more amply declared in the article of the Adoration of the Sacrament*[5].

* M. Harding hath imagined this error of himself.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In the end, M. Harding confirmeth this doctrine by the confutation of an error, which, for the novelty and strangeness of it, may easily seem to be his own; and therefore ought of right to be called "M. Harding's error:" for I believe it was never neither defended nor imagined by any other.

He surmiseth there be some that either have said, or else may say, that Christ's flesh is present really in the sacrament; howbeit dead and bloodless, and utterly void both of soul and Godhead. This is a new error, never tamed or touched before this time.

As for us, we do constantly believe and confess that Christ, the very natural Son of God, received our flesh of the blessed virgin, and that, wheresoever that flesh is, there is also both the Godhead and the soul.

---

[1] Away, 1565.]

[2] Sed falsus testis est, qui non in eodem sensu dicta intelligit quo dicuntur.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. IV. col. 132.]

[3] 1565 and H.A. 1564 omit *a*.]

[4] loqoseth, H. A. 1564.]

[5] See before, pages 524, 7, 31, &c.]

Of this undoubted truth M. Harding gathereth an impertinent conclusion. For thus he reasoneth: "If Christ be verily under the form of bread in the sacrament, then is he there entire and whole, God and man." Indeed, the first being granted, the rest must needs follow. But how is M. Harding so well assured of the first? What old doctor or ancient father ever taught him that Christ's body is really and fleshly present under these forms or fantasies of bread and wine? If the learned fathers say so, it were good to shew it; if they say not so, it is great shame to plead it. Verily, all that M. Harding hath yet said is not able to prove it. The Sacrament inferior to God's Word.

Now, good christian reader, for thy better satisfaction in this case, being so dangerous, wherein whoso erreth is an idolater, and knoweth not God, it may please thee briefly to consider both the ancient godly fathers' undoubted judgment touching this sacrament, and also the ancient order and usage of the same.

First, concerning the judgment of the fathers in this behalf, St Chrysostom saith: *In vasis sanctificatis non ... verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis Christi continetur*[6]: "In the holy vessels not the very or true body of Christ, but the mystery of Christ's body is contained." Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 11.

St Augustine saith: *Interrogo vos, fratres, ... dicite mihi, quid plus videtur vobis, corpus Christi, an verbum Christi? Si vultis vere respondere, hoc dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei, quam corpus Christi*[7]: "I demand of you this question, my brethren, answer me. Whether, think you, is greater, the body of Christ (meaning thereby the sacrament), or the word of Christ? If ye will answer truly, this must ye say, that the word of God is no less than the body of Christ." St Hierome saith: *Ego corpus Jesu evangelium puto ... Et quamvis, quod Christus dicit, Qui non manducat meam carnem, &c. possit intelligi de mysterio, tamen verius corpus Christi et sanguis ejus sermo scripturarum est*[8]: "I take the body of Jesus to be the gospel. And albeit these words of Christ, 'He that eateth not my flesh, &c.' may be taken of the sacrament, yet in truer sense the word of the scriptures is the body and blood of Christ." i. Quæst. 1. Interrogo vos. Hieron. in Psalm. cxlvii. Verius.

Likewise saith Origen: *Quod si circa corpus Christi servandum tanta utimini cautela, ... quomodo putatis, minoris esse periculi verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus?*[9] "If ye take such heed in keeping (the sacrament, which is called) the body of Christ, how can you think there is less danger in despising the word of God, than there is in despising (the sacrament that is called) the body of God?" Orig. in Exod. Hom. 13.

If the sacrament were indeed and really the body of Christ, and so our very Lord and God, thus to compare it with a creature, and to make it inferior unto the same, as St Augustine, St Hierome, Origen, and other godly fathers do, it were great blasphemy.

St Augustine saith: *Plus est unus Deus, quam unus baptismus. Neque enim est baptismus Deus. Sed ideo magnum aliquid est, quia sacramentum est Dei*[10]: "One God is more than one baptism. For baptism is no God. But yet is baptism a great thing, because it is a sacrament of God." August. de Unic. Bapt. contr. Petil. cap. v.

Origen, that great learned father, saith: *Ille panis, qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei et obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur*[11]: "The bread that is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, touching the material part of it (which is the sacrament) entereth into the belly, and passeth into the draught." These words were horrible to be spoken, if the sacrament indeed were Christ and God. Orig. in Matt. cap. xv.

St Ambrose, expounding these words of Christ, "Give us this day our daily

---

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii. See before, pages 538, 9.]

[7 Interrogo vos, ... dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei, an corpus Christi? Si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere &c.—August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. i. Quæst. i. can. 94. col. 540. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. ccc. 2. Tom. V. Append. col. 504.]

[8 Ego &c. Et quando dicit, Qui non comederit carnem meam &c. licet et in mysterio possit intelligi: tamen &c.—Hieron. Op. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504.]

[9 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. xiii. 3. Tom. II. pp. 176, 7; where *corpus ejus conservandum*, and *esse piaculi*.]

[10 August. Op. Lib. de Unic. Bapt. contr. Petil. cap. v. 8. Tom. IX. col. 531; where *baptismus Deus est*.]

[11 Orig. Op. Comm. In Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 499.]

The Sacrament a Creature.

bread," saith thus: *Hodie ... dat nobis hunc panem, quem ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis.... Possumus et ipsum Dominum accipere, qui ... ait, Ego sum panis vitæ*[1]: "Even this day Christ giveth us this (daily) bread, (that is, the sacrament), which he himself, being the priest, doth daily consecrate with his own words. We may take the same daily bread also for our Lord himself, that saith, 'I am the bread of life.'" Hereby it is plain, that "Christ himself" and "the sacrament" are sundry things; and that neither "the sacrament" is "Christ himself," neither "Christ himself" is "the sacrament."

Ambros. de Bened. Patriarch.

Chrysost. in Op. Imperf. Hom. 49.

St Chrysostom saith: *Habent et hæretici*[2] *in schismate similiter ecclesias, &c.*[3]: "Heretics[4] in their schism have likewise churches, as well as have the catholics; likewise the holy scriptures, likewise bishops, likewise orders of clerks, likewise baptism, likewise the sacrament (of the holy communion), likewise all other things; and, to be short, Christ himself." Here likewise this holy father St Chrysostom, contrary to M. Harding's fantasy, presupposeth a great difference between "the sacrament" and "Christ himself." But what can be so plain as these words of St Ambrose touching the same? *Venisti ad altare: vidisti sacramenta posita super altare; et ipsam quidem miratus es creaturam. Tamen creatura solennis et nota*[5]: "Thou camest to the altar, and sawest the sacrament laid upon the altar; and thou marvelledst at the creature. And yet it is[6] a creature common and known." Here St Ambrose by express words calleth the sacrament not Lord or God, but a creature.

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii.

Epiphan. in Anchorat.

Therefore Epiphanius thereof writeth thus: *Hoc est rotundæ figuræ, et insensibile, quantum ad potentiam, &c.... Dominum vero nostrum novimus totum sensum, totum sensitivum, totum Deum, totum moventem*[7]: "This thing (that is, the sacrament) is of a round form (for it was a great thick round cake), and, touching any power that is in it, utterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole moving." In these words between Christ and the sacrament appeareth likewise a great difference.

Just. Mart. in Colloq. cum Tryph.

Justinus Martyr saith: *Alimento humido et sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Deus Dei Filius perpessus sit*[8]: "By dry and moist food (whereby he meaneth the sacrament) we are taught what things God the Son of God hath suffered for us."

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

Cyrillus calleth the sacrament *fragmenta panis*[9], "fragments or pieces of bread."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

St Augustine calleth it *buccellam dominicam*[10], "the Lord's morsel."

Certainly it had been horrible wickedness to have called the sacrament by any of these names, either "a creature," or "a thing insensible and void of life," or "a food dry and moist," or "a morsel," or "a fragment," or "a piece of bread," if the holy fathers had been persuaded, as M. Harding beareth us in hand, that the sacrament was their Lord and God.

Lit. Chrysost.

Chrysostom, in the communion that commonly beareth his name, after the consecration prayeth thus: "We beseech thee, O God, to send down thy Holy Ghost upon these (sacraments or) presents laid before us[11]."

And M. Harding himself in his mass in like manner after consecration maketh his prayers unto God in this wise: "Look, O Lord, upon these sacraments with a gracious and a cheerful countenance, and vouchsafe to receive the same as thou didst sometime receive the oblations of Abel thy child, and the sacrifice of our

---

[1 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Bened. Patriarch. cap. ix. 38, 9. Tom. I. cols. 524, 5; where *eum* for *hunc panem*.]

[2 Hæreses, 1565, 1609.]

[3 ...omnia...habent et hæreses illæ in schismate: similiter ecclesias, similiter et ipsas scripturas divinas, similiter episcopos, ceterosque ordines clericorum, similiter baptismum, aliter eucharistiam, et cetera omnia, denique ipsum Christum.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. xxiv. Hom. xlix. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[4 Heresies, 1565, 1609.]

[5 Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iii. 8. Tom. II. cols. 366, 7; where *creaturam solemnem et notam*.]

[6 Is it, 1565, 1609.]

[7 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Ancorat. 57. Tom. II. p. 60.]

[8 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. 117. p. 210.]

[9 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 360. See before, page 149, note 14.]

[10 Non enim buccella Dominica venenum fuit Judæ.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 11. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 498.]

[11 ... καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα.—Lit. Chrysost. in Lit. Sanct. Patr. Par. 1560. p. 97.]

patriarch Abraham, and the thing that was offered unto thee by the high priest Melchisedech[12]."

It were very much for M. Harding to say that he prayeth God that the Holy Ghost may come upon Christ, that[13] God at his request and for his sake will favourably and cheerfully behold his own Son; or so receive him, being our Lord and God, as he sometime received a goat, or a wether, or any other like corruptible kind of sacrifice.

Howbeit, if he speak plainly, and dissemble not, as some of his friends are afraid he doth, then is this undoubtedly the very tenor and meaning of his prayer. But if he dissemble, and speak otherwise than he thinketh, and that at the secretest and holiest part of all his mass, then by his own confession, and by the authority of his own mass-book, the sacrament is not Lord and God.

In the council holden at Carthage under St Cyprian, Cæcilius a Bilta saith thus: *Antistes diaboli audet eucharistiam facere*[14]: "A priest of the devil dareth to make the sacrament;" which words, by M. Harding's exposition, must needs sound thus: A priest of the devil dareth to make our Lord and God. Which saying notwithstanding among the priests of M. Harding's side is not so strange. For thus they dare to say without fear or shame: *Sacerdos est creator Creatoris sui: qui creavit vos, dedit vobis creare se: qui creavit vos absque vobis, creatur a vobis mediantibus vobis*[15]: "The priest is the creator of his own Creator: he that created you of nought hath given you power to create himself of nought: he that made you without you is made of you by mean of you." These words sometime had been counted blasphemy: but now they must be taken as good and catholic, as uttered by the patriarchs of that profession.

Cypr. in Concil. Carthag. ad Quirin.

Stella Cleric. Serm. Discip. Serm. 111.

Thus much of the judgment of the old fathers touching this question.

Now, for the ancient order and usage of the sacrament, it may please thee, good christian reader, to understand, that for the space of six hundred years after Christ it cannot appear that ever any man adored or worshipped the sacrament with godly honour: which is a great token it was not then accounted our Lord and God.

The manner was then in many churches, that all such remanents and portions of the sacrament, as were not received of the people, should be burnt and consumed into ashes[16]: which thing undoubtedly had not been sufferable among christian people, if the holy learned fathers had thought the sacrament had been the very Lord and God.

Hesych. in Levit. Lib. ii. cap. viii.

Yet pope Hildebrand, that forbade priests' marriage, took the sacrament and demanded of it certain secret questions of things to come; and, because it would not or could not speak and make him answer, in his fury he threw it into the fire[17].

Beno Card.

They have honoured the pope by the name of God, as it appeareth by sundry their decrees and canons; and in their books they have not doubted to write thus: *Dominus Deus noster papa*[18]: "Our Lord God the pope." But

Extrav. Johan. XXII. Cum inter. In Gloss. Dist. 96. Satis evidenter.

---

[12] Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel, et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ, et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech.—Missal. ad Us. ac Consuet. Sar. Par. 1527. Can. Miss. fol. 159.]

[13] Or that, 1565.]

[14] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Concil. Carthag. 1. p. 230; where *antistites*, and *audeant*.]

[15] Iste qui creavit me dedit mihi creare se: qui creavit me sine me creatur mediante me.—Stell. Cleric. Davent. 1498. fol. B. ii. 2.

Sacerdos est altior regibus, felicior angelis, creator sui Creatoris.—Serm. Discip. Venet. 1598. Serm. cxi. p. 420. This sentence is a quotation from one termed "quidam doctor."]

[16] Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibiliter in ecclesia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumpta, &c.—Isych. in Levit. Basil. 1527. Lib. II. cap. viii. fol. 49. 2.]

[17] Johannes Portuensis episcopus . . . ait, Tale quid fecit Hildebrandus et nos, unde deberemus vivi incendi: significans de sacramento corporis Domini, quod Hildebrandus, responsa divina quærens contra imperatorem, fertur injecisse igni contradicentibus cardinalibus qui assistebant ei.—Benon. Card. Vit. Hildebr. in Fascic. Rer. Expet. et Fug. Lond. 1690. Tom. I. p. 79.]

[18] Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See before, page 96, note 4.

Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prima Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 7. col. 467. See before, page 96, note 5.

Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. vi. Gloss. in cap. 17. col. 132.

Clement. Gloss. in Procem. col. 4.]

De Elect. et Electi. potest. In proœm. Clement. August. Steuchius[1]. Anno 1226. Anno 1265.

the sacrament, which now they say is Lord and God, they never neither entitled by the name of God, nor worshipped it with godly honour, before the time of Honorius III., nor allowed it any holy-day before the time of Urbanus IV. If the world had been well assured that the sacrament had been the Lord and God, it is not likely it should have continued so long without either godly title or godly honour.

Clement. Lib. iii. Tit. 16. Si Dominum. Anno Domini 1308.

In the end pope Clement the fifth granted out large and liberal indulgences to all that would frequent this new holy-day, to countenance this new religion: "For the first even-song, matins, mass, and latter[2] even-song, prime, and hours, for every of these times a hundred days of pardon, *toties quoties, a pœna et culpa*[3]." Thus the people was well allured, and thus this new holy-day and new religion gat great credit.

Hieron. in Psalm. xli.

St Hierome saith: *Pagani deos suos digito ostendunt; et ob hoc ingerunt mihi opprobria. Unde sciant, quod ego mente Deum meum reconditum teneo, et per interiorem hominem in ipso habito*[4]: "The heathens point their gods with their finger, and that they say[5] to my reproach. But let them know that I have my God hidden in my heart, and that by my inward man I dwell in him."

Certainly, if the sacrament could speak unto M. Harding, thus it would speak: "I am a creature," as St Ambrose teacheth you: "I am a fragment or piece of bread," as St Cyril teacheth you: "I am a thing insensible and void of life," as Epiphanius teacheth you: "I am a corporal food, and pass into your bodies, and increase the substance of your flesh, as other meats do," as Origenes and Irenæus have taught you: "I mould and putrify, and am[6] subject to corruption," as your eyes and senses may easily teach you: "I am a sacrament of Christ, I am not Christ: I am a creature of God, I am not God: ye do wrong unto me, ye do wrong unto God: the worms of the earth and the birds of the air will condemn your folly: give not this honour unto me: give godly honour unto God." If the sacrament could speak unto M. Harding, thus would it speak; and, being a dumb and a lifeless thing and not able to speak, yet thus it speaketh.

God open the eyes and hearts of all men, that they may see and discern the almighty and everliving God from a corruptible creature that is no God! Amen.

[1 Steuchus, 1565, 1609.—The works of Aug. Steuchus are collected in three volumes fol. Venet. 1591; but the editor has not found in them any thing to the purpose of this reference.]

[2 Later, 1565.]

[3 Nos enim Christi fideles ad colendum tantum festum et celebrandum donis volentes spiritualibus animare, *omnibus* vere pœnitentibus et confessis, qui matutinali officio festi ejusdem in ecclesia, in qua idem celebrabitur, interfuerint, centum: Qui vero missæ, totidem: Qui autem in primis ipsius festi vesperis interfuerint, similiter centum: Qui vero in secundis, totidem: Illis vero, qui Primæ, Tertiæ, et Sextæ, Nonæ, ac Completorii officiis interfuerint, pro qualibet horarum ipsarum quadraginta: Illis autem qui per octavas illius festi matutinalibus, vespertinis, missæ, ac prædictarum horarum officiis interfuerint, centum dies singulis octavarum ipsarum *diebus* de omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac beatorum apostolorum ejus Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi de injunctis sibi pœnitentiis relaxamus.—Clemens V. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Clement. Lib. III. Tit. xvi. cols. 248, 9. See also ibid. col. 241.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Breviar. in Psalt. Psal. xli. Tom. II. Append. col. 232; where *mihi improperia, quia ego,* and *cum ipso.*]

[5 Lay, 1565.]

[6 Are, 1611.]

OF REMAINING UNDER THE ACCIDENTS.

THE TWENTY-SECOND ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Or that the people was then taught to believe that the body of Christ remaineth in the sacrament as long as the accidents of the bread remain there without corruption.

[OF THE REMAINING OF CHRIST'S BODY IN THE SACRAMENT SO LONG AS THE ACCIDENTS BE ENTIRE AND WHOLE.—Article XXII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

These five articles here following are school points, the discussion whereof is more curious than necessary. Whether the faithful people were then, that is to say, for the space of six hundred years after Christ, taught to believe concerning this blessed sacrament precisely according to the purport of all these articles, or no, I know not. Verily, I think they were taught the truth of this matter simply and plainly, yet so as nothing was hidden from them that in those quiet times (quiet, I mean, touching this point of faith) was thought necessary for them to know. If sithence there hath been more taught, or rather if the truth hath in some other form of words been declared for a more evidence and clearness in this behalf to be had, truth itself always remaining one; this hath proceeded of the diligence and earnest care of the church to repress the pertinacy of heretics, who have within these last six hundred years impugned the truth herein, and to meet with their perverse and froward objections; as hath been thought necessary to find out such wedges as might best serve to rive such knotty blocks.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding passeth lightly over these articles following, as being only (as he saith) certain unnecessary school points, to be debated privately among the learned, and nothing pertaining to the simple capacity of the people. Which thing may the better appear by that he is not able to avouch any of the same by the authority of any ancient learned father.

It is true that the doctrine of the church touching the sacrament in the old time was delivered simply and plainly unto the people. But M. Harding himself well knoweth that doctrine was nothing like unto this doctrine.

St Augustine taught the people thus: *Christus in cœna figuram corporis sui commendavit*[7]: "Christ at his supper gave a figure of his body." August. in Psalm. iii.

St Ambrose saith unto the people: *Post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*[8]: "After consecration the body of Christ is signified." Ambros. de illis qui init. Myst. cap. ix.

St Chrysostom saith unto the people: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacrificium est*[9]? "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrifice?" And, to leave infinite other like authorities to like purpose, St Augustine thus taught the people: *Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis; nec bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt, qui me crucifigent*[10]: "Ye shall not eat (with your bodily mouths) this body that you see, nor shall you drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me." Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83. August. in Psalm. xcviii.

[7 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. iii. Enarr. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7. See before, page 447.]

[8 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[10 August. Op. In Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1066. See before, page 451.]

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 7.

And whereas Christ saith, "Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall have no life in you;" the old learned father Origen thereupon thus taught the people: *Si secundum literam accipias hæc verba, illa litera occidit*[1]: "If ye take these words according to the letter, this letter killeth."

Vigil. contr. Eutych. Lib. i.

And touching Christ's body itself the holy bishop and martyr Vigilius taught the people in this sort: [*Caro Christi*], *cum esset in terra, non erat ... in cœlo: et nunc, quia est in cœlo, non est utique in terra*[2]: "The flesh of Christ, when it was in earth, was not in heaven; and now, because it is in heaven, doubtless it is not in earth."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Prima.

St Augustine said thus unto the people: "The body wherein Christ rose again must needs be in one place:" *Corpus, ... in quo resurrexit,* [*in*] *uno loco esse oportet*[3].

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xi. cap. iii.

Cyrillus said unto the people: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad Patrem*[4]: "Christ could not be conversant together with his disciples in his flesh after he had ascended unto his Father."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Ut quid.

Touching the eating of Christ's body St Augustine taught the people in this wise: *Crede, et manducasti*[5]. *Credere in Christum, hoc est manducare panem vivum*[6]: "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ. For believing in Christ is the eating of the bread of life."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 50.

Likewise again: *Quomodo in cœlum manum mittam, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem mitte, et tenuisti*[7]: Thou wilt say: "How shall I reach my hand into heaven, that I may hold Christ sitting there?" I answer thee: "Reach up thy faith, and so thou holdest him."

Thus was the people then taught simply and plainly, and that not only in the schools, but also openly in the church; neither only in one place, but at Hippo in Africa, at Constantinople in Thracia, at Alexandria in Egypt, at Millain in Italy, and so in all places and in all churches throughout the world; and this was then thought to be the catholic doctrine of the sacraments. Transubstantiation, real presence, *concomitantia*, accidents without subjects, natural bodies without natural places, *quantum sine modo quanti*, holy forms and holy shews, were not yet known nor heard of.

At the last, as M. Harding saith, there sprang up certain strange heretics, that said, that like as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the sacrament of baptism, even so the nature and substance of bread and wine remaineth still in the sacrament of Christ's body. But if this, according to M. Harding's judgment, be an heresy, then must all the old fathers and doctors of the church be condemned for heretics.

Gelas. contr. Eutych.

For Gelasius saith: "There remaineth still in the sacrament the nature or substance of bread and wine[8]."

Chrysost. ad Cæsar.

Chrysostom saith: "The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament as before[9]."

Theodor. Dial. 1.

Theodoretus saith: "The bread remaineth in his former nature and substance:" *In priori natura et substantia*[10].

August. in Serm. ad Infant. Bed. in 1 ad Cor. x.

St Augustine saith: *Quod videtis panis est*[11]: "The thing that ye see is bread." He saith not, It seemeth bread, but it is no bread: it is only the

---

[1 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. Tom. II. p. 225. See before, page 456, note 3.]

[2 Vigil. adv. Eutych. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Lib. iv. p. 546. See before, page 497, note 18.]

[3 August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935.]

[4 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Lib. xi. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 933. See before, page 495, note 7.]

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 489.]

[6 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494. See before, page 452, note 4. Conf. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 47. col. 1936.]

[7 Id. ibid. cap. xi. Tractat. l. 4. col. 630.]

[8 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars iii. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See before, page 545, note 12.]

[10 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Tom. IV. Inconfus. Dial. ii. p. 85.]

[11 Ven. Bed. Op. Col. Agrip. 1612. Ad Cor. i. cap. x. Tom. VI. col. 365.

August. Op. Serm. cclxxii. ad Infant. Tom. V. col. 1103.]

accident, the form, and the shew of bread; but, *Panis est:* "It is indeed and verily very bread."

But, I trow, both these and all other like ancient learned fathers must, by M. Harding's decree, be taken for new masters and condemned for heretics.

This is that knotty great block, which to rive and rend[12] up M. Harding hath devised a jolly substantial strong iron wedge made of accidents. God knoweth, a simple and a childish instrument; and yet much like to the rest of his tools. Howbeit, God be thanked, the church of God was able to confound and to cleave asunder all manner heresies twelve hundred years together without any of these wedges.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Yet this matter hath not so much been taught in open audience of the people as debated privately between learned men in schools, and so of them set forth in their private writings; wherein if some perhaps through contention of wits have been either over curious or over bold, and have overshot the mark, or not sufficiently confirmed the point they have taken in hand to treat of, or through ignorance or favour of a part have in something swerved from reason or that meaning which holy church holdeth, it is great uncourtesy to lay that to our charge, to abuse their oversights to our discredit, and to reprove the whole church for the insufficiency of a few.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

For excuse hereof M. Harding saith, this doctrine served only for the schools, and had no place among the people. But so likewise did the rest of all their doctrine. For it was ever their greatest policy to keep their learning in the schools, and to see that the people should know nothing. St Hierome saith: *Eadem et in veteri et [in] nova hæresi servatur fides; ut aliud populi audiant, aliud prædicent sacerdotes*[13]: "They keep one faith both in old[14] heresy and in the new. The people hear one thing, and the priests teach another." And certainly, as their religion was used, happy was the poor people that knew least of it. St Hilary's words may very aptly be applied unto them: *Sanctiores [sunt] aures plebis quam corda sacerdotum*[15]: "There is more holiness in the ears of the people than in the hearts of the priests." Hieron. ad Pammach. contr. Error. Johan. Hierosol. Hilar. contr. Auxent.

Howbeit, contrary to M. Harding's evasion, other doctors of his own form, Antoninus[16], Gabriel[17], and others, seem to publish the same as a general doctrine, common not only to the schools, but also to the whole church, and no more touching the priest than the simplest of the people. Anton. in iii. Par. Sum. Tit. 13. Biel. Lect. 84.

And verily, if the sacrament be God indeed, and that not a God for ever, but only to last for a season, which is the purport of M. Harding's doctrine; why should not all the people understand when it beginneth to be God, how long it continueth God, when it is God, when it is no God, and how long they may adore it without danger, and when they may safely leave off and adore no more? For during the time it is God whoso adoreth it not is wicked and godless, and whoso adoreth it when it is no God committeth idolatry, and adoreth a creature instead of God. Therefore the certainty hereof, notwithstanding M. Harding's contrary judgment, seemeth as necessary for the people as for the priest.

But here it appeareth M. Harding is half ashamed of his own scholastical catholic doctors. For he confesseth that, "either of mere ignorance, or of affection and favour of parts, they have sometime swerved both from common reason and also from the sense of the catholic church." This may stand well for a *maxima*, as one of the greatest truths of M. Harding's whole book.

---

[12] Rent, 1565.]

[13] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Epist. xxxviii. ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 308; where *eadem nunc in*, and *consuetudo servatur*.]

[14] The old, 1565, 1609.]

[15] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 6. col. 1266; where *corda sunt*. Conf. Hieron. Op. Epist. xxxviii. ad Pammach. adv. Error. Johan. Jerosol. Tom. IV. Pars II. col 320.]

[16] Anton. Summ. Basil. 1511. Tert. Pars Summ. Tit. xiii. cap. vi. 13, 14, 16. foll. Q. 2, 3, 4.]

[17] Gab. Biel. Can. Miss. Expos. Basil. 1515. Lect. lxxxiv. foll. 247, 8.]

Notwithstanding, these doctors, uttering such points of learning, were never thought to publish their own private fantasies, but rather the catholic doctrine of the universal Roman church. Neither was there either bishop, or cardinal, or pope, or council, that ever condemned them for the same.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

Now concerning this article, whether we are able to avouch it by such authorities as M. Jewel requireth, or no, it shall not greatly force. The credit of the catholic faith dependeth not of old proofs of a few new controverted[1] *points that be*[2] *of less importance. As for the people, they were taught the truth plainly when no heretic had assaulted their faith craftily.* (248) *The doctrine of the church is this: the body of Christ, after due consecration, remaineth so long in the sacrament as the sacrament endureth. The sacrament endureth so long as the forms of bread and wine continue. These*[3] *forms continue in their integrity until the other accidents be corrupted and perish. As, if the colour, weight, savour, taste, smell, and other qualities of bread and wine be corrupted and quite altered, then is the form also of the same annihilated and undone. And, to speak of this more particularly, sith that the substance of bread and wine is turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, as the* (249) *scriptures, ancient doctors, the necessary consequent of truth, and determination of holy church leadeth us to believe; if such change of the accidents be made, which should not have sufficed to the corruption of bread and wine, in case of their remainder; for such a change the body and blood of Christ ceaseth not to be in this sacrament, whether the change be in quality, as if the colour, savour, and smell of bread and wine be a little altered; or in quantity, as if thereof division be made into such portions in which the nature of bread and wine might be reserved. But, if there be made so great a change as the nature of bread and wine should be corrupted, if they were present, then the body and blood of Christ do not remain in this sacrament; as when the colour and savour and other qualities of bread and wine are so far changed as the nature of bread and wine might not bear it; or on the quantity's side, as if the bread be so small crumbed into dust, and the wine dispersed into so small portions, as their forms remain no longer; then remaineth no more the body and blood in this sacrament. Thus the body and blood of Christ remaineth in this sacrament so long as the forms of bread and wine remain: and, when they fail and cease to be any more, then also ceaseth the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament. For there must be a convenience and resemblance between the sacraments and the things whereof they be sacraments*[4]*; which done away and lost at the corruptions*[6] *of the forms and accidents, the sacraments also be undone and perish, and consequently the inward thing and the heavenly thing in them contained leaveth to be in them.*

The two hundred and forty-eighth untruth. For this is a new fantasy, and not the doctrine of the ancient church.

The doctrine of the church.

The two hundred and forty-ninth untruth. For neither the scriptures nor any of the ancient doctors, &c. leadeth us thus to believe.

August. ad Bonifacium, Epist. 23.[5]

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

I cannot imagine wherefore M. Harding should so often tell us that the people in the primitive church was taught plainly; for as now, in his church of Rome, all things of purpose are drowned in darkness, and the simple people suffered to know nothing, no, not the meaning of the sacraments, which of all other things should be most plain.

For, briefly to open some part of the mysteries, which every of the simple unlearned people may not know, mark, I beseech thee, good christian reader, how plainly they have determined the manner of Christ's being in the sacrament. Thomas of Aquine, the most famous of all the school-doctors, writeth thus: *In corpore Christi in sacramento non est distantia partium ab invicem, ut oculi ab oculo, aut capitis a pedibus; sicut est in aliis corporibus organicis. Talis enim*

In iii. Quæst. 76. Art. 30.

[1] Controversed, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]
[2] Ben, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]
[3] Those, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]
[4] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503.]
[5] This reference is omitted in H. A. 1564. It appears in H.A. 1565.]
[6] Corruption, H. A. 1564.]

distantia partium est in ipso corpore Christi vero, sed non prout est in sacramento; quia sic non habet quantitatem dimensivam[7]: "In the body of Christ in the sacrament there is no distance of parts one from another, as between eye and eye, or eye and ear, or head and feet, as it is in other natural bodies; for such a distance there is in *the true body of Christ*, but not as it is in the sacrament. For so it hath no dimension of quantities." Out of which words the reader may gather, by the way, that the true body of Christ is not in the sacrament. O what a Christ have they devised for themselves! He hath neither quantity, nor proportion of body, nor distance of parts: he is neither long, nor short, nor round, nor broad, nor thick, nor thin: his eyes, his ears, his head, his feet, are all in one. Yet is this the very proportion and stature of Christ's body, even as he walked upon the earth, and even as he was nailed upon the cross.

And, lest any man should stagger hereat and stand in doubt, this matter is overlooked and considered in the decrees by the canonists by these words: *Sed secundum hoc videtur, quod, ubi pars est, ibi est totum; et secundum hoc videtur, quod pes et nasus sunt conjuncti; quod non credo*[8]: "By this it appeareth that, where as the part is, there is the whole; and that Christ's foot and his nose are both together. But I cannot believe that." So clearly and plainly these men are wont to teach the people. De Consecr. Dist. 2. Ubi pars. In Gloss.

I pass over the rest of their doctrine. Sometimes their accidents have power to nourish; sometimes the same accidents are parts of the substance; sometimes substance must be an accident; sometimes accidents must be substance. To be short, thus of night they make day, and of day they make night. They are now ashamed of their own doctors that lately were in highest room; and, as it befell sometime unto them that enterprised the tower of Babylon, one of them understandeth not another's language: and therefore now their building is at a stay.

This is the simplicity and plainness of M. Harding's church. It is an easier matter for the simple people to go to heaven than for him and his fellows to agree well and thoroughly of the way.

Here M. Harding, without either scripture, or council, or doctor, hath interlarded a long fable of his own; which notwithstanding, as he saith, is the doctrine of the church. But miserable is that church that hath neither scripture, nor council, nor doctor, to approve her doctrine.

First he imagineth, that "Christ's body is really in the sacrament so long as the sacrament is a sacrament." Again, by the tenor and force of his doctrine, if Christ's body once depart away, then is the sacrament no more a sacrament. Thus this doctrine turneth round. If it be a sacrament, then is Christ's body there: if Christ's body be there, then is it a sacrament. So simply and plainly they teach the people. O happy are they that have such masters!

Further he saith: "The substance of the bread and wine is really changed into the body and blood of Christ." And this he avoucheth by scriptures without words, and by doctors without names.

Afterward he keepeth great moots about qualities and quantities; how far the colour or savour or other qualities of the bread may be altered; and into how small mites the bread may be crumbed (for these be his own words), and yet nevertheless Christ's body continue in it. No doubt, a very plain and comfortable and a savoury doctrine for the people. St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, and other learned fathers travailed far and deeply with great study; St Paul was lifted up into the third heaven; yet none of them could understand it.

[7 Ad secundum dicendum, quod illa determinata distantia partium in corpore organico fundatur super quantitate dimensiva, ipsa autem natura substantiæ præcedit etiam quantitatem dimensivam. et quia conversio substantiæ panis directe terminatur ad substantiam corporis Christi, secundum cujus modum proprie et directe est in hoc sacramento corpus Christi, talis distantia partium est quidem in ipso corpore Christi vero, sed non secundum hanc distantiam comparatur ad hoc sacramentum, sed secundum modum suæ substantiæ, sicut dictum est.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxvi. Art. 3. Tom. XII. fol. 246. 2.]

[8 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 78. col. 1955.]

Reservation.

In the end he saith: "There must be a convenience and a resemblance between the sacrament and the things whereof it is a sacrament." For example, as water doth wash and refresh our bodies, so by resemblance we are taught in the water of baptism, that Christ's blood doth wash and refresh our souls: and, as our bodies be fed by material bread, so in the holy communion we are taught by like resemblance, that our souls are fed with the body of Christ. Such convenient likeness there is between the sacrament and the thing that is represented by the sacrament. But what such resemblance or likeness can M. Harding imagine herein to further his fantasy? Wherein are his accidents like unto Christ's body? Or wherein is Christ's body like unto his accidents? Will he say that the accidents of bread do nourish and increase the substance of our bodies? Or that our souls live so by Christ's body as our bodies live by accidents? If he leave this resemblance of feeding and nourishing, what other resemblance can he find?

O how much better were it for M. Harding simply[1] and plainly to confess that, as well for this article as for the rest, he is utterly destitute, not only of the scriptures, but also of general councils and ancient fathers, and hath nothing to allege but only certain vain imaginations of his own!

M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

Here, because many of them which have cut themselves from the church condemn the reservation of the sacrament, and affirm that the body of Christ remaineth not in the same no longer than during the time whiles it is received, alleging against reservation the example of the paschal lamb in the old law, wherein nothing ought to have remained until the morning, and likewise of manna; I will rehearse that notable and known place of Cyrillus Alexandrinus. His words be these: Audio quod dicant mysticam benedictionem, si ex ea remanserint in sequentem diem reliquiæ, ad sanctificationem inutilem esse. Sed insaniunt hæc dicentes. Non enim alius fit Christus, neque sanctum ejus corpus immutabitur; sed virtus benedictionis et vivifica gratia manet in illo[2]: *"It is told me, they say that the mystical blessing (so he calleth the blessed sacrament), in case portions of it be kept until the next day, is of no virtue to sanctification. But they be mad that thus say. For Christ becometh not another, neither his holy body is changed; but the virtue of the consecration, and the quickening or life-giving grace, abideth still in it." By this saying of Cyrillus we see, that he accounteth the error of our adversaries in this article no other than a mere madness. The body of Christ, saith he, (which he termeth the mystical blessing, because it is a most holy mystery done by consecration,) once consecrated is not changed; but the virtue of the consecration, and the grace that giveth life,* (250) *(whereby he meaneth that flesh assumpted of the Word,) remaineth in this sacrament also when it is kept,* (250) *verily even so long as the outward forms continue not corrupt.*

Of reservation of the sacrament. Exod. xii.

Ad Calosyrium Arsenoicen. Episcopum, citat Thomas, Part. iii. Quæst. 76.

The two hundred and fiftieth untruth, standing in untrue and guileful construction.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Truth is not afraid of slanderous tragedies. We have not cut off ourselves from the catholic church of God. We have forsaken the dangerous company of them that have turned the church of God into a cave of thieves; whose company God by special words hath willed us to forsake: for thus the Almighty saith unto us: "O my people, come out from her, and be not partaker of her sins, lest ye take part of her plagues."

Rev. xviii.

The matter of reservation is only pasted on, and utterly impertinent and nothing belonging to this question. Howbeit, unless M. Harding had used the advantage of this digression, he had passed over this whole article without framing[3] of any doctor. I grant, the sacrament in the old time in some certain churches was reserved; howbeit, not to be worshipped with godly honour, but only to be received in the holy communion of the people. And Origen, amongst other godly fathers, seemeth to mislike the same. For thus he writeth: *Dominus*

Orig. in Levit. Hom. 5.

[1 Simple, 1611.]

[2 Cyril. Alex. in Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxvi. Art. 6. Tom. XII. fol. 248; where the passage is cited with some variation. It is most probably not genuine.]

[3 Naming, 1565.]

panem, quem discipulis dabat,... non distulit, nec servari jussit in crastinum[4]: "The bread that the Lord gave to his disciples, he deferred it not, nor willed it to be reserved until the next day." Reservation.

But, touching the force of this article, Cyrillus speaketh not one word, neither of corporal presence, nor of forms, nor of accidents, nor of crumbs, nor of quantities, nor of qualities, nor of putrefaction or corruption, nor of the coming of Christ's body, nor of the abode or departure of the same, nor of any other the like M. Harding's mysteries. Therefore this holy father neither reproveth our doctrine, nor chargeth us, as M. Harding imagineth, with any madness. But if he were now alive, he would account him mad and twice mad that would so madly rack his words to so vain a purpose.

Concerning the reservation of the sacrament that Cyrillus speaketh of, the matter stood thus. Sometimes, after that the people had received the holy mysteries, it happened that there remained some portions untouched. These portions so remaining, the godly fathers that then were thought it not meet to turn to any profane use; but rather reserved them until the next day to be received of the people in the holy communion. For as yet there was no private mass known in the whole church of God throughout the world.

The Messalian monks repined hereat, and said the sacrament could not so long continue holy. Cyrillus answereth them, not that the flesh which Christ received of the blessed virgin continueth still as inclosed in the sacrament, as it is untruly reported by M. Harding; but that Christ's institution, and the mystical benediction, which he calleth the quickening grace, continueth still. And his reason is this, for that all sacraments have their virtue and power, not of themselves[5], but wholly and only from Christ. Wherefore, as Christ is one, and continueth still without change; even so must the grace that Christ worketh in us by his sacraments be likewise one, and continue still. And, as there is no virtue in the water of baptism but when it is used, even so there is no virtue in the bread of the holy communion but likewise only when it is used.

As for the quickening grace, it is as well in the one sacrament as in the other. St Ambrose saith: *Aqua baptismatis habet gratiam Dei et præsentiam Trinitatis*[6]: "The water of baptism hath the grace of God, and the presence of the holy Trinity." And in the Nicene council it is written thus: *Cogita aquas plenas ignis cœlestis*[7]: "Imagine this water to be full of heavenly fire." And this grace is not only for one hour or two, but lasteth and continueth still. So St Augustine saith: *Arca testamenti, [quamvis] ab hostibus capta, virtutem tamen suæ sanctificationis non amisit*[8]: "The ark of God, notwithstanding it were taken and carried away by the enemies, yet it lost not the virtue of the former holiness that was in it." Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v. πλήρη... τοῦ θείου πυρὸς νόει τὰ ὕδατα. August. contr. Gaudent. Lib. iii.

Yet may not M. Harding upon occasion hereof either think[9] or say, that this grace is really and substantially inclosed either in the one sacrament or in the other. Bonaventura saith: *Non est aliquo modo dicendum, quod gratia continetur in... sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase.... Hoc enim dicere est erroneum. Sed dicuntur continere gratiam, quia*[10] *eam significant*[11]: "We may not in any wise say that the grace of God is contained in the sacraments substantially and indeed, as water is contained in a vessel. For so to say, it were an error. But sacraments are said to contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God." In iv. Sentent. Dist. Quæst. 3.

Here the opinion that M. Harding seemeth to maintain is condemned for an error, and this sentence allowed for true and catholic: "Sacraments are said to contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God." To conclude, he saith: *Gratia est in animis, non in signis visibilibus*[12]: "The grace is in the minds or souls of the receivers, not in the visible signs or sacraments."

[4 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 8. Tom. II. p. 211.]

[5 Themself, 1565.]

[6 ...aqua sanat, quæ habet gratiam Christi...adsit præsentia Trinitatis æternæ.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v. 15, 18. Tom. II. cols. 352, 3. See before, page 763.]

[7 Gelas. Cyz. Hist. Concil. Nic. cap. xxx. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 233.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Gaudent. Lib. ii. 11. Tom. IX. col. 672; where *nequaquam virtutem suæ sanctificationis amisit.*]

[9 Thinks, 1611.] [10 Qui, 1609, 1611.]

[11 Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. iv. Sentent. Dist. i. Quæst. 3. Tom. V. p. 7. See before, page 473, note 14.]

[12 Id. ibid. p. 8; where *gratia sit in anima.*]

WHETHER A MOUSE, &c.

THE TWENTY-THIRD ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that a mouse or any other worm or beast may eat the body of Christ; for so some of our adversaries have said and taught.

[WHAT IS THAT THE MOUSE OR WORM EATETH.—ARTICLE XXIII. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

*Whereas M. Jewel imputeth this vile asseveration but to some of the adversaries of his side, he seemeth to acknowledge that it is not a doctrine universally taught and received. The like may be said for his next article; and, if it hath been said of some only, and not taught universally of all, as a true doctrine for christian people to believe, how agreeth he with himself, saying after the rehearsal of his number of articles, the same, none excepted, to be the highest mysteries and greatest keys of our religion? For if that were true, as it is not true for the greatest part, *then should this article have been affirmed and taught of all. For the highest and greatest points of the catholic religion be not particular*[2]*, but of universal teaching.*

M.[1] *Jewel contrarieth himself.*

* By this rule the greatest points of M. Harding's catholic religion may well come in question.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here it appeareth that M. Harding somewhat misliketh his catholic masters, and thinketh it now an error to say that a mouse may eat the body of Christ; and therefore he calleth this part of his own doctrine "a vile asseveration." But, if this asseveration of M. Harding's own doctors and greatest doctors be so vile, then vile were they that first devised it. And yet I cannot well see how he may so lightly recant the doctrine that he was born and brought up in, and condemn his own fellows of villany, without blame.

Howbeit, one good excuse he seemeth to have, that this part of his religion was never universally received nor counted catholic. And therefore he saith it is no key of his religion. If M. Harding will measure all the rest in this sort, I fear me very few parts of his whole religion will prove catholic. And yet the first devisers and setters forth and maintainers hereof took this evermore for a principal key, as without which the rest of their doctrine could not stand. Yet were they evermore accounted both as universal for their learning, and as catholic for their religion, and as constant in the same, as M. Harding.

But indeed the old holy fathers, St Ambrose, St Augustine, St Hierome, St Chrysostom, never heard of this strange doctrine; nor, if they had heard it, would ever have taken it for lock or key of their religion; but would rather have thought him worthy to be locked up as a mad man that would either have taught it, as great numbers have done, or else have doubted of it, as M. Harding doth. Now let us see by whom this doctrine hath been maintained. So, whether it have been holden for catholic or no, it will soon appear.

Yet notwithstanding I must protest beforehand, that the speeches that they have used in this behalf are so blasphemous and so vile that, for the reverence I bear to the glorious body of Christ, I can neither hear them nor utter them without horror.

Thom. Par. iii. de Euchar. Quæst. 79. Art. 3.

First of all, Thomas of Aquine saith thus: *Quidam... dixerunt, quod, cum primum sacramentum sumitur a mure vel* [*a*] *cane, desinit ibi esse corpus,* [*et*

[1] 1565 and H.A. 1564 omit *M.*]

[2] Of particular, H.A. 1564.]

sanguis] *Christi: sed hoc derogat veritati* [*hujus*] *sacramenti*[3]: "Some have said that, as soon as the sacrament is touched of a mouse or a dog, the body and blood of Christ straightway departeth from it. But this is a derogation to the truth of this sacrament." By these words M. Harding's judgment is utterly condemned as uttered against the truth and in the derogation of this sacrament.

M. Harding may not well call in question whether this doctor were catholic or no. For Christ said unto him by a vision in his dream: *Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma*[4]: "O Thomas, thou hast written full well of me." And therefore he is called *doctor angelicus*, "an angelical doctor," for that in learning and judgment he so far surmounted all other doctors, and was accounted most catholic.

In the council of Arle it is written thus: *Qui non bene custodierit sacrificium, et mus vel aliquod... animal comederit illud, quadraginta dies pœniteat*[5]: "Whoso keepeth not the sacrifice well and duly, and a mouse or any other beast happen to eat it, let him be put to penance forty days." Concil. Arelat. III. can. 6.

Johannes de Burgo saith: *Mus... comedens hostiam suscipit corpus Christi*[6]: "The mouse, eating the sacrament, receiveth the body of Christ." Johan. de Burg. de Cust. Euch. cap. x.

Alexander de Hales saith thus: *Quidam dicunt, ubicunque ponantur species, sive in mundo loco, sive in immundo, sive in ventre muris, ibi est corpus Christi. Et in hoc non derogatur corpori Christi, nec sacramento*[7]: "Some say, wheresoever the forms be laid, whether it be in a fair place, or in a foul, or in the belly of a mouse, there is the very body of Christ. And this is no hinderance neither to the body of Christ nor to the sacrament." Alex. Par. iv. Quæst. 45. m. 1.

Again he saith: *Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam integram, non video, quare corpus Domini non simul trajiceretur in ventrem canis vel porci*[7]: "If a dog or a swine should eat the whole host, being consecrate, I see no cause but our Lord's body should enter into the belly of the dog or of the swine."

Gerson saith: *Brutum sumit corpus Christi per accidens, quia sumit illud in quo est*[8]: "A brute beast receiveth the body of Christ, because it receiveth that thing wherein Christ's body is contained." Ger. contr. Floret. Lib. iv.

Bonaventura liketh better the contrary doctrine, as more agreeing, as he saith, both with civil honesty, and also with the judgment of common reason: *Hæc opinio... est... honestior et rationabilior*[9]. Bon. in iv. Sent. Dist. 13. Quæst. 1. e.

Peter Lombard, the master of all catholic conclusions, one that taketh upon him to teach all others, when he cometh to this point, he standeth in a mammering, and is not able to teach himself. For thus he saith touching the same: *Quid igitur sumit mus, vel quid manducat?* "What is it then that the mouse receiveth, or what eateth it?" He answereth: *Deus novit*[10]: "God knoweth: I know it not." iv. Sent. Dist. 13.

Notwithstanding, his resolution is this: *Sane dici potest, quod corpus Christi a brutis animalibus non sumitur*[11]: "It may very well be said, that a brute beast receiveth not the body of Christ." But this sentence is reversed, and not thought catholic. For the great faculty of Paris hath given this judgment upon the same: *Hic magister non tenetur*[12]: "Herein the master is not allowed."

Therefore, notwithstanding M. Harding's contrary determination, this doctrine hitherto appeareth right good and catholic.

Touching such cases as herein may happen, Antoninus, the archbishop of Florence, writeth thus: *Si mus, aut aliud animal, &c.*[13]: "If a mouse or any Ant. de Def. Miss. iii. Par. Summ. 3.

[3] Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Summ. Theol. Tert. Pars, Quæst. lxxx. Art. 3. Tom. XII. fol. 262. 2; where *quod statim cum sacramentum tangitur*, and *quod etiam derogat.*]

[4] An account of this vision may be found in the life of Aquinas prefixed to his works. Tom. I. fol. ††. 2.]

[5] Ex Arelat. Concil. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 631. Conf. Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 94. col. 1964.]

[6] Joan. de Burg. Pup. Ocul. Argent. 1518. Pars IV. De Cust. Euch. fol. 27. 2; where the author proceeds: non sacramentaliter per modum sacramenti.]

[7] Alex. Alens. Op. Col. Agrip. 1622. Summ. Theol. Pars IV. Quæst. xi. Memb. ii. Art. 4. p. 407. There is the idea here, but not the exact words, as above quoted.]

[8] ... brutum non sumit corpus Christi nisi per accidens, scilicet inquantum sumit illud in quo est corpus Christi.—Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. IV. fol. 99. 2.]

[9] Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xiii. Art. ii. Quæst. 1. Tom. V. p. 157.]

[10] Pet. Lomb. Libr. Sentent. Col. Agrip. 1576. Lib. IV. Dist. xiii. A. fol. 359. 2; where *quid ergo.*]

[11] Id. ibid.; where *a brutis animalibus corpus Christi.*]

[12] Id. inter Error. a Paris. condemn. fol. 450.]

[13] Si mus aut aliud animal propter negligentem

other worm or beast happen to eat the sacrament through negligence of keeping, let the keeper through whose negligence it happened be enjoined to penance forty days. And, if it be possible, let the mouse be taken and burnt, and let his ashes be buried in or about the altar. But Peter of Palus saith: 'The mouse's entrails must be drawn, and the portion of the sacrament that there remaineth, if the priest be squeamish to receive it, must reverently be laid up in the tabernacle, until it may naturally be consumed. But the host so found in the mouse's entrails may in no wise be thrown out into the pool, as a certain priest sometime used a fly[1] that he found in his chalice after consecration. But if a man had such a fervent zeal,' saith he, 'that his stomach would serve him to receive the same without horror, there were no way to it, specially if the man were fasting. So St Hugh of Clunice much commendeth Goderanus, a priest, for receiving the like portions cast up again by a leper. But he said afterward, St Laurence's gridiron was nothing so bad.'" Hitherto Antoninus.

De Con. Dist. 2. Si quis. In Gloss.

And, for more likelihood hereof, this is holden as a catholic conclusion of that side: [*Corpus Christi*] *potest evomi*[2]: "The very body of Christ may be vomited up again."

I protest again, as before, the very blasphemy and loathsomeness hereof unto a godly heart is untolerable. Neither would I have used this unpleasant rehearsal, were it not that it behoveth each man to know how deeply the people hath been deceived, and to what villany they have been brought.

This doctrine hath been published and maintained in schools, in churches, by the school-doctors, by the canonists, by preachers, by bishops, by general councils, and by him that wrote the very Castle and Fort of Faith[3]. Yet M. Harding doubteth not to say it is a vile asseveration, and was never counted catholic.

Fortal. Fid. Lib. iii.

Simile[4].

These be the imps of their transubstantiation. For, like as Ixion, instead of lady Juno, having the company of a cloud, begat Centauros, that were monstrous and ugly forms of half a man and half a horse joined together; even so these men, instead of God's holy mysteries, companying with their own light and cloudy fantasies, have brought forth these strange, ugly, deformed shapes in religion, loathsome to remember, and monstrous to behold.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Concerning the matter of this article, whatsoever a mouse, worm, or beast eateth, the body of Christ, now being impassible and immortal, sustaineth no violence, injury, ne villany. As for that which is gnawn, bitten, or eaten of worm or beast, whether it be the substance of bread, as appeareth to sense, which is denied, (251) *because it ceaseth through virtue of consecration; or the outward form only of the sacrament, as many hold opinion,* (252) *which also only is broken and chewed*[5] *of the receiver, the accidents by miracle remaining without substance: in such cases, happening contrary to the intent and end the sacrament is ordained and kept for, it ought not to seem unto us incredible*[6]*, the power of God considered, that God taketh away his body from those outward forms, and permitteth either the nature of bread to return, as before consecration, *or the accidents to supply the effects of the substance of bread; as he commanded the nature of the rod which became a serpent to return to that it was before, when God would have it serve no more to the uses it was by him appointed unto.*

The two hundred and fifty-first untruth. For the bread remaineth still, as it is plain by the old catholic fathers. The two hundred and fifty-second untruth, as it is fully proved in the tenth article. * The certainty of M. Harding's doctrine.

custodiam species sacramenti comederit; ille per cujus negligentiam hoc accidit, debet quadraginta diebus pœnitere...Et debet mus capi si potest et comburi, et cinis juxta altare reponi. Sed Pe. de pa. [P. de Palud. in iv. Sentent. Lib. Par. 1514. Dist. ix. Quæst. 1. fol. 36. 2.] dicit, quod mus exenterari debet: et mus quidem comburi et cinis in piscinam projici: pars autem hostiæ, si homo eam horret sumere, debet in tabernaculo reverenter poni, et tamdiu ibi dimitti quousque naturaliter consumetur. Ipsa autem hostia nequaquam debet in piscinam projici: sicut fecit quidam sacerdos de musca reperta post consecrationem in calice.....Et si quidem homo esset tanti fervoris, quod hujusmodi non horreret, sed sumeret, commendandus esset: si tamen esset jejunus. Sic beatus Hug. Cluniacus commendavit Goderanum sumendo partiunculas hostiæ quas leprosus cum vilissimo sputo evomuerat: dicens craticulam Laurentii fuisse tolerabiliorem.—Anton. Summ. Basil. 1511. Tert. Pars Summ. Tit. xiii. cap. vi. 3. fol. P. 7. 2.]

[1] Flee, 1565.]

[2] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Not. in can. 28. col. 1924.]

[3] Fortal. Fid. Nurm. 1494. Lib. III. Consid. vi. Imposs. 17. fol. 137.]

[4] 1565 omits *simile*.]

[5] Chawed, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[6] Uncredible, 1565.]

* *The grave authority of St Cyprian addeth great weight to the balance for this judgment in weighing this matter, who in his sermon* de Lapsis, *by the report of certain miracles, sheweth that our Lord's body made itself away from some that, being defiled with the sacrifices of idols, presumed to come to the communion ere they had done their due penance. One (as he telleth there), thinking to have that blessed body which he had received with others in his hand, when he opened the same to put it into his mouth, found that he held ashes. And thereof St Cyprian saith:* Documento unius ostensum est, Dominum recedere cum negatur[7]: "*By the example of one man it was shewed that our Lord departeth away when he is denied.*" *It is neither wicked nor a thing unworthy the majesty of that holy mystery, to think our Lord's body likewise done away in cases of negligence, villany, and profanation.*

* St Cyprian speaketh neither of mice nor of brute beasts, &c.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

O what shifting here is to avoid this miserable inconvenience! Innocentius thinketh it not good to say the mouse eateth Christ's body in the sacrament: but rather he saith, that "Christ, when he seeth the mouse coming, getteth himself away, and leaveth the sacrament[8]." This doctor's judgment M. Harding alloweth before others, and thinketh it best to stand with reason.

Innoc. III. De Offic. Miss. cap. xi.

But what then is it that the mouse eateth? Bread it cannot be; "for that is gone," as they say, "by consecration." It remaineth that the mouse must needs eat the shews and accidents. Howbeit that were a strange kind of feeding. But nothing is strange to M. Harding. Yet shews and accidents cannot nourish. What is it then wherewith the mouse is nourished? M. Harding answereth: Perhaps almighty God by a miracle suffereth the bread to return again to feed the mouse. Or else, if this will not serve, he saith further: Perhaps God worketh another miracle, and by his omnipotent power giveth the very accidents of bread strength to nourish and increase substance, as if it were bread. Thus these men have devised a pretty way to feed mice with miracles.

Thomas of Aquine saith that, if a man take overmuch of the consecrate wine, notwithstanding the substance of the wine be gone, yet he may be overseen by the accidents[9], and so may happen to be drunken by a miracle.

Thom. in 1 Cor. xi.

Here we see M. Harding answereth only by "perhaps," as being not yet well advised what he may say. Whereby it appeareth his doctrine holdeth no certainty. Therefore, whatsoever he say, we may give no great credit to his tale, nor take it for catholic.

St Cyprian, that is here alleged, maketh no manner mention neither of forms nor of accidents; nor teacheth us that the mouse can eat Christ's body; nor that Christ conveyeth himself away, and leaveth the sacrament; nor that the substance of bread returneth again; nor that the accidents have power to nourish; nor any other like fantasy. Only he saith: God gave that wicked man by that miracle to understand, that for his infidelity and idolatry his grace was so departed from his heart as the sacrament was departed from his hand[10]. Therefore this place maketh utterly nothing to M. Harding's purpose. Notwithstanding, he thought it good so in this article to use the name of St Cyprian, as in the article before he used the name of St Cyril, lest he should be thought to pass over any article without a doctor.

Cypr. Serm. 5. de Lapsis.

The best that may be gathered of St Cyprian's words is this, that the wicked receiveth not the body of Christ. Which thing, as it is most true, so it utterly overthroweth the whole substance of M. Harding's doctrine.

Now, good christian reader, that thou mayest see how aptly M. Harding's doctors agree together, notwithstanding so many of them tell us, and hold it for most certain, that a mouse may eat the very body of Christ, and receive

---

[7 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. p. 133.]

[8 Si vero quæratur, quid a mure comeditur.... Respondetur, quod sicut miraculose substantia panis convertitur in corpus dominicum cum incipit esse sub sacramento: sic quodammodo miraculose revertitur, cum ipsum ibi desinit esse, &c.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. IV. cap. xi. Tom. I. p. 380.]

[9 Et hac ratione species illæ panis et vini possunt nutrire et inebriare, sicut si esset ibi substantia panis et vini.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. Lect. iv. Tom. XVI. fol. 75.]

[10 See above, note 7.]

whole Christ, God and man, into his belly; yet others of them contrariwise tell us, and hold it likewise for most certain, that a faithful christian man, be he never so godly, yet cannot receive the body of Christ into his belly.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Tribus grad. In Gloss.

For thus they write: *Certum est quod, quam cito species teruntur dentibus, tam cito in cœlum rapitur corpus Christi*[1]: "It is certain that, as soon as the forms of the bread be touched with the teeth, straightway the body of Christ (is not received into the belly, but) is caught up into heaven." And he saith not "perhaps," as M. Harding doth, but, *certum est*, "it is certain and out of question," and therefore catholic.

Hugo de Sacram. Lib. i. Par. 8. cap. xiii. Bonavent. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 13. Quæst. 2. Durand. Lib. iv.

And Hugo, a great school-doctor, such a one as M. Harding may not well deny, saith thus: *Quando in manibus sacramentum... tenes, corporaliter tecum est* [*Christus*]: *quando ore suscipis, corporaliter tecum est.... Postquam autem corporalis sensus in percipiendo deficit, deinceps corporalis præsentia quærenda non est*[2]: "While thou holdest the sacrament in thy hand, Christ is bodily with thee: while thou receivest the sacrament with thy mouth, Christ is bodily with thee. But, after that (the sacrament is passed further, and) thy bodily sense beginneth to fail, thou mayest no longer look for bodily presence." Thus they grant that a mouse may receive the body of Christ into his belly; and yet they deny the same unto a man. Such is the certainty and constancy of this doctrine.

But, to conclude, and to give some certain resolution in this uncertain and doubtful doctrine, it behoveth us to understand that, as St Augustine saith, there is great difference between Christ's body and the sacrament. For the sacrament is corruptible: Christ's body is glorious, and void of all corruption. The sacrament is in the earth: Christ's body is in heaven. The sacrament is received by our bodily mouth: Christ's body is received only by faith, which is the mouth of our soul. And whoso understandeth not this difference understandeth not the meaning of any sacrament.

Now, to apply the same to this purpose: The mouse or other worm may receive the substance of the bread, which is the outward corruptible element of the sacrament; but the very body of Christ itself, which is in heaven, cannot be received but by faith only, and none otherwise.

August. Confess. Lib. vii. cap. x.

St Augustine speaketh thus in the person of Christ: [*Ego*] *sum cibus grandium: cresce, et manducabis me*[3]: "I am the food of great ones: grow, and thou shalt eat me." Again he saith: *Hoc est... manducare illam escam, et illum potum bibere, in Christo manere, et Christum manentem in se habere*[4]: "This is the eating of that food and the drinking of that drink, for a man to abide in Christ, and to have Christ abiding in him."

August. in Johan. Tractat. 26.

Chrysost. ex variis locis in Matt. Hom. 9.

Chrysostom saith: *Magnus iste panis... replet mentem,... non ventrem. Iste panis et noster est, et angelorum*[5]: "This great loaf (meaning thereby the body of Christ, that is in heaven) filleth the mind, and not the belly. This is our bread, and the bread of angels." As the angels receive it, so we receive it.

Hilar. de Trin. Lib. viii.

And, to conclude, so saith St Hilary: "The bread that came down from heaven is not received but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ[6]."

By the old learned fathers' undoubted judgment this is the only eating of the flesh of Christ; wherein mice, and brute beasts, and wicked men, that are worse than brute beasts, have no portion. And if these holy fathers were now alive, doubtless they would say to M. Harding and to his fellows: *O curvi in terris animi, et cœlestium inanes!* "O you that lie grovelling on the ground, and have no sense of things above!"

[1 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 23. col. 1922; where *species quam cito dentibus teruntur*.]

[2 Hug. de Sanct. Vict. Op. Mogunt. 1617. De Sacram. Lib. II. Pars VIII. cap. xiii. Tom. III. p. 464; where *sensus corporalis*.

Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. In Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. xiii. Art. ii. Quæst. 2. Tom. V. p. 158.

Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. IV. cap. xli. 41. fol. 167.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VII. cap. x. 16. Tom. I. col. 139; where *cibus sum*.]

[4 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 501; where *bibere potum*, and *illum manentem*.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ex Matt. cap. v. De Orat. Domin. Hom. Tom. V. col. 716.]

[6 The exact words have not been found; but for a nearly similar idea see Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. viii. 42. cols. 972, 3. Conf. Comm. in Matt. cap. ix. 3. col. 648.]

OF INDIVIDUUM VAGUM.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that, when Christ said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this word *hoc* pointed not the bread, but *individuum vagum*, as some of them say.

[WHAT THIS PRONOUN *HOC* POINTETH IN THE WORDS OF CONSECRATION.—ARTICLE XXIV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING.

Whatsoever hoc *pointeth in this saying of Christ after your judgment, M. Jewel, right meaning and plain christian people (who through God's grace have received the love of truth, and not the efficacy of illusion to believe lying) believe verily that in this sacrament, after consecration, is the very body of Christ, and that upon credit of his own words,* Hoc est corpus meum. *They that appoint themselves to follow your Genevian doctrine in this point, deceived by that ye teach them,* hoc *to point the bread, and by sundry other untruths, instead of the very body of Christ in the sacrament rightly ministered verily present, shall receive nothing at your communion but a bare piece of bread, not worth a point. As for your "some say," who will have* hoc *to point* individuum vagum, *first, learn you well what they mean, and if*[7] *their meaning be naught, whosoever they be, handle them as you list; therewith shall we be offended never a deal. How this word* hoc *in that saying of Christ is to be taken, and what it pointeth, *we know, who have more learnedly, more certainly, and more truly treated thereof than Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their offspring.*

2 Thess. ii.

The benefit of the Genevian communion.

* M. Harding's good opinion of himself.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In this article M. Harding only uttereth some part of his choler against them whom it pleaseth him to call Genevians; and vaunteth much of[8] his own learning, as learned men seldom use to do, with reproach and disdain of others; and in the end, touching the matter, saith utterly nothing. Yet is there not lightly any doubt that amazeth and troubleth the best learned of his side so much as this.

For, their fantasy of transubstantiation presupposed to stand in force, if they say that Christ by this pronoun *hoc* meant the bread that he held in his hand; then must it needs follow, that the very substance of that bread was the very body of Christ. For by this position that must needs be the purport and meaning of these words.

If they say, Christ by the same pronoun meant the accidents and shews of the bread; then must it follow that the same accidents and shews of bread were the body of Christ. But so should an accident be a substance: which error were much worse and far more unsensible than the former.

If they say, this pronoun *hoc* signified the body of Christ itself; then the meaning of these words, "This is my body," must needs be this: "My body is my body." "But this," saith Holcot, "were vainly spoken, and to no purpose[9]." And

Holcot in iv. Sentent. Quæst. 3.

[7 1611, omits *if*.]

[8 1565, 1609, omit *of*.]

[9 Per illud pronomen aut igitur illud est corpus Christi vel panis. Si corpus Christi: ergo corpus Christi est ibi ante finem prolationis formæ. et sic erit transubstantiatio ante prolationem aliorum verborum.—Rob. Holkot sup. Quat. Libr. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. IV. Quæst. iii. fol. m. vii.]

The Dissension of Doctors.

by this exposition "Christ's body should be there before the words of consecration were pronounced," and so there should be no virtue or force in consecration; or rather there should be consecration before consecration, and so consecration without consecration.

Upon these few words they have built up their whole religion. This is the foundation of all together. Therefore M. Harding should not so lightly and so disdainfully have passed it over without answer. Otherwise, this change being so great as it is supposed, we shall not know neither what thing is changed, nor whereof Christ's body is made present.

Neither is there any just cause wherefore M. Harding should be thus angry with the Genevians in this behalf. For he knoweth right well that this new fantasy of *individuum vagum* is no part of their doctrine.

But, briefly to touch how pitifully the learned of M. Harding's side have entangled themselves in this case, first of all Gerson saith thus: *Dicendum est, quod hoc demonstrat substantiam panis*[1]: "We must say that this pronoun *hoc* signifieth the substance of the bread." By this doctor the substance of bread is Christ's body.

Gerson contra Floret. Lib. iv.

Occam saith: *Hoc refertur ad corpus Christi*[2]: "This pronoun *hoc* hath relation to the body of Christ." By this doctor the body of Christ is the body of Christ.

Occam in iv. Sentent. Dist. 13.

Yet Petrus Alliacensis saith: *Hoc demonstrat corpus Christi: alioqui falsa est propositio*[3]: "*Hoc* pointeth the body of Christ; otherwise Christ's saying is not true."

Pet. Alliacen. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 13. Quæst. 5.

Thomas of Aquine goeth learnedly to work, and expoundeth it thus: *Hoc, id est, hoc contentum sub istis speciebus, est corpus meum*[4]: "*This*, that is to say, this thing contained under these forms, is my body."

Thom. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 8. Art. 16.

But all these expositions seem to import some inconvenience. For hereby it may be gathered, that the bread is transubstantiate, and, as they imagine, Christ's[5] body made present before the words of consecration.

Therefore Johannes de Burgo thought it good to help the matter with a disjunctive, in this sort: *Hoc sub hac specie præsens, vel de propinquo futurum, est corpus meum*[6]: "This thing, that either is present already under these forms, or anon will be present, is my body."

Johan. De Burg. de Forma Verb. requisita, &c. cap. iv.

By all these doctors' judgments the meaning of Christ's words is none other but this: "My body is or shall be my body." "Which exposition," as Holcot saith, "is childish, vain, fantastical, and to no purpose[7]."

Holcot in iv. Sentent. Quæst. 3.

And therefore Holcot himself saith: *Hoc significat quiddam utrique termino commune; et termino, a quo, et termino, ad quem*[8]: "This pronoun *hoc* signifieth a certain thing that is indifferently common, as well to the bread as to Christ's body." But what thing that indifferent thing should be, it were hard to know.

Holcot eodem loco.

Doctor Durand, seeing all these inconveniences and difficulties, and not knowing how to get out, in the end concludeth thus: *Super hoc dicunt quidam, quod per pronomen hoc nihil significatur; sed illud materialiter ponitur*[9]: "Here-

Durand. Lib. iv.

[1 Floret. Lib. Lugd. 1499. Lib. iv. fol. 95.]

[2 Nothing to the point has been found in Occam on the Sentences. But see Quodlib. G. Hokam. Par. 1487. Quodl. ii. Quæst. 19, fol. g. i.; where the author says: Ad argumentum principale dico, quod proferens sacerdos talem propositionem semper tam in principio quam in fine demonstrat corpus Christi.]

[3 P. de Alliaco discusses the questions what Christ meant and what the priest now means by the word referred to, and cites various doctors. Quoting Occam, he says: Uno modo potest dici ... quod sacerdos significative recipiens dicta verba debet demonstrare per ly hoc corpus Christi, &c.; again: Alio modo dici potest quod non est necesse quod sacerdos rite conficiens aliquid demonstret per ly hoc, &c.—Pet. de Alliac. sup. Sentent. Par. Quart. Lib. Quæst. Quint. Art. Prim. fol. 250. 2.]

[4 ... aut facit demonstrationem ad intellectum, aut ad sensum. Si ad intellectum, ut sit sensus, Hoc, id est, significatum per hoc, est corpus meum, tunc, &c. Si autem facit demonstrationem ad sensum. ergo demonstrabit substantiam contentam sub illis speciebus sensibilibus: sed, &c.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. In Quart. Sentent. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Art. i. Tom. VII. fol. 42.]

[5 Christ, 1609, 1611.]

[6 Joan. de Burg. Pup. Ocul. Argent. 1518. Pars iv. cap. iv. fol. 19.]

[7 See before, page 787, note 9.]

[8 Sed quæritur quid demonstretur per hoc pronomen hoc. Dico quod illud quod manet sub utroque termino transmutationis: &c.—Rob. Holkot sup. Quat. Libr. Sentent. Lugd. 1497. Lib. iv. Quæst. iii. fol. m. vii.]

[9 Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. iv. cap. xli. 44. fol. 167. 2; where *per hoc pronomen nihil demonstratur.*]

upon some say that this pronoun *hoc* signifieth nothing at all, but is put materially and absolutely, without any manner signification."

But hereof groweth another doubt greater than any of all the rest. For, if this word *hoc* signify nothing at all, what force then can it have to work consecration?

Innocentius, weighing these things indifferently all together, is driven to say, that "Christ consecrated the sacrament, not by these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, but by his blessing that went before[10]." Innoc. r. De Offic. Miss. Par. iii. cap. vi. & cap. xiv.

Likewise is John Duns driven to say touching the same: *Illa propositio, Hoc est corpus meum, non est consecrativa, nec ut vera, nec ut falsa: sed ut est propositio neutra*[11]: "This sentence, *Hoc est corpus meum*, is not the sentence of consecration, neither as it is true nor as it is false; but only as it is a sentence neuter between both, that is to say, neither true nor false." Scot. in iv. Sentent. Dist. 8. Quæst. 3.

All this notwithstanding, D. Stephen Gardiner, not greatly regarding the authority of any of these doctors, in his first book of the sacrament, intituled "The Devil's Sophistry," writeth thus: "Christ spake plainly, 'This is my body,' making demonstration of the bread[12]." Which last exposition being true, if this pronoun *hoc* signified the material bread that Christ held in his hand, then, by M. Harding's doctrine, that very material bread was indeed and verily the body of Christ. The Devil's Sophistry, fol. 24.

But, if the same pronoun *hoc* signified not that same material bread that Christ held in his hand, then was not that same material bread changed into the substance of Christ's body.

Thus the best learned of that side are utterly amazed at this matter, and run each man his own way, and know not what may please them best.

Yet M. Harding thinketh it sufficient thus to conclude with a courage: "How that word *hoc* is to be taken, and what it pointeth, we know, who have more learnedly, more certainly, and more truly treated hereof than Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Cranmer, Peter Martyr, or any their offspring." If M. Harding and his fellows know so much as here he seemeth to take upon him, he hath the greater cause to give God thanks. Whatsoever he have, he hath received it. God give him grace to use it well!

He would seem not to know who they be that would force us to this fancy of his *individuum vagum*. And therefore he saith: "If their meaning be naught, handle them as ye list." Howbeit, he cannot be so ignorant herein as he would seem to be. For, although perhaps he be not much acquainted with the doctrine, yet he cannot choose but know the doctor: him I mean of whom he hath borrowed good store of matter, sometimes a whole leaf and more together, towards the building of his book. D. Stephen Gardiner.

He, notwithstanding he were once persuaded that Christ by this pronoun *hoc* made demonstration of the bread, yet afterward thought all that not worth a point, but utterly changed his whole mind, and thought it better to say that Christ by the same pronoun *hoc* pointed not the bread that he held in his hand, but only *individuum vagum*. And that, for the better understanding of his reader, he calleth *individuum in genere, individuum entis, unum substantiæ, unum entis, individuum insignitum, individuum individui*[13]. This fancy he so warranteth and forceth every where, as if Christ's words could bear none other exposition. Mar. Anton. Constant.

Thus therefore he imagineth Christ to say: This thing that ye see me hold in my hand is not two things: it is only one certain thing. But what one certain thing it is, I cannot tell; but sure I am, bread it is not.

[10 Sane dici potest, quod Christus virtute divina confecit; et postea formam expressit, sub qua posteri benedicerent.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. IV. cap. vi. Tom. I. p. 377. Ab hujus ergo quæstionis laqueo facile se absolvit, qui dicit, quod Christus tunc confecit quum benedixit.—Ibid. cap. xvii. p. 384.]

[11 Et si quæras tunc, qualis, aut ut vera, aut ut falsa est propositio conversiva? Dico, quod neque sic, neque sic: sed tantum ut est propositio neutra. —J. Duns Scot. Op. Lugd. 1639. Lib. IV. Sentent. Dist. viii. Quæst. ii. Tom. VIII. p. 440.]

[12 ...it cannot be maintained of Christ's words, who spake &c.—A Detection of the Deuils Sophistrie, Lond. 1546. fol. 24. 2.]

[13 Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. xiii. xiv. xv. *foll.* 9, &c. 19—21.]

Thus are they driven to wander in vanities, and to seek up strange and monstrous forms of speech, such as the ancient catholic doctors never knew, lest they should seem plainly and simply to say, as the learned father Tertullian saith: *Hoc est corpus meum, hoc est, figura corporis mei*[1]: "This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body;" or, as it is written in their own decrees; *Vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat* [*corpus Christi*][2]: "It is called the body of Christ, that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ."

Tertull. contra Marcion. Lib. iv.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Gloss.

St Hierome saith: *Tam diu . . . quærunt hæretici nova veteribus* [*ad*]*jungere, et eadem recentioribus immutare, donec* [*eos*] *et sensus humanus et verba deficiant*[3]: "The manner of heretics is so long to mingle and blend new things with the old, and still to alter new for new, until both their wits and their speech begin to fail them."

Hieron. in Isai. Lib. ii. cap. v.

Here note, good reader, that in this whole article M. Harding hath alleged no manner doctor, nor old nor new. The reason thereof is this, for that of the old doctors he had none to allege, and of his new doctors he was ashamed.

---

[1] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 447, note 13.]

[2] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937. See before, page 508, note 13.]

[3] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Isai. Proph. cap. v. Tom. III. col. 49; where *et sermo deficiat.*]

WHETHER THE FORMS BE THE SACRAMENT.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the accidents, or forms, or shews of bread and wine be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not rather that[4] bread and wine itself.

[WHO ARE THE SACRAMENTS OF CHRIST'S BODY AND BLOOD, THE ACCIDENTS, OR THE BREAD AND WINE.—ARTICLE XXV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

Forasmuch as, by the almighty power of God's word pronounced by the priest in the consecration of this sacrament, the body and blood of Christ are made (253) *really present, the substance of bread* (253) *turned into the substance of the body, and the substance of wine into the substance of the blood; the bread (which is consumed away by the fire of the divine substance*[5]*, as Chrysostom saith, and now is become the bread which was formed by the hand of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin, and decocted with the fire of the passion in the altar of the cross*[6]*, as St Ambrose saith) cannot be the sacrament of the body, nor the wine of the blood. Neither can it be said that the bread and wine*[7] *which were before are the sacraments, for that the bread is become the body, and the wine the blood, and so now they are not; and if they be not, then neither be they sacraments. Therefore, that the outward forms of bread and wine which remain be the sacraments of Christ's body and blood, and not the very bread and wine itself, it followeth by sequel of reason, or consequent of understanding, deduced out of the first truth, which of St Basil, in an epistle* ad Sozopolitanos, *speaking against certain that went about to raise up again the old heresy of Valentinus, is called* τὸ ἐν διανοίαις ἀκόλουθον[9]. *Of which sequel of reason in the matter of the sacrament many conclusions may be deduced in case of want of express scriptures. Which way of reasoning Basil used against heretics, as also sundry other fathers, where manifest scripture might not be alleged.*

The two hundred and fifty-third untruth, ever presumed, and never proved.

In Homil. Paschali.

De Cons. Dist. 2, cap. Omnia.

Epist. 65. [In Latino codice[8]*.]*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

M. Harding presumeth that his new fantasy of transubstantiation must needs stand for good. And therefore, imagining that the bread and wine are wholly removed, and cannot be the sacraments, he thinketh he may well conclude that the forms and shews that are left behind must needs be the sacraments. But this error is soon reproved by the consent of all the old catholic fathers of the church. St Augustine saith: *Quod videtis, panis est*[10]: "The thing that ye see (speaking of the sacrament) is (not a form or an accident, but) very bread."

August. ad Infant.

[4] The, H. A. 1564.]

[5] Ἀλλ' ὥσπερ κηρὸς πυρὶ προσομιλήσας οὐδὲν ἀπουσιάζει, οὐδὲν περισσεύει· οὕτω καὶ ὧδε νόμιζε συναναλίσκεσθαι τὰ μυστήρια τῇ τοῦ σώματος οὐσίᾳ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœnit. Hom. ix. Tom. II. col. 350. Conf. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. De Euch. in Encæn. Admon. Sum. Tom. III. col. 919.]

[6 ... illum utique intelligo panem, qui manu sancti Spiritus formatus est in utero virginis, et igne passionis decoctus in ara crucis.—Ambros. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 74. col. 1954.]

[7 And the wine, H. A. 1564.]

[8 Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Sozop. Epist. cclxi. (*al.* lxv). 3. Tom. III. p. 402.]

[9 These words are not in H. A. 1564. They appear in H. A. 1565.]

[10 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cclxxii. ad Infant. Tom. V. col. 1103. See before, page 776, note 11.]

Chrysost. ad Cæsar. Gelas. contra Eutych. Theodor. Dial. 1 et 2.

St Chrysostom[1], Theodoretus[2], Gelasius[3], and other learned fathers confess by manifest and express words, that "there remaineth still in the sacrament the very nature and substance of bread and wine." Therefore this doctrine is built upon a false ground, and cannot stand.

But Chrysostom saith: "The bread is consumed by the force of the divine presence." And St Ambrose, saith M. Harding, reporteth the same. It is great frowardness, whatsoever any one or other of the fathers happen to utter in vehemency and heat of talk, to dissemble the manner of their speech, and to draw and force the same violently to the rigour of the letter. Paulus saith:

De LL. et Senatuscon. et Lon. Con. Contra.

In fraudem [legis facit], ... qui, salvis verbis legis, sententiam ejus circumvenit[4]: "He doth wrong to the law, that, following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the law."

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

St Cyprian saith: *Passio Christi est sacrificium quod offerimus*[5]: "The sacrifice that we offer is the passion of Christ."

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. 16.

Chrysostom saith: *Baptisma Christi sanguis ejus est*[6]: "The baptism of Christ is Christ's blood."

Chrysost. in Encæn.

And again he saith: *In mysteriis sanguis ex Christi latere hauritur*[7]: "In the time of the holy communion the blood of Christ is drawn out of his side."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Quid sit sanguis.

St Gregory saith: [*Christus*] *iterum in hoc mysterio moritur*[8]: "In this mystery (of the holy communion) Christ is put to death again."

I trow, M. Harding will not so straitly force us to believe, only upon the sight of these bare words, either that the holy communion is Christ's passion, or that the water of baptism is Christ's blood, or that Christ is slain and put to death in the time of the holy mysteries, or that Christ's blood at that time is drawn and poured from his side; and that without help of figure, verily, really, and indeed.

By such manner of amplification and kind of speech St Chrysostom saith, "The bread is consumed;" not for that there remaineth in the sacrament no bread at all, but for that, in comparison of the death of Christ, that there is laid forth and represented before us, the material bread seemeth nothing. For otherwise Chrysostom most plainly confesseth that the nature of bread remaineth still. These be his words:

Chrysost. ad Cæsar.

In sacramento manet natura panis[9]: "In the sacrament there remaineth still the nature of bread."

And as he saith, "The bread is consumed;" even so in the same place he seemeth to say, the priest is consumed. His words be these:

In Encæn.

Ne putes, te accipere divinum corpus ab homine[10]: "Think not that thou receivest the divine body of a man."

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 51.

And to like purpose he speaketh of the sacrament of baptism: *Non baptizaris a sacerdote: Deus ipse tenet caput tuum*[11]: "Thou art not baptized of the priest: it is God himself that holdeth thy head."

Thus the holy fathers, entreating of the sacraments, use to advance[12] our minds from the sensible and corruptible elements to the cogitation of the heavenly things that thereby are represented. And therefore Chrysostom saith:

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. cap. ii.

Mysteria omnia interioribus oculis videnda sunt[13]: "We must behold all mysteries with our inner eyes;" which inner eyes doubtless have no regard to any corruptible and outward thing.

Hereby the feebleness of M. Harding's sequel may soon appear.

Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

True it is that he further saith: "In case of want of the scriptures, we may

---

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See before, page 545.]

[2 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Tom. IV. Immut. Dial. i. Inconf. Dial. ii. pp. 18, 85.]

[3 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[4 Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. I. Tit. iii. 29. Tom. I. p. 78.]

[5 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 156; where *passio est enim Domini.*]

[6 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See before, page 518, note 4.]

[7 Id. De Pœnit. Hom. ix. Tom. II. col. 349.]

[8 Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 73. col. 1953.]

[9 Chrysost. Op. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See before, page 545.]

[10 Id. De Pœnit. Hom. ix. Tom. II. p. 350.]

[11 Id. in Matt. Hom. I. Tom. VII. p. 517.]

[12 Avance, 1565.]

[13 Id. in I. Cor. cap. ii. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51. Id. in Matt. Hom. lxxii. Tom. VII. p. 787.]

sometime guide ourselves by discourse and drift of reason[14]." Notwithstanding St Augustine saith: *Hæc consuetudo periculosa est*[15]; "The custom hereof is very dangerous." But in this case M. Harding wanteth neither the scriptures nor the authority of ancient doctors.

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

It is plain by the manifest words of St Paul, of St Chrysostom, of St Augustine, of Theodoretus, of Gelasius, and of other more holy fathers, both Greeks and Latins, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, the very nature and substance of the bread remaineth still. It were much for M. Harding to forsake all these, and to trust only to a bare shift of simple reason.

M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

And whereas there must be a likeness between the sacrament and the thing of the sacrament (for, if the sacraments had not a likeness of things whereof they are sacraments, properly and rightly they should not be called sacraments[16]*; as the sacrament of baptism, which is the outward washing of the flesh, hath a likeness of the inward washing of the soul), and no likeness here appeareth to be between the forms that remain and the thing of the sacrament, (for they consist not, the one of many corns, the other of grapes, for thereof cometh not accident, but substance;) hereto may be said, it is enough that these sacraments bear the likeness of the body and blood of Christ, forasmuch as the one representeth the likeness of bread, the other the likeness of wine, which St Augustine calleth* (254) visibilem speciem elementorum[17]*, "the visible form of the elements."*

August. Epist. 22, ad Bonifacium Episc.

De Cons. Dist. 2, cap. Hoc est quod dicimus.

A strange resemblance. The two hundred and fifty-fourth untruth. For St Augustine by these words meant the very substance of bread. August. Epist. 23, ad Bonifac.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

What meaneth M. Harding, thus to encumber himself with these vain and miserable follies? St Augustine saith: "A sacrament must have a resemblance or likeness of that thing whereof it is a sacrament. For without this resemblance or likeness," he saith, "a sacrament is no sacrament[18]."

Therefore M. Harding cometh in with his fantasy, and telleth us that his forms and accidents are the resemblance and likeness of the body of Christ. But, alas! wherein standeth this comparison of resemblance and likeness? Or wherein are M. Harding's accidents and Christ's body like together? Certainly M. Harding himself, notwithstanding he can say many things, yet he cannot truly say that Christ's body is either round, or plain, or white, or thin, or any way like unto his accidents.

Yet must there be a certain likeness in effects between the sacrament and the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament. Of which effects the one is sensible, and wrought outwardly to the body; the other is spiritual, and wrought inwardly in the mind. As, for example, in the sacrament of circumcision the outward visible cutting in the flesh was a resemblance of the inward spiritual cutting of the heart. In the sacrament of baptism the outward washing of the body is a resemblance of the inward spiritual washing of the soul.

Likewise in the sacrament of the holy communion, as the bread outwardly feedeth our bodies, so doth Christ's body inwardly and spiritually feed our souls. Thus is feeding an effect common unto them both. And therein standeth the resemblance and likeness of the sacrament. Therefore Rabanus Maurus saith: *Quia panis corporis cor confirmat, ideo ille congruenter corpus Christi nominatur; et, quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo illud refertur ad sanguinem*[19]*:* "Because the bread confirmeth the heart of our body, therefore is the same

Raban. Maur. Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

---

[14] See before, p. 791.]

[15] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. cap. xxviii. 39. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 56.]

[16] Id. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503, note 11.]

[17] Id. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1936; where *visibili elementorum specie.*]

[18] See above, note 16.]

[19] Ergo quia panis corporis cor firmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.—Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626-7. De Inst. Cler. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 12.]

conveniently called the body of Christ; and, because wine worketh blood in our flesh, therefore the wine hath relation unto the blood of Christ."

Now, if M. Harding, touching this effect of feeding, will compare his accidents with Christ's body, then must he say that we eat accidents, and drink accidents, and be fed with accidents, and live by accidents; even as in the inner man we eat Christ, and drink Christ, and be fed with Christ, and live by Christ. Otherwise he must confess that, touching the effect of feeding, his accidents have no resemblance of Christ's body, and therefore can in no wise be called sacraments.

But, saith M. Harding, the accidents represent the likeness of bread; and the bread that was representeth the body Christ[1]. Here is another subtle drift of M. Harding's reason; from accidents to bread, and from bread to Christ's body. And so we have here fancy upon fancy, and one likeness upon another; but neither scripture, nor council, nor doctor, either Greek or Latin, or old or new, to avouch the same.

But here appeareth a marvellous perverse order in nature. For, by M. Harding's drifts, neither can the bread signify Christ's body, but only when the bread is abolished and nothing left to signify; nor can these accidents signify the bread, but only when there is no bread remaining there to be signified. And so the effect of M. Harding's drift and of this resemblance passeth from nothing to nothing, and standeth in nothing.

Here it behoved M. Harding to have foreseen the inconveniencies that might have followed. For, if the accidents of the bread be the sacrament, forasmuch as in one piece of bread there be sundry accidents, it must needs follow of these positions, that in one piece of bread be sundry sacraments, and so sundry sacraments in one sacrament. Innocentius himself espied this inconvenience; and therefore he demandeth this question: *Cum sint multæ species, quomodo non sunt multa sacramenta*[2]*?*

Innoc. De Offic. Miss. cap. xxxviii.

But this resemblance or likeness St Augustine calleth *visibilem speciem elementorum*, "the visible form of the elements." By which words, saith M. Harding, he meant only the shews and accidents of the bread. Indeed St Augustine's words be true; but M. Harding's exposition is not true. For St Augustine by this word *species* meant not the outward forms or shews, as it is supposed, but the very kind and substance and nature of the bread.

Ambros. De illis qui init. Myst. cap. ix.

So St Ambrose saith: *Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus* [*Christi*] *significatur*[3]*:* "Before the blessing of the heavenly words it is called (not another form or another shew, but) another kind or nature; but after the consecration Christ's body is signified." Which thing may also plainly appear by St Augustine himself in the same place. For thus he writeth: *Panis, qui corpus Christi est, suo modo vocatur corpus Christi, cum re vera sit sacramentum corporis Christi, &c. Vocaturque ipsa immolatio carnis* [*Christi*]*, quæ sacerdotis manibus fit, Christi passio, mors, crucifixio; non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio*[4]. He saith, (not the form, not the shew, not the accident, but) "The bread, that is the body of Christ (not verily or indeed, but) after a manner, is called the body of Christ; whereas it is indeed a sacrament of the body of Christ, &c. And the oblation of the flesh of Christ, that is made with the priest's hand, is called the passion, the death, and the crucifying of Christ; not in truth of the matter, but by a mystery signifying."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est, quod dicimus.

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

Thus the forms of bread and wine are the sacraments of the body and blood

---

[1 Body of Christ, 1565, 1609.]

[2 Sed quæritur, Utrum species panis et veritas corporis unum sunt sacramentum, an diversa sint sacramenta? &c. He concludes: Potest non incongrue responderi, quia omnia simul accepta sunt unum eucharistiæ sacramentum, eo quod nullum sacramentum solum significet per se, sed omnia simul panis speciem repræsentant, quæ corpus Christi continet et significat.—Innoc. Papæ III. Op. Col. 1575. Myst. Miss. Lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. Tom. I. pp. 392, 3.]

[3 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339.]

[4 ...panis, qui vere Christus caro est, suo &c.—August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937.]

of Christ, not only in respect of the thing signified, which is the unity of the church, but also of the thing contained, which is the very flesh and blood of Christ, John vi. *whereof the Truth itself said: "The bread that I shall give is my flesh, for the life of the world."*

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

In the end M. Harding, not only without any authority either of scriptures, or of councils, or of doctors, but also without any manner shew or drift of reason, concludeth in this sort: "Thus the forms of bread and wine are the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ." Thus M. Harding bringeth in his conclusion without premises. By M. Harding's judgment St Augustine was not well advised, when he called the holy mystery *sacramentum panis et vini*[5], "the sacrament of bread and wine." He should rather have called it, by this construction, "the sacrament of forms and shews." And whereas St Augustine saith, *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[6]; whereby he meaneth that the bread itself is made a sacrament; M. Harding will rather expound it thus: "Let the word come to the element or creature of bread; and then the accidents thereof are made a sacrament."

De Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix.

August. in Johan. Tractat. 80.

Verily, touching the wine, Christ himself calleth it, not forms or accidents, but "the fruit," or, as Cyprian termeth it, "the creature of the vine," *creaturam vitis*[7].

Matt. xxvi.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 3.

St Cyprian calleth the bread after consecration *panem... ex multorum granorum adunatione congestum*[8], "bread made (not of forms and accidents, but) of the (substance and) moulding of many corns."

Cypr. in Orat. Dom.

St Cyril saith: "*Credentibus discipulis fragmenta panis dedit*[9]: "Christ unto his disciples, believing in him, gave (not accidents or shews, but) fragments or pieces of bread."

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xxiv.

Irenæus saith: "Of the same bread and wine after consecration *augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia*[10], is increased and consisteth the substance of our flesh."

Iren. Lib. v.

Here must M. Harding needs say, as Marcus Constantius said before him, that accidents are the fruit of the vine[11]; that corns and grapes be likewise accidents; that fragments and pieces of bread be nothing else but accidents; that the substance of our bodies is nourished and increased and standeth by accidents. Thus are their accidents *fuga miserorum*. They can prove and reprove all by accidents; and without their accidents they can do nothing. And thus, as bad surgeons, they make one salve to serve for all sores.

Ad Object. 27.

St Gregory saith: *O Timothee, depositum custodi, devitans profanas vocum novitates. Quia cum laudari hæretici, tanquam de excellenti ingenio, cupiunt, quasi nova quædam proferunt, quæ in antiquorum patrum libris veteribus non tenentur. Sicque fit, ut, dum videri desiderant sapientes, miseris suis auditoribus stultitiæ semina spargant*[12]: "O Timothy, keep that thou hast received; and beware of the wicked novelties of words. For these heretics, seeking the commendation of the excellency of their wit, bring forth new things, that in the old books of the ancient fathers are not found. And so it happeneth that, while they would be taken for wise men, they scatter amongst their poor hearers the seeds of folly."

Greg. in Job. Lib. xviii. cap. xiv.

Certainly, M. Harding and his fellows, as of shews they have made sacraments, even so of the holy sacraments and whole religion of Christ they have left nothing to the simple people but a sight of shews.

[5 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Fid. ad Petr. cap. xix. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where *sacrificium.*]

[6 Id. in Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *accedit.*]

[7 ...creatura vitis.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cæcil. Epist. lxiii. p. 152.]

[8 Id. ad Magn. Epist. lxix. p. 182. See before, pages 516, 7, note 8.]

[9 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. p. 360. See before, p. 580, note 6.]

[10 Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 3. p. 294.]

[11 ...quid prohibet Christum appellare accidentia vini in sacramento genimen vitis, quum ex ipsa vite orta sint?—Confut. Cavill. in Ven. Euch. Sacr. Verit. Par. 1552. Ad Object. 27. fol. 28. 2.]

[12 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. xviii. in cap. xxviii. B. Job. cap. xxvi. 39. Tom. I. col. 573; where *quia dum*, and *sapientes desiderant.*]

OF HIDING AND COVERING.

THE TWENTY-SIXTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that the sacrament is a sign or token of the body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it.

[OF THE UNSPEAKABLE MANNER OF THE BEING OF CHRIST'S BODY AND BLOOD UNDER THE FORMS OF BREAD AND WINE.—ARTICLE XXVI. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING.

Forma. Operta.

That the outward form of bread, (255) *which is properly the sacrament, is the sign of the body of Christ, we confess, yea, of that body which is covertly in or under the same, which St Augustine calleth* carnem Domini forma panis opertam[1], *"the flesh of the*[2] *Lord covered with the form of bread." But what is meant by this term "lieth," we know not. As through faith grounded upon God's word we know that Christ's body is in the sacrament; so, that it lieth there or underneath it, (by which term it may seem a scoff to be uttered to bring the catholic teaching in contempt,) or that it sitteth or standeth, we deny it. For lying, sitting, and standing, noteth situation of a body in a place, according to distinction of members and circumscription of place, so as it have his parts in a certain order correspondent to the parts of the place. But after such manner the body of Christ is not in the sacrament, but without circumscription, order, and habitude of his parts to the parts of the body or place environing. Which manner of being in is above all reach of human understanding, wondrous, strange, and singular, not defined and limited by the laws or bounds*[3] *of nature, but by the almighty power of God. To conclude, the being of Christ's body in the sacrament is to us certain; the manner of his being there to us uncertain, and to God only certain.*

In Libro Sentent. Prosperi.

The two hundred and fifty-fifth untruth. For the outward form was never by any old father called the sacrament.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The entry of this article is the conclusion of the last. So artificially M. Harding's untruths are woven together. "The outward form of bread," saith he, "is the sacrament." But withal he should have added, that this form and manner of speech is only his own, peculiar only to himself and certain his fellows of that side; never used by any of all the old doctors and fathers of the church, either Greek or Latin, or learned or unlearned, or catholic or heretic, or one or other.

In the twelfth article and fourteenth division.

These words of St Augustine are alleged and answered before[4]. That holy learned father never said, neither that the forms and accidents be the sacrament, nor that Christ's body is really hidden under the same; nor in this place speaketh any one word at all of any accidents.

But the words wherein M. Harding is deceived are these, *forma panis:* which words signify not the outward forms and accidents, as he untruly expoundeth them, but the very kind and substance of the bread. So St Paul

Phil. ii.

saith: *Christus, cum in forma Dei esset, formam servi accepit:* "Christ, being in the form (or nature) of God, took upon him the form (or nature) of a servant." By which words St Paul meant, that Christ was very God in substance, and that he took upon him the very substance of a man. So St Hierome

[1 August. in Lib. Sent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, Dist. ii. can. 48. col. 1937. See before, page 617.]

[2 Our, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[3 Bonds, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[4 See before, pages 618, 9.]

expoundeth the same words, speaking in the person of Christ: *Declinavi ad eos deserens regna cœlorum, ut cum eis vescerer, assumpta forma servi*[5]: "I went down to them, leaving the kingdom of heaven, that I might eat with them, having taken the form of a servant." I think M. Harding will not say, Christ took a body of forms and accidents, that he might be conversant and live with men. So St Augustine saith: *Secundum hanc formam non est putandus ubique diffusus*[6]: "Christ (not according to the shews or accidents of his body, but) according to this kind, this nature, and this substance of his body, may not be thought to be poured and spread into all places." Thus St Paul, St Augustine, St Hierome, and other learned fathers use this word *forma* for nature and substance, and not for accidents.

Hieron. in Osee, Lib. iii. cap. ii.

August. ad Dard. Epist. 57.

And as touching the other word, *operta*, "covered," St Augustine meaneth not thereby that Christ's body is really contained and covered under the said form or kind of bread, but only that it is there as in a sacrament or in a mystery. In this sense St Augustine saith: *Gratia Dei in veteri testamento velata latebat*[7]: "The grace of God lay hidden covered in the old testament." And again: *In veteri testamento occultabatur novum, id est, occulte significabatur*[8]: "The new testament was hidden in the old, that is to say, it was secretly signified in the old."

August. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xv.

August. de Baptism. contr. Donat. Lib. i. cap. xv.

Here, lest M. Harding should take these words strictly and grossly, as he doth the rest, and say, the new testament indeed and really was covered in the old, St Augustine himself hath prevented him, and opened his own meaning in this wise, as it is said before: *Occultabatur, ... id est, occulte significabatur*[8]: "It was covered, that is to say, it was secretly signified." By which exposition, being St Augustine's, M. Harding might have learned likewise to expound these words: *Caro operta forma panis, id est, occulte significata:* "The flesh covered in the form or substance of bread; that is to say, privily signified in the form or substance of bread."

But M. Harding thought it best to leave the matter, and to make his quarrel to the words: "This word *lieth*," saith he, "importeth a scoff wherewith to bring his catholic teaching into contempt." Verily, this must needs be a marvellous tender and a miserable doctrine, that may no ways be touched without suspicion of a scoff. But why is he more angry with us for uttering these words, "lieth hidden," than he is with his own doctors uttering the same?

In his gloss upon the decrees it is written thus: *Species panis, sub qua latet corpus: ... species vini, sub qua latet sanguis*[9]: "The form of bread, under which is hidden the body; the form of wine, under which is hidden the blood." These be his own fellows' words: they are not ours.

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Hoc est. In Glossa.

Willihelmus Haffliginensis, one of M. Harding's new doctors, saith thus: *Quærite Dominum, dum inveniri potest. In templo invenitur materiali: ibi latet sub specie panis*[10]: "Seek the Lord while he may be found. He is found in the material church of stone: there he is hidden under the form of bread."

Will. Hafflig. in Serm. de Advent. Vixit Anno 1300.

Another like doctor saith thus: *Ibi est corpus Christi in tanta quantitate, sicut fuit in cruce. ... Unde mirum est, quomodo sub tam modica specie tantus homo lateat*[11]: "The body of Christ is there as great in quantity as he was upon the cross. Therefore it is marvellous how so great a man can be hid under so small a form."

Ludolph. in Vit. Christi, Par. ii. cap. lvi.

---

[5] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Osee Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1313. See before, page 618, note 2.]

[6] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. ad Dard. seu Epist. clxxxvii. cap. iii. 10. Tom. II. col. 681.]

[7] Id. Lib. de Spir. et Lit. cap. xv. 27. Tom. X. col. 100. See before, page 618, note 12.]

[8] Id. De Baptism. Contr. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. xv. 24. Tom. IX. col. 92. See before, page 595, note 15.]

[9] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937.]

[10] Of this author, under the name of Guilelmus Affligemensis, an account may be found J. A. Fabric. Biblioth. Lat. Med. et Inf. Ætat. Patav. 1754. Tom. III. p. 137. See also Oudin. De Script. Eccles. Lips. 1722. Tom. III. col. 50. It is said that he flourished about A.D. 1260; and that some of his works were preserved in manuscript at the monastery in which he lived. This appears to have been not far from Brussels. See Lud. Guicciardin. Belgic. Descr. Amst. 1652. pp. 125, 6.]

[11] Ludolph. de Saxon. Vit. J. Christ. Lugd. 1510. Pars II. cap. lvi. fol. N. viii. 2.]

If this word "hidden" so necessarily import a scoff, then must M. Harding needs think that his own doctors scoff at him, and laugh him to scorn. Certainly it is no indifferent dealing, the words being all one, so favourably to allow them in his own books, and so bitterly to mislike them in all others.

Perhaps he will say, it is no catholic form of speech to say Christ *lieth* in the sacrament. And yet I see no great reason but it may stand as well with the catholic doctrine to say Christ *lieth* in the sacrament, as Christ *sitteth* in the sacrament. Yet Johannes à S. Andrea, a great doctor, and a special patron of that side, is well allowed to write thus, and that without any manner controlment or suspicion of scoff: *Id...temporis contentio nulla erat, utrum corpus Christi insideret eucharistiæ*[1]: "At that time there was no strife whether Christ's body were sitting in or upon the sacrament, or no." Thus was it lawful for him to write; and his writings are taken for good and catholic.

Johan. à S. Andr. in Epist. ante Liturg.

But M. Harding saith: Christ's body is in the sacrament without circumscription or respect of place, strangely, wondrously, and singularly, and by the might of God's omnipotent power; and the manner of his being there is known only unto God. These be fair and orient and beautiful colours, but altogether without ground; and, to use the terms of M. Harding's religion, they are nothing else but accidents and shews without a subject.

It is a strange and a marvellous matter, that, this presence of Christ in the sacrament being so certain and so singular, as M. Harding seemeth to make it, yet all the old learned catholic fathers should so lightly pass it over in silence, without any manner mention, as if it were not worth the hearing; or that M. Harding should so assuredly and so certainly know it, and yet God himself should not know it; or that God should know it, and yet, being a matter so singular and so necessary to be known, should never reveal the same to any either of the learned fathers or of the holy apostles, or make them privy to that knowledge.

Indeed it behoveth us to humble our hearts unto the miracles and marvellous works of God. But every M. Harding's fantasy is not a miracle. The heretic Praxeas said, even as now M. Harding saith: *Deo nihil est difficile:* "Unto God nothing is hard." But Tertullian, that learned father, answered him then, even as we now answer M. Harding: *Si tam abrupte in præsumptionibus nostris utamur hac sententia, quidvis de Deo confingere poterimus*[2]: "If we so rashly use this sentence to serve our presumptions (or fantasies), we may imagine of God what we list."

Tertull. contr. Prax.

Acts vii. Col. iii.

St Stephen saw Christ in heaven "standing:" St Paul saith, Christ is now at the right hand of God "sitting;" which thing also we confess in the articles of our faith. But in the sacrament, saith M. Harding, Christ is present without any manner such circumscription or circumstance or order of place; that is to say, as great in quantity as he was upon the cross, and yet neither standing, nor sitting, nor lying, nor leaning, nor kneeling, nor walking, nor resting, nor moving, nor having any manner proportion or position of his body, either upward or downward, or backward or forward; a very body, and yet not as a body; in a place, and yet not as in a place.

This is M. Harding's catholic doctrine, without scripture, without council, without doctor, without any liking or sense of reason. Yet must every man receive the same at M. Harding's hand as the singular, strange, wonderful, omnipotent work of God.

To conclude, Christ's body is in the mystical bread of the holy communion, not really, or corporally, or in deed, as M. Harding fancieth, but as in a sacrament and in a mystery; even as the blood of Christ is in the water of baptism.

[1 Id autem temporis contentio nulla fuit, an verum corpus Christi sacræ eucharistiæ insideret.—Joan. a Sanct. Andr. in Epist. ante Liturg. Sanct. Patr. Antv. 1560. fol. 2. 2.]

[2 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 10. p. 641. See before, page 490.]

OF IGNORANCE.

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ARTICLE.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

OR that ignorance is the mother and cause of true devotion and obedience.

M. HARDING.

Master Jewel had great need of articles for some shew to be made against the catholic church, when he advised himself to put this in for an article. Verily, this is none of the highest mysteries, nor none of the greatest keys of our religion, as he saith it is, but untruly, and knoweth that for an untruth. For himself imputeth it to D. Cole, in his replies to him, as a strange saying by him uttered in the disputation at Westminster, to the wondering of the most part of the honourable and worshipful of this realm[3]. *If it were one of the highest mysteries and greatest keys of the catholic religion, I trust the most part of the honourable and worshipful of the realm would not wonder at it. Concerning the matter itself I leave it to D. Cole. He is of age to answer for himself. Whether he said it or no, I know not. As he is learned, wise, and godly, so I doubt not but, if he said it, therein he had a good meaning, and can shew good reason for the same, if he may be admitted to declare his saying, as wise men would the laws to be declared, so as the mind be taken, and the word spoken not always rigorously exacted*[5].

Fol. 77.

John ix.[4]

κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τὸ ῥητόν.

THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding allegeth no doctor but Doctor Cole. And touching the matter itself, he thinketh this error well excused, for that it is not the principal key of his religion. Howbeit, he that in most honourable assembly doubted not openly to pronounce these words, "I tell you, ignorance is the mother of devotion," was thought then to esteem the same as no small key of his religion. Verily, it appeareth by the whole practice and policy of that side, they are fully persuaded that without deep ignorance of the people it is not possible for their church to stand.

Therefore they chase the simple from the scriptures, and drown them in ignorance, and suffer them utterly to know nothing, neither the profession they made in baptism, nor the meaning of the holy mysteries, nor the price of Christ's blood, nor wherein or by whom they may be saved, nor what they desire of God, either when they pray together in the church or when they privately pray alone.

"They shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; and neither will they enter themselves, nor suffer others that would enter." And, as it is written by the prophet Esay: *Dicunt videntibus, Nolite videre:* "They say unto them that see, Stop your eyes, and see no more." "As the people is, such is the priest; and as the priest is, such is the people." "The blind is set to guide the blind." Matt. xxiii. Isai. xxx. Isai. xxiv. Matt. xv.

Thus they welter in darkness and in the shadow of death. And yet, as it is written in the book of Wisdom: *Non satis est illis errasse circa scientiam Dei; sed in magno viventes inscitiæ bello, tot et tanta mala pacem appellant:* "They Wisd. xiv.

[3] See before, pages 57, 78.]

[4] H. A. 1564 omits this reference. It appears in H. A. 1565.]

[5] H. A. 1564 and H. A. 1565 add August. de Trin. Lib. I. cap. iv.

Hæc mea fides est, quoniam hæc est catholica fides.

This is my faith, forasmuch as this is the catholic faith.]

thought it not sufficient to be deceived and blinded in the knowledge of God; but, living in such a war of ignorance, all these evils they call peace," and make the people believe it is obedience, catholic faith, and devotion; or rather, as Irenæus writeth against the Valentinian heretics: "*Veritatis ignorantiam cognitionem vocant*[1]: "Ignorance of the truth and blindness they call knowledge."

Iren. Lib. ii. cap. xix.

By these policies they over-rule the church of God, and keep the people in obedience; even as the Philistines, after they had once shorn off Samson's hair and bored out his eyes, notwithstanding the strength and sturdiness of his body, were able to lead him whither they listed at their pleasure. "For he that walketh in the dark knoweth not whither to go."

Judg. xvi.

John xii.

In the council of Toledo in Spain it is written thus: *Mater omnium errorum ignorantia*[2]: "Ignorance is the mother (not of devotion, but) of all errors."

Concil. Tolet. iv. can. 24.

Like as St Augustine also saith: *Erat...in illis regnum ignorantiæ,...id est, regnum erroris*[3]: "There was in them the kingdom of ignorance; that is to say, the kingdom (not of devotion, but) of error."

August. in Psal. xxxiii. Conc. 1.

St Hierome saith: *Scripturarum ignorantia Christi ignorantia est*[4]: "The ignorance of the scriptures is the ignorance of Christ."

Dist. 38. Si juxta.

And St Gregory saith: *Qui ea, quæ sunt Domini, nesciunt, a Domino nesciuntur*[5]: "Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord, be not known of the Lord."

Gregor. in Pastor. Lib. i. cap. i.

But above all others these words of the ancient learned father Origen are specially worthy to be noted: *Dæmonibus est super omnia genera tormentorum, et super omnes pœnas, si quem videant verbo Dei operam dare, scientiam divinæ legis et mysteria scripturarum intentis studiis perquirentem. In hoc eorum omnis flamma est: in hoc uruntur incendio. Possident enim omnes, qui versantur in ignorantia*[6]: "Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torments, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law and the mysteries and secrets of the scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils: in this fire they are tormented." For they are seized and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance.

Orig. in Num. Hom. 27.

To be short, Moses wished that all the whole people might have understanding, and be able to prophesy. St Paul wished that the whole people might daily more and more increase in the knowledge of God, and saith: "Whoso continueth in ignorance, and knoweth not, shall not be known."

Num. xi.

1 Thess. iv.

1 Cor. xiv.

God, the God of light and truth, remove all ignorance and darkness from our hearts; that we may fly[7] the spirit of error, and know the voice of the great Shepherd; that we grow into a full perfect[8] man in Christ Jesu, and be not blown away with every blast of vain doctrine; that we may be able to know the only, the true, and the living God, and his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

John x.

Eph. iv.

(* * *)

---

[1] Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 7, p. 135; where *agnitionem.*]

[2] Ignorantia mater cunctorum errorum.—Concil. Tolet. IV. cap. 24. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 201.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xxxiii. Enarr. i. 8. Tom. IV. col. 213.]

[4] ...ignoratio scripturarum ignoratio Christi est. —Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxxviii. can. 9. col. 190.]

[5] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Reg. Pastor. Prim. Pars, cap. i. Tom. II. col. 3.]

[6] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Num. Hom. xxvii. 8. Tom. II. p. 378; where *in isto uruntur.* See before, page 57, note 14.]

[7] Flee, 1565.]

[8] Perfite, 1565.]

THE CONCLUSION,

EXHORTING M. JEWEL TO STAND TO HIS PROMISE[9].

Thus your challenge, M. Jewel, is answered. Thus your negatives be avouched. Thus the points you went about to improve, by good authority be proved, and many others by you over rashly affirmed clearly improved. Thus the catholic religion, with all your forces laid at and impugned, is sufficiently defended. The places of proofs which we have here used are such as yourself allow for good and lawful: the scriptures, examples of the primitive church, ancient councils, and the fathers of six hundred years after Christ. You might and ought likewise to have allowed reason, tradition, custom, and authority of the church without limitation of time. The manner of this dealing with you is gentle, sober, and charitable. Put away all mists of blind self-love, you shall perceive the same to be so. The purpose and intent towards you, right good and loving, in regard of the truth, no less than due, for behoof of christian people, no less than necessary; that you hereby might be induced to bethink yourself of that wherein you have done unadvisedly, and stayed from hasty running forth, pricked with vain favour and praise of the world to everlasting damnation, appointed to be the reward at the end of your game; that truth might thus be tried, set forth and defended; and that our brethren be led, as it were by the hand, from perilous errors and danger of their souls, to a right sense and to surety.

Now it remaineth that you perform your promise: which is, that, if any one clear sentence or clause be brought for proof of any one of all your negative articles, you would yield and subscribe. What hath been brought, every one that wilfully will not blindfold himself may plainly see. If some haply, who will seem to have both eyes and ears, and to be right learned, will say hereof, they see ne hear nothing, no marvel. The favour of the part whereto they cleave, having cut off themselves from the body, the despite of the catholic religion and hatred of the church, hath so blinded their hearts, as, places alleged to the disproof of their false doctrine being never so evident, they see not, ne hear not, or rather they Matt. xiii. *seeing see not, ne hearing hear not. Verily, you must either refuse the balance which yourself have offered and required for trial of these articles, which be the scriptures, examples, councils, and doctors of antiquity; or, the better weight of authority swaying to our side, that is, the truth found in the ancient doctrine of the catholic church, and not in the mangled dissensions of the gospellers, advisedly return from whence unadvisedly you have departed; humbly yield to that you have stubbornly kicked against, and embrace wholesomely that which you have hated damnably.*

Touching the daily sacrifice of the church, commanded by Christ to be done in 1.
remembrance of his death, that it hath been (and may be well and godly) cele-
brated without a number of communicants with the priest together in one place,
which you call private mass, within the compass of your six hundred years after
Christ: That the communion was then sometimes (as now also it is and may be) 2.
ministered under one kind: Of the public service of the church, or common prayers 3.
in a tongue not known to all the people: That the bishop of Rome was sometime 4.
called universal bishop, and both called and holden for head of the universal church:
That by ancient doctors it hath been taught, Christ's body to be really, subtan- 5.
tially, corporally, carnally or naturally in the blessed sacrament of the altar: Of 6.
the wondrous, but true being of Christ's body in more places at one time; and of 7.
the adoration of the sacrament, or rather of the body of Christ in the sacrament,—
we have brought good and sufficient proofs, alleging for the more part of these

[9 From H. A. 1564; being not given in the editions of Jewel.]

articles the scriptures, and for all, right good evidence out of ancient examples,
8. 9. *councils, or fathers. Concerning elevation, reservation, remaining of the accidents*
10. 11. *without substance, dividing the host in three parts, the terms of figure, sign,*
12. 13. *token, etc. applied to the sacrament, many masses in one church in one day, the*
14. 15. *reverent use of images, the scriptures to be had in vulgar tongues for the common people to read, which are matters not specially treated of in the scriptures by express terms; all these have been sufficiently avouched and proved, either by proofs by yourself allowed, or by the doctrine and common sense of the church.*

12. *As for your twelve last articles, which you put in by addition to the former, for shew of your courage and confidence of the cause, and to seem to the ignorant to have much matter to charge us withal, as it appeareth; they report matter (certain excepted) of less importance. Some of them contain doctrine true, I grant, but over curious, and not most necessary for the simple people. Some others be through the manner of your utterance perverted, and in terms drawn from the sense they have been uttered in by the church: which, by you being denied, might of us also be denied in regard of the terms they be expressed in, were not a sleight of falsehead, which might redound to the prejudice of the truth, therein worthily suspected. Verily to them all we have said so much, as to sober, quiet, and godly wits may seem sufficient.*

Now this being so, what you mind to do, I know not; what you ought to do, I know right well. I wish you to do that, which may be to your own and to the people's soul-health, that, being by you and your fellows deceived, depend of you to the setting forth of the truth, to the procuring of a godly concord in Christ's church, and finally to the glory of God. This may you do by forsaking that, which perhaps seemeth to you truth, and is not; that which seemeth to you learning, and is but a flourish or varnish of learning; that which seemeth to you clear light, and is profound darkness; and by returning to the church, where, concerning the faith of a christian man, is all truth, and no deceit, right learning, and
John i. *the very light, even that which lighteneth every man coming into this world, which is there to be found only, and not elsewhere, forasmuch as the head is not separated from the body.*

O that you would once mind this seriously, M. Jewel! As for me, if either speaking, writing, or expending might further you thereto, I should not spare tongue nor pen, nor any portion of my necessary things, were it never so dear. I would gladly pour out all together to help you to attain that felicity. But, O Lord, what lets see I whereby you are kept from that good! Shame, wealth of your estate, your worldly acquaintance, beside many others. But, sir, touching shame, which always irketh those that be of any generosity of nature, if you call your better philosophy to counsel, you shall be taught not to account it shameful to forsake error for love of truth, but rather wilfully to dwell in error after that it is plainly detected. As for the wealth of your estate, which some assure you of, so long as you maintain that part, I cannot judge so evil of you, but that you think how fickle and frail these worldly things be, and how little to be esteemed in respect of the heavenly estate which remaineth to the obedient children of the church, as the contrary to the rebels, apostates, and renegades. Touching your acquaintance, what shall the familiarity of a few deceived persons stay you from that felicity which you shall achieve with the love and friendship of all good
Luke xv. *men, of whose good opinion only riseth fame and renown, and also with the rejoicing of the angels in heaven?*

This your happy change the better and wiser sort of men will impute to grace
Gen. i. *mightily by God's power in you wrought, which sundereth light from darkness,*
2 Cor. iv. *and maketh light shine out of darkness. Neither shall they judge that inconstancy, where is no change in will, but only in understanding. Where the will remaining one, always bent to the glory of God, the deceived understanding is by better instruction corrected and righted; there is not inconstancy to be noted, but amendment to be praised. Neither shall you in this godly enterprise be alone. Many both of old time and of our days have gone this way, and have broken the ice before you:* Eusebius of Cæsarea in Palæstina, Beryllus of Bostra in Arabia, and Theodoritus of Cyrus in Persie; *who forsook heinous heresies against Christ,*

and by grace returned to the catholic faith again. So have done in our time Georgius Wicelius, Fridericus Staphylus, Franciscus Balduinus[1], *and many more.*

Thus having called to my mind the considerations that are like to withhold you from yielding to the catholic faith, from returning to the church, and from performing your promise; I find no bands so strong, to keep you fast in the chair of pestilence, which this long time you have sitten in; that through God's grace working humility and denial of yourself in your heart, whereof I spake in my preface, you should not easily loose and be in liberty, where you might clearly see the light spread abroad over the whole church, and espy the darkness of the particular sects of your new gospel which you lived in before.

But, all this notwithstanding, peradventure your heart serveth you to stand stoutly according to the purport of your challenge, in the defence of the doctrine you have professed, and for which you have obtained a bishoprick, thinking great scorn to be removed from the same by any such means as these to you may seem. And now perhaps you enter into meditation with yourself and conference with your brethren to frame an answer to this treatise, and by contrary writing to fortify your negatives. Well may you so do. But to what purpose, I pray you? Well may you make a smoke and a smother, to darken the light for a time; as men of war are wont to do, to work a feat secretly against their enemies. But that cannot long continue. The smoke will soon vanish away, the light of the truth will eftsoons appear. Well may you shut the light out of a few houses by closing doors and windows; but to keep away the bright sun from that great city which Matt. v. *is set on high upon a hill, do what ye can, therein all your travail, your devices, and endeavours shall be vain and frustrate.*

As iron by scouring is not only not consumed, but kept from rust and canker and is made brighter, so the church by the armours and hostility of heretics is not wounded, but through occasion strengthened, stirred to defence, and made invincible. When it is oppressed, then it riseth; when it is invaded, then it overcometh. When by the adversaries' objections it is checked and controlled, then it is acquitted and prevaileth. Wherefore talk, preach, and write against the doctrine of the church whiles ye will, ye shall but spurn against the stone, whereat ye may break your shins, and be crushed to pieces, the same not moved. Matt. xxi. *Ye shall but kick against the prick. Ye shall but torment your own conscience* Acts ix. *condemned in your own judgment, as witting that ye resist the church, and, for the* Tit. iii. *life to come, increase the heap of everlasting damnation. All the reward ye shall win hereby is the vain favour of a few light and unstable persons by you deceived; whom the blasts of your mutable doctrine shall move and blow away from God's floor the church, like chaff, the good and constant people remaining still, like weighty* Matt. iii. *and sound wheat.*

The arguments and reasons you shall make against the doctrine of the church may haply persuade some of the worldly-wise, who be fools in God's judgment, as the reasons of them that have commended infamous matters have persuaded some. Of whom one praised the fever quartan; another drunkenness; another Phavorinus. Synesius. *baldness; another unrighteousness; and in our time, one ignorance, and another* Glaucus apud Platonem. *foolishness. Which by the authors hath been done only for an exercise of wits,* Cornelius Agrippa. *and rather to the wondering than corrupting of the readers. Would God of all* Erasmus. *the writings of your sect against the catholic faith, which be no less beside reason and truth, the intent were no worse, the danger ensuing no greater! And as, for commendation of those unseemly and unworthy things, those rhetoricians have not brought good and true reasons, but only a probability of talk; right so for confirmation of your negative divinity, and of many new strange and false doctrines, you have no sure proofs, but shadows, colours, and shews only, that perhaps may dazzle blear eyes, and deceive the unlearned; but the learned-wise, and by any ways godly-wise, will soon contemn the same. For they be assured, how probably soever you teach or write, that the church, always assisted and prompted by the Holy Ghost the Spirit of truth, in points of faith erreth not, and that against truth, already by the same Spirit in the universal church taught and received, no truth can be alleged.*

[1] H. A. 1565 adds *Nocolaus Villagagno* after *Balduinus.*]

As he is very simple, who, being borne in hand by a sophister, and driven by force of sophistical arguments to grant that he hath horns, thinketh so in deed, and therefore putteth his hand to his forehead; so whosoever through your teaching fall from the catholic church into the errors of our time, from the straitness of christian life into the carnal liberty of this new gospel, from devotion into the insensibility which we see the people to live in, from the fear of God to the desperate contempt of all virtue and goodness; hereby they shew themselves to be such as have unstable hearts, which be given over to the lusts of their flesh, which have no delight ne feeling of God, which, like Turks and epicures seeking only for the commodities and pleasures of this world, have no regard of the life to come. But the godly sort, whose hearts be established with grace, who pant and labour to live after the Spirit, continually mortifying their flesh, whose delight is to serve God, who be kept and holden within the fear of God, though they give you their hearing, and that of constraint, not of will, yet will not they give you their liking nor consenting.

Wherefore, M. Jewel, seeing we have performed that which you have over boldly said we were not able to do; seeing for proof of these articles we have brought more than you bare your hearers in hand we had to bring; seeing you perceive yourself herein to have done more than standeth with learning, modesty, or good advice; seeing, in case of any one clause or sentence for our part brought, you have with so many protestations promised to yield and to subscribe unto us; seeing, by performing your promise, you may do so much good to the people and to yourself; seeing, nothing can be justly alleged for keeping of you from satisfying your promise, and returning to the church again; seeing so great respects both of temporal and of heavenly preferments invite you and call you from parts and sects, where you remain with most certain danger of your soul, to the safe port of Christ's church; seeing by so doing you should not do that which were singular, but common to you with many others, men of right good fame and estimation; finally, seeing, if you shall (as always for the most part heretics have done) continue in the profession of your untrue doctrine, and travail in setting forth erroneous treatises for defence of the same, you shall gain thanks of no other but of the lightest and worst sort of the people, and persuade none but such as be of that mark; we trust you will upon mature deliberation in your sadder years change the counsel which you liked in your youth; we trust you will examine better by learning the new doctrine which you with many others were drawn unto by sway of the time, when by course of age you wanted judgment; we trust you will call back yourself from errors and heresies advisedly, which you have maintained rashly, and set forth by word and write[1] *busily, and therein assured yourself of the truth confidently. Thus shall your error seem to proceed of ignorance, not of malice. Thus shall you make some recompence for hurt done. Thus shall you in some degree discharge yourself before God and men: thus shall you be received into the lap of the church again, out of*
Tit. ii. *which is no salvation, whither being restored you may from henceforth, in certain expectation of the blessed hope, lead a life more acceptable to God, to whom be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.*

[1] Write: used apparently for *writing*.]

AN ANSWER TO M. HARDING'S CONCLUSION.

As the rest of your book, M. Harding, may in many respects seem very weak, so is there no part thereof more weak than your triumph at the end, before the conquest. Ye say, ye have fully answered the offer, which you call a challenge, and have avouched the negatives, and have fully proved all that lay in question by scriptures, by examples of the primitive church, by old councils, and by ancient fathers. Whereby it appeareth ye have some good liking in that ye have done. It had been more modesty to have left the commendation and judgment thereof unto your reader; who, comparing your proofs with the answers, and laying the one with[2] the other, might be able to judge indifferently between both. For it may well be thought that while ye ran alone ye were ever the foremost, and that, making your own award, ye would hardly pronounce against yourself.

The proofs that ye have shewed us are common and known, often alleged and often answered, and now brought in as a company of maimed soldiers, to make a shew. But from you, and from such conference and help of fellows, your learned friends looked for some fresher matters.

That ye charge me with ambition, and self-love, and seeking of praise, although it be the weakest of all other your shifts, yet it is an affection incident unto the children of Adam; and some men suspect that M. Harding is not fully empty of the same. But he that made the heart is only meet to search and to judge the heart. As for me, as I am nothing, so I know nothing. "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, saving only in the cross of Jesus Christ." Gal. vi.

But, where it pleaseth you so horribly to pronounce your definitive sentence, that everlasting damnation shall be the end of our game, I might well answer you with St Paul: *Nolite ante tempus judicare:* "Judge not before the time." 1 Cor. iv. It seemeth overmuch for you so unadvisedly to take upon you the office and person of Christ without commission. For St John saith: "God hath given all judgment (not unto M. Harding, but) unto Christ his Son;" John v. who, no doubt, will inquire further of your judgment. Your own Gelasius saith: *Neminem gravare debet iniqua sententia*[3]: "A wrongful sentence may hurt no man." It behoveth us patiently to wait for the judgment-seat of God. "In that day all the secrets of darkness shall be revealed." 1 Cor. iv. The wicked and ungodly cried out against the prophet David: *Non est salus ipsi in Deo ejus:* "He hath no health, he hath no comfort in his God." Psal. iii. But David turned himself unto God, and said: "O Lord, thou receivest me; thou art my glory; thou liftest up my head." If damnation be the end of all their travails, that seek only the glory of God and the truth of his gospel, where then shall they be that so wilfully have dishonoured the name of God, and have burnt his gospel without cause, and have condemned it as open heresy? Certainly, Rev. xxi. "renegades, infidels, liars, blasphemers, and idolaters shall have their portion in the lake that flameth with fire and brimstone." The Lord's mouth hath spoken it. This doubtless shall be the end of their game.

Now, say you, it remaineth that I perform my promise. Yea, verily; but, notwithstanding all that ye have hitherto said, much more it remaineth that you begin again and assay better to prove your purpose; that is, that ye leave your surmises and guesses, and allege one or other sufficient clause or sentence for any of these matters that ye say ye have proved. For that ye have hitherto shewed us, as unto any indifferent reader it may soon appear, is over weak, and will not serve.

I grant, ye have alleged authorities, sundry and many, such as I knew long before; with what faith, I doubt not but by conference it may soon appear.

[2 To, 1565, 1609.]

[3 ...neminem potest iniqua gravare sententia.—Gelas. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XI. Quæst. iii. can. 46. col. 938.]

Verily, M. Harding, I never denied but you were able to misreport the ancient learned doctors of the church, and to bring us the names and shadows of many fathers. The heretics of all ages were likewise able to do the same. But what credit may we yield to such allegations? What error was there ever so plain, what abuse so horrible, but ye have been able to maintain the same by some colour of scriptures and fathers? Ye have defended your holy water by the example of Elizeus, and by the words of the prophet Ezechiel; your pardons by the prophet Esay; the open filthiness and abomination of your stews by the name and authority of St Augustine[1]. Such credit ye deserve to have, when ye come to us in the name of holy fathers.

2 Kings iv. Isai. xl. August. de Ordine.

Ye say, ye have shaken down all the holds of our side; and that whosoever[2] seeth it not, is stark blind and seeth nothing. So easily and with so small ado this whole matter is brought to pass. So Julius Cæsar, sometime to declare the marvellous speed and expedition of his victory, expressed the same briefly in these three words: *Veni: vidi: vici:* "I came to them: I saw them: I conquered them."

Here, in few words to traverse the special points and corners of your whole book, and to shew by what force and engines ye have achieved this enterprise: first, you have proved your private mass by women, boys, children, laymen, fables, dreams, and visions: your half-communion by sick folk, deathbeds, infants, and madmen. Of Christ's institution, of the scriptures, of the certain practice of the apostles, of the general and known use of the primitive church, of the ancient councils, of the old canons, of the holy catholic fathers, saving only your bare guesses, you bring nothing. Of your unfruitful manner of praying in a strange unknown tongue, ye allege neither authority nor example: touching the supremacy of Rome, which is the keep and castle of your whole religion, ye wander far and wide, and many times beside the way; yet have ye not found any ancient father that ever intitled the bishop of Rome either the universal bishop of the whole world, or the head of the universal church. Thus ye proceed with your real presence; and so forth with the rest.

You entreat uncourteously the holy fathers with such your translations, expositions, and constructions, not as may best express their meaning, but as may best serve to further your purpose. Ye rack them, ye alter them, ye put to them, ye take from[3] them, ye allege sometime the end without the beginning, sometime the beginning without the end: sometime ye take the bare words against the meaning: sometime ye make a meaning against the words. Ye imagine councils that were never holden, and canons of councils that never were seen. Ye bring forged pamphlets under the names of Athanasius, Anacletus, and other godly fathers, by whom you well know, and cannot choose but know, they were never made. Your greatest grounds be surmises, guesses, conjectures, and likelihoods. Your arguments be fallacies, many times without either mood or figure; the antecedent not agreeing with the consequent, nor one part joined with another. Your untruths be so notorious and so many, that it pitieth me in your behalf to remember them. But the places be evident, and cry corruption, and may by no shift be denied. And, to forget all other your inconstancy touching the former times, even now in this selfsame book which ye wish us to receive, and so to receive as the rule and standard of our faith, ye say and unsay, ye avouch and recant; and either of forgetfulness, or for that ye mislike your former sayings, you are often contrary to yourself. Ye have sought up a company of new petit doctors, Abdias, Amphilochius, Clemens, Hippolytus, Leontius, and such others, authors void of authority, full of vanities and childish fables. And no great marvel: for whoso wanteth wood is often driven to burn turfs. It had been good ye had brought some other doctors to prove the credit of these doctors. Ye make no difference between silver and dross, between corn and chaff, between old and new, between true and false. Ye say: Christ shed his blood in-

Art. 17. Div. 4. & 7.

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Ord. Lib. II. Disp. I. cap. iv. 12. Tom. I. col. 335.]

[2 Whoso, 1565.]

[3 Fro, 1565.]

deed and verily at his last supper; and that at the same instant of time he offered himself in his body likewise in heaven indeed and verily before God his Father[4]. And these ye call necessary points of the christian faith.

These are the contents of your book: this is the substance of your proofs. Thus, I fear me, ye know ye dally, and deal not plainly: thus ye know ye abuse the patience and simplicity of your reader. And did you imagine, M. Harding, that your book should pass only among children, or that it should never be examined and come to trial? or did you think that only with the sound hereof ye should be able to beat down and to vanquish the truth of God?

As for your eloquence and furniture of words, as it serveth well to make the matter more saleable in the sight of the simple, so it addeth but small weight unto the truth. Wise men are led with choice of matter, not with noise of words; and try their gold, not only by the sound, which often deceiveth, but also by the touchstone and by the weight. Although your eloquence may work miracles in the ears of the unlearned, that cannot judge, yet it cannot turn neither water into wine, nor darkness into light, nor error into truth. There is no eloquence, there is no colour against the Lord.

Whereas it liketh you so bitterly, as your manner is, to call us heretics, and to say, we sit in the chair of pestilence, and that the people learneth of us dissolution of manners and liberty of the flesh, and walketh utterly without sense or fear or care of God; it standeth not with your credit thus with manifest untruths and common slanders to inveigle your reader. Balach, when he saw he could not prevail against the people of God by force of arms, he began to rail against them, and to curse them, thinking that by such means he should prevail. Num. xxii. & xxiii.

But it is not always heresy that an heretic calleth heresy. Athalia, when she understood that Joas, the right inheritor of the crown of Juda, was proclaimed king, flew in her fury into the temple, and cried out, "Treason, treason." Yet was it not king Joas, but she herself that had wrought the treason. The Arian heretics called the true Christians, that professed the faith of the holy Trinity, sometime Ambrosians, sometime Johannites, and sometime Homousians; allowing only themselves to be called catholics. The Valentinian heretics condemned all others as gross and earthly, and themselves only they called ghostly. The sheep oftentimes seemeth to stray without the fold, whiles the wolf lurketh and preyeth within. Verily, M. Harding, whoso hateth the intolerable outrage of your abuses, and pitieth the miserable seducing and mocking of the people, and mourneth for the reformation of the house of God, and desireth to tread in the steps of the ancient catholic godly fathers, whose doctrine and ordinances ye have forsaken, and with all submission and humility of mind referreth the whole judgment and order hereof unto the undoubted word of God, he may not rightly be called an heretic. 2 Kings xi.

Touching looseness of life, I marvel ye can so soon forget either your church of Rome, where, as St Bernard said in his time, "from the head to the foot there was no part whole[5];" or the pope's holiness' own palace, where, as the same St Bernard saith, *mali proficiunt, boni deficiunt*[6], "the wicked grow forward, the godly go backward." Bernard. in Convers. Paul. De Consid. Lib. iv.

Verily, we have neither stews, nor concubines, nor courtezans set out and decked as ladies, nor priests nor prelates to wait upon them, as, by your own friends' confession, there are in Rome[7]. There is no virtue, but we advance[8] it: there is no vice, but we condemn it. To be short, a light wanton amongst us, if she were in Rome, might seem Penelope. In Concil. Delect. Card.

Ye say, there are none but a few light unstable persons of our side: and therefore of good-will and friendship ye counsel me to return to you again. But a few, say you? and the same unstable and light persons? Surely, M. Harding, if you could behold the wonderful works that God hath wrought in the kingdoms

---

[4 See before, pages 713, 8, 9.]

[5 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956. See before, page 382, note 10.]

[6 Id. De Consid. Lib. IV. cap. iv. 11. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 439. See before, page 382, note 9.]

[7 Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. p. 823. See before, page 728.]

[8 Avaunce, 1565.]

of England, France, Denmark, Polonia, Suecia, Bohemia, and Scotland, and in the noble states and commonweals of Germany, Helvetia, Prussia, Russia, Lituania, Pomerania, Austria, Rhetia, Vallis Tellina, &c., ye would not greatly find fault with the number, nor think that they, whom it hath pleased God in all these kingdoms and countries to call to the knowledge and feeling of his holy gospel, are so few. And if ye could also consider the extremity and cruelty of your side, and the abundance of innocent blood that so constantly hath been yielded for the testimony of the truth, ye would not so lightly call them either unstable or light persons. Certainly they whom you seem so lightly to esteem are kings, princes, magistrates, councillors, and the gravest and greatest learned fathers of Christendom. If it please God of his mercy to bless and increase that he hath begun, within few years ye shall find but few that will so lightly be deceived and follow you. In all countries they flee from you and forsake you. Ye can no longer hold them, but either by ignorance or by force and tyranny. The people, whom it liketh you to call dogs and swine, are neither so beastly nor so unsensible and void of reason, but that they are able now to espy them by whom they so often have been deceived. They are able now to discern the truth from falsehood[1], and the true Shepherd from a stranger, and lament your pitiful case, that are so suddenly fallen back, and welter so miserably in your error.

Whereas you in so earnest sort, and with such protestation of friendship, counsel me to leave Christ and to follow you; as your counsel, joined with truth, were very wholesome, so, standing with manifest untruth, it is full of danger, and the more vehement the more dangerous. Certainly, heretics and infidels, to increase their factions, have evermore used the like persuasions. But we may hear no counsel against the counsel of God. Aristotle sometime said: "Socrates is my friend, and so is Plato; but the friendship of truth is best of all." We cannot bear witness against God: we cannot say good is ill and ill is good, light is darkness and darkness is light. We cannot "be ashamed of the gospel of Christ: it is the mighty power of God unto salvation."

Rom. i.

And with whom then would ye have us to join? Examine the weight and circumstance of your counsel. Whom should we flee? whom should we follow? Leave affection, leave favour of parts, and judge uprightly. Would ye have us to join with them that have burnt the word of God, and scornfully call it a shipman's hose and a nose of wax? That maintain manifest and known errors? That call God's people dogs and swine? That say: "Ignorance is the mother of true devotion?" That force the people to open idolatry? That forbid lawful marriage, and license concubines and common stews? That have devised unto themselves a strange religion, without either scriptures, or ancient councils, or old doctors, or example of the primitive church? That have turned their backs to God? That have deceived the people? That have made the house of God a cave of thieves? Whom so many kingdoms and countries and infinite thousands of godly people have forsaken? From whom the Holy Ghost by express words hath commanded us to depart? For so it is written: "Come away from her, O my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, lest ye be also partakers of her plagues."

Rev. xviii.

Would ye counsel us, M. Harding, to forsake the word of life, and the company of all them that have given their bodies and blood for the testimony of Christ, and to join with these?

Ye say: "We may have the example and company of one Staphylus, and Balduinus, and Wicelius, that have done the like." Ye might also have added the example and company of Judas the traitor, of Julianus the renegade, and of others the like, of whom St Peter saith: "They are turned back to feed upon their vomit as shameless dogs, and to wallow again in their mire as filthy swine." I will say nothing of you, M. Harding. Notwithstanding, ye know whose examples ye have followed. Tertullian saith thus: *Christus ait, Fugite de civitate in civitatem. Sic enim quidem argumentabatur: sed et ipse fugitivus*[2]: "Christ said,

2 Pet. ii.

Tertull. de Fug. in Persec.

[1 Falshead, 1565.]

[2 Immo, inquit, quia præceptum adimplevit, fugiens de civitate in civitatem. Sic enim voluit quidam, sed et ipse fugitivus, argumentari.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Fug. in Persec. 6. p. 693.]

Flee from city to city: so there is one that used to reason; but he himself was a fugitive."

I consider well their doings, and stand in horror of their ends: some such of your side have died in miserable desperation, with terrible witness against themselves, that they had wrought against their own conscience; as it is faithfully testified unto the world. One of these three, as it is reported and openly published by them that know him best, hath altered his whole faith seven times within the space of seventeen years, and therefore is well resembled to the old apostata Ecebolius[3]. St Peter saith: "It had been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness, than, having once received knowledge, afterward to turn away from the holy commandment." 2 Pet. ii. "It is an horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God." Heb. x. St Paul saith: "Whoso hath once received the light of God, and hath felt the sweetness of the heavenly gift, and hath been partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hath once tasted of the good word of God, and afterward falleth away, it is not possible for such a one to be renewed by repentance." Heb. vi. I wish you in God and unfeignedly, M. Harding, to beware hereby. These words and examples are marvellous horrible.

Although these and such others can deny God, yet "God cannot deny himself." 2 Tim. ii. "What," saith St Paul, "if certain of them be fallen away? Shall their infidelity make frustrate the faith of God? God forbid. For God is true; and all men are liars." Rom. iii.

Of your person, as I promised, I will say nothing. God's works be wonderful. "He calleth whom he will, and whom he will he maketh hard." Rom. ix. He called Paul from his horse, Elizæus from the plough, the apostles from their nets, and the thief on the cross, upon the sudden.

But if some simple one or other of them whom you so uncourteously have despised should say thus unto you: M. Harding, not long sithence ye taught us the gospel, even in like sort and form in all respects as it is taught us now. We remember both your words, and also the manner and courage of your utterance. Ye told us of the paper walls and painted fires of purgatory: ye said Rome was the sink of Sodom: ye said your mass was a heap of idolatry, and the mystery of iniquity: ye wished your voice had been equal with the great bell of Oseney, that ye might ring (as ye then said) in the dull ears of the deaf papists. No man was so vehement and so earnest as you. The whole university and city of Oxford, the cross at Paul's, and other like places of great concourse, can well record it. Ye bade us then believe you upon your credit; and we believed you. The prince died: another was placed. Suddenly ye had quite forgotten all that ye had taught us before, and had as suddenly learned other things, all contrary to the former, which ye told us ye never knew before; and yet, with one face and one conscience, ye required us earnestly to believe you still, even as we had done before. As though your bare word were the rule of our faith, and whatsoever you should say, true or false, we simple people were bound of necessity to believe you. Howbeit, we think, if ye tell us truth now, then ye deceived us before; if ye told us truth before, then ye deceive us now. And thus it cannot be denied but this way or that way ye have deceived us. And how may we know whether you speak as you think, or dissemble with us now, as ye did before? Surely St James sheweth us, that "a man of double mind is ever unconstant in all his ways." James i. We marvelled how ye could attain to all this doctrine, specially in so short a time, but most of all in such perfection. For the scriptures are large, and we hear say the councils are sundry, the doctors' volumes are long and many. So suddenly in seven days to read them all, and so to read them, it was not possible. You may by your eloquence persuade us many things. But this one thing ye can never persuade us. You wanted time: it is not credible: it was not possible. Therefore ye must needs say ye were taught these things even as the prophets were, by revelation.

If any of all your old hearers would thus put you in remembrance, alas! what answer could you make him?

[3 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xiii. p. 151.]

But it was not you, M. Harding: it was the time. If the time had been one, you had still continued one. But ye were forced to know that ye knew not, and to think that ye thought not, and so to believe that ye believed not. Howbeit, St Hilary saith: *Quæ ex necessitate est, fides non est*[1]: "Forced faith is no faith."

Ye say, whosoever shall attempt to answer your book shall sweat in vain: his labour shall be as was the commendation of baldness, or of ignorance, or of folly; as a flourish, as a smoke, as a smother, and as I know not what. The force of your eloquence is so invincible, no truth is able to withstand it. Such affiance ye would seem to have in the beauty of your cause.

Here, I beseech you, give me leave once again to put you in remembrance of the contents and substance of your travails. Think you in sooth, M. Harding, or would ye have us to think, that your maimed allegations, your untrue translations, your wrested expositions, your councils never holden, your canons never not[2] made nor seen, your epistles never written, your Amphilochius, your Abdias, your Clemens, your Leontius, your Hippolytus, and other like fabulous pamphlets and forgeries so lately found out, so long lacked and never missed, your additions, your diminutions, your alterations, your corruptions of the doctors, your contrarieties and contradictions against yourself, your surmises, your guesses, your dreams, your visions, your elenchs[3], your fallacies, your silly syllogisms, without either mood or figure or sequel in reason; and, to conclude, your untruths, so plain, so evident, so manifest, and so many, can never be answered? Is simple truth become so weak? Or is error and falsehood[4] grown so strong?

O M. Harding, you know right well the weakness of your side. No man seeth it better than yourself. If you will dissemble and say ye see it not, open your eyes; behold your own book, and you shall see it. You have forced the old doctors and ancient fathers to speak your mind, and not their own. And therefore they are now your children: they are no fathers: they are now your scholars: you have set them to school: they are no doctors. You should have brought some truth for proof of your purpose: the world will not now be led with lies.

These be cases, not of wit, but of faith; not of eloquence, but of truth; not invented or devised by us, but from the apostles and holy fathers and founders of the church by long succession brought unto us. We are not the devisers thereof, but only the keepers; not the masters, but the scholars. Touching the substance of religion, we believe that the ancient catholic learned fathers believed: we do that they did: we say that they said. And marvel not, in what side soever ye see them, if ye see us join unto the same. It is our great comfort that we see their faith and our faith to agree in one. And we pity and lament your miserable case, that, having of yourselves erected a doctrine contrary to all the ancient fathers, yet would thus assay to colour the same, and to deceive the people only with the names and titles of ancient fathers.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

St Cyprian saith: "Lies can never deceive us long. It is night until the day spring: but, when the day appeareth, and the sun is up, both the darkness of the night, and the thefts and robberies that in the darkness were committed, are fain to give place[5]." Now the sun is up: your smother is scattered. God with his truth will have the victory. The heavens and the earth shall perish; but the word of God shall never perish.

O M. Harding, O fight no longer against God. It is hard to kick against the spur. To maintain a fault known, it is a double fault. Untruth cannot be

---

[1] Perhaps the following passage is that intended: Si ad fidem veram istiusmodi vis adhiberetur, episcopalis doctrina obviam pergeret, &c.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Ad Constant. August. Lib. I. 6. col. 1221. Conf. Tractat. in Psalm. lxv. 24. col. 182; and De Trin. Lib. VIII. 12. cols. 953, 4.]

[2] Not, 1611.]

[3] Elenchs: proofs.]

[4] Falshead, 1565.]

[5] Atque hæc est...vera dementia, non cogitare... quod mendacia non diu fallant; noctem tamdiu esse quamdiu illucescat dies, clarificata autem die, et sole oborto, luci tenebras et caliginem cedere, et quæ grassabantur per noctem latrocinia cessare.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 133.]

shielded but by untruth. Error cannot be defended but by error. "And the mouth that speaketh untruth killeth the soul."

God direct our hearts, that we be not ashamed of his gospel, but that we may see it, and be seen to see it! God make us the vessels of his mercy, that we may have pity of Sion, and build up again the broken walls of his Hierusalem, to the honour and glory of his holy name! Amen.

Vigilius contra Eutychem, Lib. I.

Hæc est fides et professio catholica, quam apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles huc usque custodiunt[6]*:*

"This is the faith and catholic profession, which the apostles have delivered, the martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful keep until this day."

FINIS.

[6 Vigil. adv. Eutych. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Lib. IV. p. 547; where *confessio*, and *nunc usque*.]

THE CORRECTOR TO THE READER.

If thou wilt know, gentle reader, for what causes and by whom this book is now set forth in print again, here mayest thou see both the same declared and his name subscribed. First, the book being good, and containing true wholesome and catholic doctrine, the more it is made common, the more good thereby is done. Again, whereas many be desirous of the same, as well in Scotland, Ireland, as in England; in so easy and so profitable a thing not to answer their desires, it were beside all humanity. Thirdly, forasmuch as it is often and constantly reported that an answer to this book hath this long time been and is yet in hand, that, when the same shall come forth, men may the better see by conference of books where true dealing is, and where falsehead is used; it may to any man appear reasonable that for so honest and so good a purpose the copies by mean of a new print be multiplied. That thou findest here sundry quotations, and also certain brief additions, which the copies of the first print had not; to the intent I make thee privy to all, thus it hath been done. About half a year past coming into M. D. Harding's chamber (which to his friends is never shut), and there finding a book newly quoted and with some annotations augmented with his own hand, upon affiance of his friendship, I was so bold in his absence as for a time to take it with me, and according to the same to note mine own boon book, not minding as then ever to set it in print, but to use it to my private instruction. And the same now hath served the printer for his copy. Whereas I have adventured thus to do without the author's knowledge, whereto himself by sundry persons moved could never yet be induced; as I know not why I should be blamed of any other, so I trust the greatness of the profit, that hereof is like to follow, shall procure me easy pardon of him whose slackness I have supplied. If faults be found in the print, they are mine and the printer's; the author therewith is not touched; who doubtless, had he taken the oversight of it himself, would have done better; as the mother's eye tendereth the child more than another body's. Yet I promise the best of mine endeavour. Howsoever it be, I wish our loving countrymen to consider how hard it is for aliens to print English truly, who neither understand nor can pronounce the tongue rightly. As for the corrector, where the faults of the printers be infinite for the unskill of the language, were he as full of eyes as Argus, or as sharp-sighted as Lynx, yet should he pass over no small number unespied. Were there here an Englishman who had skill in setting a print, and knew the right orthography of our speech, then mightest thou, reader, look for books more correctly set forth: for lack whereof we do as we may. I pray thee, in this distress bear with my little oversight, and accept my great good-will.

Farewell, at Antwerp, 12 *Januarii,* 1565.

JOHN MARTIALL.

[1 This piece is the advertisement prefixed to the revised edition of Harding's Answer, printed at Antwerp, 1565.]

AN EXPOSITION

UPON

THE TWO EPISTLES OF ST PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS.

AN EXPOSITION VPON THE TWO EPISTLES OF THE Apostle *Saint Paul* to the *Thessalonians:*

By the reuerend Father *Iohn Iewel,* late Bishop of *Sarisburie.*

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
1611.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, KNIGHT,

PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY, AND ONE OF HER HIGHNESS' MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL[1].

It is now some long time sithence[2] that learned reverend father bishop Jewel delivered unto the people of his charge the exposition upon the epistles of St Paul to the Thessalonians; when many his hearers thought it worthy to be made common, and besought him earnestly (even as since his blessed departure out of this life they have often required me) to publish the same. It is very likely that he would, if he had lived, have perused these his travails, and some others, and have drawn them to the use and benefit of the church, and rather have spent his time in setting forth matters profitable for all men to understand towards[3] the attainment of salvation, than in following their humour any longer, whom neither the weakness of their own cause, nor the force of the truth, nor the defence thereof by so weighty authorities of the holy scriptures, of the ancient catholic fathers, and of general councils, could content, or persuade them to forsake the way of contention whereunto they were entered, and of troubling the church of God with their writings against the truth.

This his purpose he partly declared in giving his last answer to a book written by Master Harding, intituled, "A detection of sundry foul errors," &c. For answer whereof he thought not good to charge with number of books, or to encumber the world with needless labours; but only by a short augmentation of his former defence of the Apology of the Church of England to discharge Master Harding's quarrels. For reason whereof he saith: "I cannot imagine that any my poor labours shall be able to end these quarrels. For a contentious man will never lack words... I have endeavoured for my simple part to say so much as to a reasonable man may seem sufficient... If any thing be left unanswered, either it was nothing, or nothing worth[4]." Wherein he was of like mind unto that famous learned man, Master Bucer, who, speaking of the new and fresh supply that is made among the adversaries of our christian religion, said thus: *Veteribus respondimus, novos quotidie legimus: nihil adferunt novi; quid ergo faciemus?* "Answer hath been made by us to their old writers: we read their new writers which come forth daily, which yet bring no new matter or proofs with them. What then shall we do?" What else, but (as he giveth counsel) lay down all affection and favour of parties, and peruse that hath been said in matter of controversy on both sides, and judge justly of that is alleged, and with fear and reverence be careful of our own salvation? For, after the truth is once found out, whosoever seeketh farther seeketh not for the truth, but for error. The apostle willeth[5] Titus to "stay foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and brawlings about the law; for they are unprofitable and vain:" and also to "reject him that is an heretic after once or twice admonition." In like case he said unto[6] Timothy: "If any man teach otherwise, and consenteth not to the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is puffed up, and knoweth[7] nothing, but doateth about questions and strife of words, whereof cometh[8] envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, froward disputations of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, which think that gain is godliness: from such separate thyself."

Now, because he himself had some good liking to publish this exposition, and

---

[1] This is the preface to the original edition (1583) of this Commentary. It does not appear in the folios.]

[2] Since, 1594.]

[3] Toward, 1594.]

[4] This is in the "Preface to the Reader" prefixed to the new edition of the Defence of the Apology.]

[5] Wills, 1594.]

[6] To, 1594.]

[7] Knows, 1594.]

[8] Comes, 1594.]

the matter thereof is so fit for our time as nothing may be more, and there is not (as I can learn) any interpreter upon these epistles in the English tongue, and his sermons upon them were the last fruits and travails he bestowed in the cathedral church of Sarum; I made choice of it among many other excellent monuments of his pains taken in the church of God, and gave my best diligence to peruse his notes thereupon, and to draw them to some such perfection as might carry to the reader the whole weight of his matter, without any diminution, even as fully as he declared it, so far forth as the notes which remain under his own hand might direct me. The which I most humbly commend to the favourable protection of your honour; whom I beseech so to accept my simple endeavour herein, as I have been careful to answer your honour's commandment, in giving forth some part of his labours to light.

In this discourse, as there are many good things fruitfully declared, the use and practice whereof is common to your honour with all Christians; so are there two matters, the one of usury, the other of antichrist, that is, of the bane and poison of the commonwealth, and of the infection and decay of the church, wherein he bestowed more pains to open them and make them manifest, that all men might know and abhor them, and beware of them. What hath been wrought by these two mischiefs to the undoing in conscience and substance, and to the utter destruction of the souls and bodies of many thousand subjects of this realm, within these late years, it is, to the grief of all good men, too well known.

If therefore, in the duty of a good bishop, he standing in his watch hath descried these enemies to all civil and christian estates; and if now, so many years after his entrance into rest, by these means he call upon your good honour to step forth in fresh courage into the battle of the Lord of hosts, and to use and employ the great gifts of wisdom and authority which God hath bestowed upon you, and to excite and stir up others, the worthy and notable captains set over the people, to be a fenced wall between them and these so perilous monsters and dangerous enemies; what remaineth, but that your honour put to your hand, and do that for the comfort of God's people, which, besides her excellent majesty and her honourable council, no other can do, in giving life to all such laws which have been devised by men of great godliness and experience, and have been confirmed by high authority to the suppression of usury and to the setting forth of God's glory? The God of glory and of power, who hath called your honour to his service in high place, strengthen you to do his will, and grant you many and prosperous days, to the comfort of his church and this[1] commonweal!

Your honour's most humble to command,

JOHN GARBRAND[2].

[1 His, 1584: 1594 omits the word.]

[2 Dr Garbrand, the friend of bishop Jewel, who left him his papers, was fellow of New College Oxford, and afterwards prebendary of Sarum, and rector of North Crowley, Buckinghamshire, where he died in 1589.]

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Paul, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ; grace be with you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

THE apostle Paul preached the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ[3] unto the Thessalonians, as he did also in other places, from Jerusalem round about to[4] Illyricum. But his travail had not like success in all places. For in Damascus the governor of the people under king Aretas laid watch in the city of the Damascenes, and would have caught him. 2 Cor. xi. At Lystra they stoned Paul, and drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Acts xiv. At Philippi he and Silas were drawn into the market-place unto the magistrates, and accused that they troubled their city; they were beaten with rods, and cast into prison. Acts xvi. The Corinthians received the doctrine of the gospel, and made much of the professors thereof. But they fell soon from their good beginning. They walked like men in envying, in strife, and[5] divisions. Some called themselves after Paul, some after Apollo, some after Cephas, and some after Christ. They stirred contention about meats: they abused the Lord's supper; and they were doubtful of the resurrection of the dead. In like manner the church of God which was gathered at Rome grew proud and high-minded, and boasted themselves over the Jews. The Galathians forsook the good way of the gospel whereunto they were called, and wherein they did walk. They gave ear to false prophets. Therefore the apostle telleth them: "I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour[6] in vain." Gal. iv.

But the Thessalonians, after they had heard the glad tidings of the gospel, they received it greedily, and laid it up close and safe in their hearts. Albeit the Jews withstood them and vexed them sore, albeit false brethren used divers secret means to draw them from the love of the truth; yet they kept still their stedfastness, and could not be driven from their faith, neither by cruelty of persecution nor by subtilty of crafty persuasion. Paul being at Athens, a place far distant from thence, sendeth Timothy to know in what case they stood. So careful was he for that house which he had built, for the fire which he had kindled, for the grafts[7] which he had planted, and for the children which he begot among them. When Timothy made report of their constancy, that they continued stedfast in those things which they had learned, he writeth this epistle to commend them, and to exhort them to abide stedfast in their faith; that they become not like the foolish Israelites, which longed after the flesh-pots of Egypt, and were unmindful of their deliverance from bondage under Pharao; that they return not like filthy dogs to their vomit, and like unclean swine to[4] their puddles of mire; that they look not back again after they have put[8] their hands to[4] the Lord's plough, and so make themselves unworthy the kingdom of God.

He giveth many lessons and instructions to godliness; that they would walk worthy of God, and bring forth the fruits of the gospel. There were among them that lived idly, and did trouble the church without a cause; whom he reproveth, willing them to be quiet, and to meddle with their own matters, and work with their hands. Others mourned over the dead without measure, even as if they had no hope; whom he instructeth in the resurrection, and comforteth with the

---

[3] Saviour Christ, 1594.]
[4] Unto, 1594.]
[5] In, 1584, 1594.]
[6] My labour, 1584, 1594.]
[7] Graffes, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[8] Once put, 1594.]

speech of the blessed coming of our Lord, when we which live shall be caught up to meet him, and so we shall ever be with the Lord. Others reasoned fondly of the latter[1] day, when it should be, when the Son of God should appear, and when the world should have an end; as if man might reach to the knowledge hereof. But them also he reproveth, and warneth that they take care rather to watch and look for the Lord's coming, that they may be found ready, having their loins girded and their lamps burning.

Many are desirous to see the countenance of St Paul, to see his sword, or the reliques of his blood, which was shed at his death, or of his upper garment, or of his coat, or of the hair of his head; and for purpose to see such things many take painful pilgrimage to[2] far places, where they are deceived. How much better may they be satisfied by reading the story of his life set down in the scriptures! In these his epistles, written to the churches of God, he is to be seen in more excellent shew than when he was yet in body. For here is to be seen his heart, filled with the Holy Ghost, and the care which he had for all saints; how he did travail in birth of them again, that Christ might be formed in them, and how he did wish himself separate from Christ for their sake. The matter of this epistle is plain, and treateth not of deep and profound mysteries. The manner of utterance which the apostle useth is open and evident. So that the whole epistle is full of sweet and wholesome doctrine; wherein the simplest may find great comfort.

"Paul, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus." These two were companions unto Paul in his journeys, and in the work of his ministry: whom here he joineth in his letter to the congregation at Thessalonica, to witness their consent and agreement with him, that they all with one mouth, and with one hand and heart, set forth the glorious gospel of our Saviour Christ: and that therefore they also which are called to the fellowship of the gospel should be like-minded, being one body and one spirit in Christ Jesus, and the children of one Father, in whom there is no dissension, but all peace and consent and unity.

"Unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ." There are sundry sorts of churches. There is a church
Psal. xxvi. of the wicked, whereof the prophet saith: "I have hated the assembly of the evil, and have not companied with the wicked." Two hundred and fifty captains, men of renown and famous in the congregation, joined themselves to Korah, Dathan,
Num. xvi. and Abiram. But Moses said unto Korah: "Thou and all thy company are
Gen. xi. gathered together against the Lord." The builders of the great tower of Babel were many in number, and consented to that they had imagined to do, thereby to get them a name; but the Lord did confound their language, and scattered
Acts iv. them upon the face of the earth. The scribes and Pharisees and high priest[3] held a council, and conferred among themselves; but against the Lord, and against his Christ. John is commanded to write unto the angel of the church
Rev. ii. of the Smyrnians: "These things saith he which is first and last, which was dead, and is alive. I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan." They revile you, and speak all manner of evil against you for my name's sake. They charge you with teaching false[4] doctrine, and say you have departed from the church; that they are the seed of Abraham, the children of promise, the true worshippers of God, and which walk in the steps of their forefathers. But their boast hereof is vain. It profiteth them nothing that Abraham was their father, that the covenant was made with them, that they were circumcised, that a law was given unto them. Let them not trust in their fathers: let them not trust in lying words, and say, "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord[5], this is the temple of the Lord." If they were Abraham's children, they would do the works of Abraham. If God were their Father, then would they love Christ his Son, and seek to set forth his glory. If they were of the sheep-fold of God, they would hear his voice. They are of their father the devil, and the lusts of their father they will do.

[1 Later, 1584.] [2 Unto, 1594.]
[3 Priests, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[4 Teaching of false, 1594.]
[5 1594 has *the temple of the Lord* but once.]

They are in name the servants of Christ, but serve antichrist. They call themselves Jews, but are[6] the synagogue of Satan. "For," saith the apostle, "he is not a Jew, which is one outward; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh: but he is a Jew, which is one within; and the circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter; whose praise is not of men, but of God." Of those which are such Leo saith: *Ecclesiæ nomine armamini, et contra ecclesiam dimicatis*[7]? "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church, and yet ye fight against the church." And Chrysostom saith: "The name only of Christ doth not make a Christian, but he must also have the truth of Christ; for there are many which walk in the name of Christ, but few which walk in his truth[8]." "It is therefore manifest," as Lyra saith, "that the church is not among men by reason of any ecclesiastical or secular authority or dignity; because many princes and high priests and others of the inferior sort have forsaken the faith[9]." Though they pretend shew of holiness, though they draw to themselves credit by long continuance, though[10] their numbers be great, and they consent together; yet, if they have forsaken the faith, if they hold not the truth of Christ, if they fight against and persecute the church, if their circumcision be not the circumcision of the heart, and in the spirit, if they hear not the voice of the Shepherd, if they love not Christ Jesus the Son of God, and set not forth his glory, if they seek to stop the course of the gospel, if they seek to get a name[11] among men, if they resist Moses and Aaron; they have only a painted visard, and carry only an empty name of the church: they call themselves so, and are not.

Rom. ii.

Leo, Epist. 83. ad Palest.

Hom. 19. in Matt. in Op. Imp.

Lyra in xvi. Matt.

But the church of God is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ: it is the company of the faithful, whom God hath gathered together in Christ by his word and by the Holy Ghost, to honour him, as he himself hath appointed: this church heareth the voice of the Shepherd. It will not follow a stranger, but flieth from him; for it knoweth not the voice of strangers. Of this church St Hierome saith: *Ecclesia... Christi,... in toto orbe ecclesias possidens*[12], *Spiritus unitate conjuncta est, et habet urbes legis, prophetarum, evangelii, et apostolorum. Non est egressa de finibus suis, id est, de scripturis*[13]: "The church of Christ, which containeth the churches through all the world, is joined together in the unity of the Spirit, and hath the cities of the law, of the prophets, of the gospel, and of the apostles. This church goeth not forth, or beyond her bounds[14], that is, the holy scriptures." It is the pillar of the truth; the body, the fulness, and the spouse of Christ: it is the vine, the house, the city, and the kingdom of God. They which dwell in it "are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; in whom all the building coupled together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord." This church "Christ loved, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify it and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word, that he might make it unto himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blame." Such a church was the church of God at Thessalonica: such a church are they, whosoever in any place of the world fear the Lord, and call upon his name. Their names are written in the book of life: they have received the Spirit of adoption, by which they cry, "Abba, Father:" they grow from grace to grace, and abound more and more in knowledge and in judgment: they cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light: they are made absolute and perfect[15] unto all good

Hieron. in Mich. Lib. i. cap. i.

Eph. ii.

Eph. v.

[6] They are, 1594.]

[7] Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Palæst. Episc. Epist. lxxiii. 8. col. 444. See before, page 98, note 1.]

[8] ... quia non nomen solum Christi Christianum facit, sed etiam veritas Christi; quia in nomine Christi multi ambulant, in veritate autem ejus pauci. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xix. ex cap. vii. Tom. VI. p. xciv.]

[9] Ex quo patet quod ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione pietatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis: quia multi principes et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostasse a fide. —Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52.]

[10] Although, 1594.]

[11] Get name, 1584, 1594.]

[12] Possident, 1594.]

[13] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. I. in Mich. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1503; where *possidet*.]

[14] Bonds, 1611.]

[15] Perfit, 1594.]

works: they are evermore comforted in the mercies of God, both by the holy scriptures, wherein God declareth his gracious goodness towards them, and by the sacraments, which are left unto the church to be witnesses and assured pledges for performance of the promise of God's good-will and favour towards them.

"Grace be with you, and peace," &c. God give you the forgiveness of your sins, and the peace and comfort of your conscience. God let all his blessings fall upon you, that you may see the riches and the treasures of his mercy; that you may be filled with all fulness in the Spirit; that you may behold the glory of the kingdom of God; and those things may be revealed unto you by his Spirit, which he hath prepared for them that love him. Without this grace you can do nothing: you can neither feel the burden of your sins, nor seek to be eased of them, nor perceive when they are forgiven: you cannot rent your heart, and set apart from you the vanities and lusts of the flesh, which doth evermore fight against the soul: you cannot discern the word of God, and by it enter the way to everlasting life: you cannot abhor that which is evil, and cleave unto that which is good: without the grace of God you cannot continue stedfast and constant in faith, and in hope of the mercies of God through our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Ver. 2. *We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers;*

3. *Without ceasing remembering your effectual faith and diligent love, and the patience of your hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God, even our Father;*

4. *Knowing, beloved brethren, that ye are elect of God.*

5. *For our gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; as ye*[1] *know after what manner we were among you for your sakes.*

"We give thanks," &c. Paul teacheth what is the office of a good minister. He must ever carry in remembrance the state[2] of the congregation over which the Lord hath placed him. He must give thanks to God in their behalf, and pray for them, that God will bless that which he hath begun, and confirm them unto the end, that they may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ; that he will behold them from above, and bless his inheritance, and guide the sheep of his pasture. "Your effectual faith." Faith is not idle; it worketh and is forcible, it breaketh out like fire: it is always fruitful through love. Faith without works is no faith: it is dead, and bringeth death. "And diligent love." Love is painful, and full of travail: it thinketh not evil: it seeketh not her own things: it is bountiful. This love had the Thessalonians to the saints of God, which suffered affliction in all places for the gospel's sake. Many were spoiled of their goods, cast out of their houses, and banished from their country: even as at this day for the like cause many of our brethren, the good servants of God, are driven into banishment, cast into prisons, put to the sword, or consumed in fire, in those places where the god of this world hath so blinded their eyes, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine unto them. It is high time in such cases for charity to shew herself. She cannot dissemble, nor despise the tears of her brother. It sheweth forth as the morning-light: it taketh from herself to relieve them which are in need. It dealeth bread to the hungry, and bringeth the poor that wander unto her house, and covereth the naked, and hideth not her face from her own flesh. Unto them that have this love the Lord giveth his blessing: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy: the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble." And Christ saith: "Blessed are the merciful; for they shall find mercy."

Psal. xli.

Matt. v.

"And the patience of your hope." How many are the troubles which the children of God suffer in this life! Let us behold the times which were before us. Abel was innocent and just; yet was he slain by the hands of his brother, and without a cause. The prophet David saith of the prophets and holy men of God, (and the same words saith the apostle of the church of Christ under the

Psal. xliv.

[1] You, 1594.] [2] Estate, 1584, 1594.]

gospel:) "For thy sake are we killed all the day long: we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." Jeremy saith: "Thy word is unto them as a reproach." And again: "For thy sake I have suffered rebuke." What villanies were brought[3] against our Saviour Christ! They reproached him in speeches, brought false accusations and false witness against him, and killed the innocent, in whose mouth there was found no guile. When St Paul appealed to the witness of Timothy, who did fully know his doctrine, manner of living, purpose, faith, long-suffering, love, and patience; and that he knew also the persecutions and afflictions which came unto him, and which he suffered at Antiochia, Iconium, and at Lystra, after he had thus remembered his persecutions and his own innocency, he saith: "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." Rom. viii. Jer. vi. Jer. xv. 2 Tim. iii.

What then hath the godly to lean unto, but hope? The prophet David therefore said: "Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me." Therefore said Job: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." For he that putteth his trust in the Lord shall never be confounded. In this hope spake St Paul: "Christ is to me both in life and death advantage." Again: "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." And again: "God forbid that I should rejoice, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." And to the Romans he saith: "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." This is the foundation of faith, even a strong rock, which shall continue for ever. Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor any danger can remove the faithful from this[4] hope. Psal. xxiii. Job xiii. Phil. i. Rom. xiv. Gal. vi. Rom. viii.

But the wicked and unstable fall from their hope; and their fall is miserable. They have heard the word of God that teacheth unto salvation, but did not regard it: they have forgotten the works of the Lord, and received his grace in vain. For, when they have heard the word, the devil cometh, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe, and be saved. And the end of these men is worse than the beginning.

It was not so with the Thessalonians. They received the word of God willingly; and it was fruitful in them, so that thereby they increased in faith, in love, and in hope. Their faith the apostle calleth forcible or effectual, their love diligent and painful, their hope mighty through patience, whereby they overcome all manner of dangers; and rejoiceth on their behalf, because he found so great success of his travail in the gospel amongst them.

"Knowing that you are elect of God." You were blind, the children of wrath, without understanding, without God, and without hope. But God hath had mercy upon you, and hath given you grace to know your calling. Herein it appeareth that you are the chosen of God, and of the flock of Christ. "My sheep," saith he, "hear my voice; and I know them; and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish; neither shall any pluck them out of mine hand." John x.

"For our gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance." That you have yielded obedience unto the word, and that my ministry hath been effectual amongst you, it cometh not of any power in yourselves, or in me: it is the work of God. He hath blessed my ministry, he hath blessed your hearts. It is the gift of God, lest any man should boast thereof. Hereof he speaketh to the Corinthians: "Who is Paul then, and who is Apollos, but the ministers by whom ye believed, and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase." It is he which hath the[5] key of David, which openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth. Without him we can do nothing. He guideth us and all our counsels, and leadeth us into all truth. "No man can come unto me," saith Christ, "except the Father which hath sent me draw him." And by the prophet Ezechiel God saith: "I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you. I will put my Spirit within you, and will cause you to walk in my statutes; and you shall keep my judgments and do them." And by the prophet Jeremy: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in[6] their 1 Cor. iii. John vi. Ezek. xxxvi. Jer. xxxi.

[3] Wrought, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[4] His, 1584, 1594.]
[5] They, 1594.]
[6] In it, 1611.]

Psal. cxix. hearts." Therefore David maketh his prayer: "Teach me, O Lord: give me understanding; and I will keep thy law."

The words of the preacher enter in at the ear. The Spirit of God conveyeth
De Prædest. Sanct. cap. viii. them into the heart. Augustine saith: *Auditur evangelium: quidam credunt, quidam non credunt:...qui credunt...intus a Patre audiunt et discunt; qui...non credunt, foris audiunt, intus non audiunt, neque discunt. Hoc est, illis datur ut credant, illis non datur*[1]: "The gospel is declared. Some there are which believe: some there are which believe not. They which believe hear it inwardly by the Father, and so learn it. They which believe not hear it only with their outward sense, and not with inward feeling, and therefore learn it not. As much to say, To them it is given to believe: to the other it is not given." In the Acts of the Apostles Lydia, a woman of the city of the Thyatirians, heard the preaching of the
Acts xvi. apostle Paul; but it is said: "Whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things that Paul spake." The people, which said unto Peter and the other apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" did hear all the words of Peter; but they had another teacher, that gave force unto the word, and
Acts ii. made it fruitful in them; and therefore it is said: "They were pricked in their
Luke xxiv. hearts." This also appeared in the disciples which walked towards Emmaus: they heard Christ open the scriptures unto them: they reasoned with him: yet until their eyes were opened they knew him not. His word crept into their ears; but it was the Spirit of God which wrought within them, which inflamed their hearts, and made them to know him.

Thus God blesseth his word, and maketh it yield fruit in such measure as his wisdom hath appointed. His blessing appeareth greater when many are converted; yet is his word all one, and the power thereof no whit shorter when it
Isai. lv. is utterly refused, or received but of few. "Surely," saith God, "as the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it fruitful, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to him that eareth[2]; so shall my word be that goeth out of my mouth. It shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." It is the word of the living God, which is blessed for ever. And blessed is that heart which can receive it, which God instructeth and giveth[3] knowledge of his word, which doth so learn it that he is assured of the truth thereof, and nothing doubteth but it is indeed the word of life; which saith thereof, This is the way, in which if I walk I shall certainly go forward to the city of my God: this is the truth; if I hearken unto it, I shall never be deceived. Whosoever findeth himself endued with this grace, he doth as plainly and evidently judge of the words of God, and try out the truth thereof from the devices and doctrines of men, as a man of clear eyesight is able to judge of colours, and to know one colour from another. Yea, in this is the knowledge of that more certain; because colour doth fade and alter, and many times one colour thereby waxeth like another; but the truth of God doth never alter. It continueth one through all ages. It is the word of everlasting life. Heaven and earth shall perish; but one tittle thereof shall not be lost. The truth of God shall be established for ever. The humble shall hear it[4], and be glad.

"As ye know after what manner we were among you for your sakes." You know how I behaved myself, and after what manner I have lived among you. You know my first coming and entry unto you. You know what doctrine I have taught, and what hath been my conversation of life. I never deceived any, nor offered wrong unto the simplest. I sought not you nor yours, but those things which are Jesus'. I have lived by the labour of my hands, in watchings, in hunger, in cold, and[5] nakedness. God hath ordained, that they which teach the gospel should live by the gospel. Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? But I have not used this liberty. For I have a great care lest by any means I should offend you. Yet would I never flatter any in that

---

[1 Cum igitur evangelium prædicatur, quidam &c. audiunt atque discunt &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Prædest. Sanct. cap. viii. 15. Tom. X. col. 801.]

[2 Eateth, 1584, 1594.]
[3 To which he giveth, 1584, 1594.]
[4 *It* is repeated, 1594.] [5 In, 1594.]

thing they had done amiss: I never spared to rebuke ill[6]. If I should fear, or seek to please men, I were not the servant of Christ. I seek not mine own glory, but the glory of him that sent me, who also hath made me a minister of his gospel. I have forsaken all things, my goods and life, my flesh and my body; and am daily in perils, compassed daily by persecution, and see death daily before mine eyes, for the love I bear to you, and for the care I have of the church. You are the Lord's sheep; I am your shepherd: you are the house of God; I am your builder: you are God's orchard; I am your overseer and workman. I shall give an account for your souls: you know how tenderly I have loved you in the Lord. Your grief hath been my grief: your joy hath been my joy. I have prayed for you day and night, and have given thanks to God for you, and rejoiced in your behalf. What is more dear to a man than life? yet have I desired to yield up my life, that you might live. I have been ready to suffer death, if thereby I might do you good. These things you cannot but remember: your conscience beareth me witness, that I have thus lived among you for your sake.

Ver. 6. *And ye became followers of us and of the Lord, and received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost.*

He commendeth the godly for the practice of that which they have learned and seen in him, in that they have received the gospel, and framed their lives accordingly, and have continued stedfast in the same in the midst of persecution. Herein he doth not only lay out himself and the other apostles for an example, but telleth them that this way is also trodden out by our Lord himself: who as he is the way, and the light that lighteneth every man which cometh into the world; so did he bear his cross, and did lay down his life for his sheep. Therefore he said to his disciples: "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?" Matt. x.

But this is reckoned unto them for happiness. "Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake falsely. Rejoice and be glad; for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." They slew them, and drowned them, hewed them with swords, and cut them in pieces with saws. "If any man," saith our Saviour, "will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." So far must the children of God be from the love of this world: in such sort must he forsake his own life, and endure affliction, that will come unto Christ. Matt. v. Matt. xvi.

In the old law the priests went on and carried the ark before, and the people came after, in token that they should give good example, and the people should follow them. The priest was appointed to be a shrill trumpet sounding in the ears of the people; and the people were commanded to prepare themselves for the battle of the Lord of hosts. Therefore saith St Paul, So have I followed the Lord, and so have you followed me, and received the word (not in affliction only, but) in much affliction. Where he describeth[7] the unmerciful hearts and tyrannous hate of the wicked against all those that follow the Lamb, and receive the word of God with gladness. No torment so cruel, no device so strange, no manner of death so horrible, which hath not been, or which is not laid upon them. Their bodies be cast into prisons: they are stript out of their houses and spoiled of their goods. Thus do the enemies of God work tyranny and much affliction unto the godly. They consume their bodies in fire, shed their blood without measure, throw out their bones, and scatter them upon the face of the earth; and this do they, not as against murderers, robbers, adulterers, or such like, but only because they receive the word, and bear a love to the truth, and cannot deny the power thereof.

"With joy of the Holy Ghost." This is that which passeth all natural sense

[6 Evil, 1594.]

[7 He much describeth, 1584, 1594.]

and wisdom. Many seem to take in good part and abide patiently afflictions, loss of goods, imprisonment, and loss of life. But no man can rejoice in the suffering of these things, but the child of God; no man, but whom Christ hath chosen out of the world, but whose name is written in the book of life, but he in whom the Spirit beareth witness with his spirit that he is the child of God. He knoweth that through many tribulations he must enter into rest. He knoweth the wicked could have no power over him, unless it were given them from above: he knoweth that all is done for the best to them that love God; and that God could dispose means, if it were so expedient, to bring to nought all the devices of the ungodly.

When the servants of God were cast into the hot burning furnace because they would not worship the golden image that the king Nabuchodonosor had set up, who would have thought that the fire could not burn? or that their bodies should not have been consumed? Yet did God in the midst of the fire preserve
Dan. iii. them, so that "not one hair of their head was burnt, neither were their coats changed, nor any smell of fire came upon them." Let us never forget this notable example of God's power to deliver his servants, that we may ever be earnest and careful to profess our faith in him, and to strive unto the death for the setting forth of his glory.

It fareth even so with the children of God in the persecution of this world: troubles, miseries, and adversity compass them, as the fiery furnace compassed those three men of God. But God covereth them with his mercy, as with a cloud, that nothing shall hurt them. I say not, all that stand in like defence shall in like sort be so preserved, that their bodies shall not be pierced. For God suffereth the wicked to destroy and kill his servants, and to consume their bodies to dust and ashes. Yet are his servants warned not to fear them. When the
Acts v. apostles were beaten because they had spoken in the name of Jesus, "they departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer
Rom. v. rebuke for his name." "We rejoice," saith St Paul, "in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."

The comfort which is given in[1] this case to the godly is hidden within them. For to him that overcometh shall be given a white stone, and in the stone a new
Rom. viii. name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it. "The afflictions of this present time are not worthy the glory which shall be shewed unto us." When our Saviour did see the time of his passion draw near, he said to
Luke xxii. his disciples: "You are they which have continued with me in my temptations. Therefore I appoint to you a kingdom; as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel." And in his sermon upon the mountain he saith:
Matt. v. "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." The case shall be altered. It shall be between them and their persecutors as it was between Lazarus and the rich man. When the wicked and cruel tyrants shall see them in the presence of the throne of God,
Rev. vii. because "they came out of great tribulation, and have washed their long robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb;" the God of Abraham shall say unto the wicked: Sons, remember that you in your life-time received your pleasures, and likewise these men pains: now therefore are they comforted, and you tormented. They are taken out of affliction into rest, from their bonds into liberty, out of prison into a kingdom, out of misery unto glory, from life unto death. The promise of this comfort is often renewed. The prophet David
Psal. cxxvi. saith: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." Our Saviour telleth his
John xvi. disciples: "Ye shall weep and lament, and the world shall rejoice; and you
Rev. xiv. shall sorrow, but your sorrow shall be turned to joy." St John heard a voice from heaven, saying: "Blessed be the dead which hereafter die in the[2] Lord. Even so,
Rev. ii. saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours; and their works follow them." He is commanded to write unto the angel of the church of the Smyrnians. "Fear

[1] Is, 1583.] [2] 1583 omits *the*.]

none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold, it shall come to pass, that the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that you may be tried; and ye shall have tribulation ten days: be thou faithful unto death; and I will give thee the crown of life." Thus God suffereth his servants to be sifted, and to be tried as pure gold in the furnace, and receiveth them as a sweet-smelling savour of burnt sacrifice. And this is it whereof the apostle putteth the Thessalonians in remembrance, that they are strengthened by the Holy Ghost, not only to abide such afflictions as they suffer because they have received the gospel, but also to rejoice, because they are assured, whatsoever shall happen unto[3] them, they be the children of God.

Ver. 7. *So that you were as examples*[4] *to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia.*
8. *For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only; but your faith also, which is toward God, spread abroad in all quarters, that we need not to speak any thing.*
9. *For they themselves shew of you what manner entering in we had unto you, and how you turned from idols to God, to serve the living and true God,*
10. *And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come.*

The countries round about them were drawn by the example of the Thessalonians to believe the gospel preached unto them. You are (saith he) as the bright sun-beams: they behold you, and rejoice of you, even as of the morning-light. You are an holy city set upon an hill, you cannot be hid; your faith is a pattern of faith, your life is a pattern of life unto them. They have learned of you how to guide their ways. You have called them back from error and from ungodliness to serve the true and living God. You are made unto them a sweet-smelling savour of life unto life. For so it hath pleased God to make his gospel known in all places through you, and to make you the builders of his church. When they behold your godly conversation, which is in Christ, they are ashamed of themselves. When they behold your light, they find fault with their own darkness. O, say they, this is a holy people, this is a people that feareth God: let us hear them what they teach: let us lead our lives in holiness and righteousness, as they do.

Let us by hearing these words enter into ourselves. God hath given his light to shine upon us: he hath blessed us with the knowledge of his gospel. Let us take heed we turn not the light into darkness, nor the truth of God into lies. Many thousand eyes are set upon us, to look upon and behold us. Let us be an example of godliness. Let us be as a light to them that yet abide in darkness. Let not the name of God be evil spoken of through us. His name is holy. "Wo be unto the world," saith Christ, "because of offences! for it must needs be that offences shall come; but wo be unto that man by whom the offence cometh!" "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." It were better for that man if he had never been born. For the blood of them that perish by his offence shall be required at his hands. The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against those that are such, because they withhold the truth in unrighteousness. The kingdom of God shall be taken away from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof. Matt. xviii.

It followeth: "From you sounded the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only," &c. If a man carry in his hand a light burning candle, it giveth not light to him only that carrieth it, but to all those which be in the house; and they also see it which are without. Even so, if any be the child of knowledge, and carry about him the light of God, he doth not only taste of[5] the comfort thereof himself, and work comfort to those that appertain to the church of God, but lighteneth also the hearts of pagans and infidels, which are abroad. Such as are bathed or perfumed with precious ointments or powders[6] have not only the pleasure to themselves; but the savour thereof casteth itself out, and is

[3] To, 1594.]
[4] Ensamples, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[5] Cast off, 1594.]
[6] Poulders, 1594.]

pleasant to all those which stand by. The gospel is the light of God: it shineth in the darkness of this world: it is the sweet incense and savour of God: wheresoever the breath thereof is received, it bringeth life.

"But your faith also, which is toward God, spread abroad in all quarters." As the lightning is seen from one part of the air to the other, and as the sound of great noise spreadeth itself far and wide, so doth the light of good conversation in the godly shew itself forth. And therefore he telleth them, they have filled all the country of Macedonia with knowledge and with[1] wonder at their faith and stedfastness in the truth. As if he had said: Great is the renown of your king Alexander; and your country is famous. He hath overrun the whole world and subdued it. He hath conquered Græcia, Asia, Arabia, Phrygia, Armenia, Scythia, and India. Kings and princes fell down before him. The whole world stood in awe of his name. Yet Alexander had but the power and force of men. He had great treasures of gold and silver. He had numbers of horses, and camels, and elephants. He had swords[2], bills, spears, and darts, and such like artillery and armour. These were the things wherewith he overcame his enemies. Hereby both he and his people were renowned.

What then may be said of the battle which you have fought? or of the victory which you have gotten? You have won that Alexander could never win. You have overcome yourselves. You have overcome the world. He conquered the bodies of many, and had them at commandment. But their souls stood out, and would not be conquered. You have subdued your souls, and brought them to the obedience of the gospel. You have overrun all the country, and triumphed among the people. And all this is brought to pass without force, without policy, without armour, without artillery, only by your patience and suffering for the gospel sake.

"That we need not to speak any thing." To make the commendation of their faith more evident, he telleth them the fame of their zeal and constancy is known in all places. Whithersoever I go (saith he) they know you, and speak of you, and hearken to you. Hereby appeareth how needful it is that chief towns and cities be well governed, that vice in them be severely punished, that virtue and godliness be maintained, and the people instructed; because the examples of such places do[3] spread abroad in all quarters nigh them.

"They themselves shew of you what manner of entrance we had unto you;" after what sort you received me, and how dear I was unto you. All places were laid and beset for me to seek my life; but you enlarged yourselves toward[4] me, and took me in. When I was in prison, you came to me, and feared no man: you were not ashamed of my bonds: you were ready to lose your own lives to save me. This is spoken of to your great praise.

"And how you turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God." Here are set down in few words the sum and parts of christian religion. The first is to forsake all idols, to turn from them; then to turn unto God, and to put all our trust in him; lastly, to serve the living and true God. The service of God and idols cannot stand together: no man can turn unto God that turneth not from idols. This is a wonderful effect of the gospel, to forsake idols and serve God; to leave customs and the usage of forefathers and give ear to the truth. To love from the heart that which thou didst sometimes hate, and to detest[5] from the heart that which thou didst sometimes love, is strange and wonderful. But to do this for Christ, which was born of poor Mary, whom the wise and learned and mighty men of this world despised, which was crucified and hanged between two thieves, whom they scorned upon the cross; to follow or believe or put trust in him; to call him the Power and the Wisdom of God; to confess him to be, in whom all Israel shall be blessed, and in whom all the world shall be saved; to give body or life for his sake, is a strange miracle. No king, no prince, no law, no wisdom of man can work this, and bring

---

[1] 1594 omits *with*.]
[2] Sword, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[3] 1583, 1584, 1594 omit *do*.]
[4] Towards, 1594.]
[5] For to detest, 1594.]

it to pass. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And this doth he in those only which receive the word of the gospel with joy[6] of the Holy Ghost.

"And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised," &c. The holy scriptures do not only teach us to turn unto God, but also what it is that God giveth unto all them which seek him; even that they be delivered from the wrath to come; and for whose sake he delivereth us, for Jesus his Son whom he raised from the dead. Therefore he telleth them, howsoever they be rejected or despised as foolish among men, if they continue in the things which they have learned, they shall be wise unto salvation. That therefore they lift up their heads and look for their Redeemer; that they say, "Thy kingdom come," and, "Come, Lord Jesus," because he is appointed by God to be the Judge of the quick and the dead; and he shall come in the glory of his Father, and delivereth[7] from the wrath to come all those that trust in him: "for among men there is none other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved." This is the depth of all knowledge, and the comfort which passeth all understanding, that against all temptations and afflictions which oppress our conscience, or vex and trouble our bodies, we may grow strong by faith in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, and ascertain ourselves of his coming from heaven for our deliverance.

CHAPTER II.

Ver. 1. *For you yourselves know, brethren, that our entrance unto you was not in vain.*

He taketh witness of them of his diligence and pains taken in the fulfilling of his ministry, seeing it hath so good success among[8] them, that they by the preaching of the gospel have forsaken superstition, and are turned unto and do now serve the true and living God, and do believe forgiveness of their sins, and deliverance from the wrath to come by Jesus Christ.

It is a great and deadly smart to the faithful servant of God, to see the people wilful, and to despise the word of their salvation. Hereof Esay complaineth: "I have spread out my hands all the day long to a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, even after their own imaginations." Isai. lxv. They stopped their ears, and would not hear, nor be reclaimed, nor return, that they might be saved. And Jeremy: "O that my head were full of water, and mine[9] eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people; ... for they be adulterers, and an assembly of rebels." Jer. ix. Sword and destruction cometh upon them, and they will not see: O that they would give ear and repent in time! Again: "My people is foolish, they have not known me: they are foolish children, and have no understanding: they are wise to do evil, but to do well they have no knowledge." Jer. iv. David crieth out: "O ye sons of men, how long will ye love vanity and seek after lies?" Psal. iv. Why forsake you the truth of God, and have no regard to his mercy? So our Saviour mourneth over Jerusalem: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee; how often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen her brood under her wings, and ye would not!" Luke xiii. How carefully and tenderly have I sought thy[10] salvation! How often have I called upon thee, sent unto thee my servants, and poured out my blessings before thine eyes! So bitter and mournful a thing is it to all those that seek the glory of God, to see no fruit follow of their labours; to see the people continue ignorant and wilful, and[11] to seek their own destruction.

Therefore they turn themselves unto God, which is the Father of lights and God of all comfort, in whose hand are the hearts of the people, that his word may have free passage and be glorified; that God will open unto them the door of utterance to speak the mystery of Christ, and publish the secret of the gospel boldly; that he will give power to his word declared by them, and assist them

[6] With the joy, 1594.]
[7] He delivereth, 1594.]
[8] Amongst, 1594.]
[9] My, 1594.]
[10] Sought for thy, 1584, 1594.]
[11] 1594 omits *and*.]

with his holy Spirit; that he will open the eyes of the people, that they may see; and turn their hearts, that they may be converted. So did David make his
Psal. li. prayer: "Open thou my lips, O Lord; and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise." Albeit my mouth is simple, and rude, and barbarous; yet, if thou wilt, it may be an instrument to declare thy glory. "Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked; and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Be favourable unto Sion, build the walls of Jerusalem." Thus do they lift up their hands, and call unto God, that he would send down his light into the hearts of the people, that what they hear they hear not in vain, but may receive it, and understand it, and keep it. For, unless God direct the heart, and make[1] it fit to receive instruction, the preacher, though he be never so desirous to do good, doth labour in vain.

God only disposeth the ways of men: it is he which trieth the corn from the chaff: he knoweth whom he will bring to be of his fold, and make to hear his voice. Many times he blesseth his word with great increase among them which at the first despise it, and entreat cruelly the preachers and messengers thereof. When Paul disputed, and exhorted the Jews and the Grecians at Corinthus, and found little fruit of his labour, and that there were few or none that liked his doctrine, and many enemies which[1] resisted and blasphemed it, he purposed to
Acts xviii. depart and go away from them: "Then the Lord said unto Paul in the night by a vision, Fear not, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee; and no man shall lay hands on thee to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." They shall hear thee: if not now, yet they shall hear thee at some other time. They shall bear thy sayings in mind. I will be with thee, I will open their hearts, and make them obedient to the gospel; and they shall be turned unto me. Thou shalt see the fruit of thy labour, and[2] that thy coming unto[3] them hath not been in vain.

Ver. 2. *But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated at Philippi (as ye know), we were bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God with much striving.*

The story of these his persecutions is written in the sixteenth of the Acts. He was stripped naked, and scourged with rods, and cast into prison, and put in hazard of life. Yet, notwithstanding he were thus evil entreated at Philippi, when
Acts xvii. he came to Thessalonica he was nothing discouraged, but proceeded more boldly than before, and went into the synagogue of the Jews, and disputed three sabbath-days, and taught them that Christ is that Messias, even the Son of God.

But, that we may the better conceive how mightily God worketh, and what great strength he giveth to weak creatures, when he appointeth them to set forth his glory, let us behold this boldness of the apostle in speaking the gospel unto them. To whom did he speak? to the Jews, the enemies of the cross of Christ. Where? not in hugger-mugger[4] and in corners, but openly in their synagogue; for he feared no man. What time chose he? then when all the Jews were assembled together. How often? three sabbath-days together. In what city? in Thessalonica, the greatest and most famous city of all that country. How was he entreated? there arose great trouble and contention. They resisted him, spake against him, and sought to destroy him. For what cause? what had he deserved? what had he taught? the gospel of God and of Christ, of the kingdom and of the life to come: the gospel, in which God offereth his grace, and reconciliation, and comfort, and peace, and salvation.

Who would think such joyful tidings should not be welcome? what eye would not willingly open itself to behold the brightness of the sun? what ear will refuse to hear God speak? But it hath always been so. There have ever been some that have loved darkness rather than light. The world shall never be without some Annas, or Caiaphas, or Judas, or Pilate. The children of the devil shall always set themselves against the children of God.

The cause of tumults and troubles proceedeth not from the gospel. The gospel of Christ is the gospel of peace. But the enemies of the gospel are

---

[1] That, 1594.]
[2] 1594 omits *and*.]
[3] To, 1594.]
[4] Hucker-mucker, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

stirrers of unquietness and inflamers of war. Abel was simple, Cain spiteful; Jacob smooth, Esau rough and hairy; David gentle, Saul cruel; Joseph innocent, his brethren wicked, and fell upon him; the apostles humble in heart and peace-makers, the Pharisees blood-thirsty, and sought to put them to death. The like examples are before us this day. The whole world is in an uproar; and great troubles and afflictions are in all places. No man is able to declare the misery thereof. Let no man therefore slander or forsake the gospel. It hath been so from the beginning, and from time to time.

Such troubles, confusion, and misery are wrought, not by the gospel, or them that receive the gospel, but by those which resist it. They practise all means, and turn all things upside down, rather than it should take place. The wicked are angry therewith, they gnash their teeth and consume away. This is the cause for which "the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause them to die." Cain murdered Abel, because God had respect unto Abel and to his offering. Esau could not abide Jacob, because Isaac had given him his blessing. The brethren of Joseph sought to make him away, because God had a favour unto him. Saul was wrathful against David, because God gave him great gifts of courage, and strength, and wisdom. The Egyptians loathed the children of Israel, because they were God's people. The Galathians resisted Paul, because he preached the truth. "Therefore," saith St Paul, "we labour and are rebuked, because we trust in the living God, which is the Saviour of all men, specially of those which believe." Likewise saith our Saviour: "They shall excommunicate you: yea, the time shall come that whosoever killeth you will think he doth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me."

Matt. x.

1 Tim. iv.

John xvi.

Even so standeth it with the church of God this day. There is nothing new that is under the sun. Whatsoever is done now hath been done afore. Who will lift up his eyes and look to the doings of men, shall see Cain rise up against Abel, Esau against Jacob, the cruel brethren against Joseph, Saul against David, Pharao against Moses, the Egyptians against the people of God, the high priests and the Pharisees against Christ and all that will be his disciples: they change peace into war, they turn judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood, they resist the truth of God to establish devices and doctrines of men. But, blessed be God, they shall not prevail. He giveth us peace. He hath made us turn our swords into mattocks. He hath taught us all together with one mouth and one heart to praise him, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. His truth is mighty, and shall prevail.

Ver. 3. *For our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile.*
4. *But, as we were allowed of God that the gospel should be committed unto us, so we speak, not as they that please men, but God which trieth our hearts.*

God (saith he) hath chosen me from my mother's womb, and set me apart to the office of an apostle. He hath appointed me to carry his name before the gentiles. Therefore, as he hath given me charge to preach the gospel, and to bring the people unto him from the power of Satan; so I speak truly, faithfully, sincerely, not as the words of men, but as the words of God. I have used no deceit, nor taught you to follow traditions of men instead of the commandments of God. In like sort saith he to the Corinthians: "I have received of the Lord that which I also have declared unto you." And again: "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you through us." "For this cause," he saith unto them, "seeing that we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not, but cast from us the cloaks of shame, and walk not in craftiness, neither handle we the word of God deceitfully; but in declaration of the truth we approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." In these speeches he asketh credit because of his upright handling of the word, and chargeth the false prophets for marring the word of God with unclean and deceitful corruptions and glosses.

1 Cor. xi.

2 Cor. v.

2 Cor. iv.

In foreign countries women that have no natural beauty of their own use to paint and colour their faces, that, whereas they lack beauty indeed, yet they

may seem beautiful. Even so is it oftentimes in matters of religion. Such as hold not the true religion, as it is taught by the word of God, and hath been practised in those churches which the apostles planted, and among those Christians which lived nighest unto that time when the apostles preached, because they know their religion which they profess now will not agree with that, they deal deceitfully and with guile. These be false apostles and deceitful workmen. They beguile our senses and blind our eyes. They call us to worship an idol instead of the true and living God. They lead us out of the light into darkness, from the truth into error, from knowledge unto ignorance. They forbid lawful matrimony and call it filthiness, and allow open stews and harlots as a thing which nothing impaireth their holiness.

I will not speak all that I might, nor in such sort as the matter occasioneth. Yet can I not but say somewhat of their spiritual craftiness in abusing and beguiling the people of God.

The Egyptians furnished richly and decked their churches beautifully, and all in the honour of a cat. Many things among these men carry great shew of holiness, which are nothing else but cloaks of their shame, and manifest proof that they are not allowed of God, but are crept in by deceit and by[1] guile.

Single life carrieth a fair shew. But, O merciful God! what shame and villanies have been covered with this cloak! Pius Secundus saw somewhat when he said: "As marriage was taken away from priests upon great considerations, so now upon other greater considerations it were to be restored to them again[2]." Hierome saw somewhat when he wrote[3] thus: *Videas nonnullos accinctos renibus, pulla tunica, barba prolixa, a mulieribus non posse discedere, sub eodem manere tecto, simul inire convivia, ancillas juvenes habere in ministerio, et præter vocabulum nuptiarum omnia esse matrimonii*[4]: "You may see some (that pretend gravity) are girded and go in black, and have long beards, who can in no wise leave the company of women, but keep house with them, and banquet with them[5]. They take young maids[6] into their service, and do all things as if they were married, save that they lack the name of marriage." *Castitatem docent, et castitatem non servant*[7], saith Origen: "They teach chastity, and yet keep not chastity." And Epiphanius: "They refuse marriage[8], but not lust or pleasure[9]."

Plat. in Pio II.

Ad Rust. Gal.

Orig. Tract. 24. in Matt.

Epiph. contr. Orig. Hær. 42.

Images are fair and beautiful. The churches are decked and beset with them. But they are a cloak of shame. They are set in place of teachers. The priests are ignorant, and live in idleness, and send the people to learn at pictures. They call them lay-men's books; yet "what profiteth the image?" saith Abacuc; "for the maker thereof hath made it an image, and a teacher of lies." And Jeremy saith: "The stock is a doctrine of vanity."

Hab. ii.

Jer. x.

What is their meaning, to speak and pray in the church in a strange tongue? This is a cloak of their shame. Their[10] priests be so unlearned they can scarce understand English; yet they save their credit, seeing they are able to read Latin. And hereby they cover all their blasphemies and superstitions, because the people cannot understand, and therefore not reprove them.

I speak nothing of their reliques, pilgrimages, purgatory, and such other cloaks of shame, which they use to hide their covetousness, and thereby draw unto themselves the riches of the whole world. They cannot say with the apostle: "Our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile."

I know there are some that lay it unto our charge, as the false apostles did unto Paul, that we use the word of God deceitfully: they find fault with our translations of the scriptures. They spare not to say, there be a thousand

---

[1 1594 omits *by*.]

[2 Platin. Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Pius II. p. 295. See before, page 62, note 6.]

[3 Wrate, 1583, 1584.]

[4 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Rust. Monach. Epist. xcv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 771; where *accinctis*.]

[5 1594 omits *and banquet with them*.]

[6 Maidens, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[7 Castitatem enim multi docentes, castitatem non servaverunt.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 10. Tom. III. p. 836.]

[8 Marriages, 1594.]

[9 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. II. Hær. lxiii. Tom. I. p. 520. See before, page 728, note 7.]

[10 The, 1594.]

faults in the new testament. Yet would they never set down five hundred, or one hundred, or fifty, or twenty-five, or five.

If there be errors in the translation, I know they were men which translated it, and might err like men. May no translation be allowed that is not altogether perfect[11]? as if the Greek translation were without fault, or as if many faults were not in the common vulgar translation in Latin, or in the translation of Hierome. What then? must the Greek translation be forbidden? Must Hierome's translation, or the vulgar translation be forbidden? As for the old Latin common translation, though many learned men have shewed the gross errors thereof, yet have they well provided for it in the council at Trident: *Ne quis veterem vulgatam editionem rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat*[12]: "Let no man dare or presume," say they, "by any manner of colour to refuse the old common translation of the bible." Yet is no translation of ours so corrupt as that which they have thus privileged. But if it were true which they falsely report, reason would they did correct the[13] errors, and so set it abroad. But thus they bear you in hand, that they may bring you in hatred of it, and pull you from the reading of the scriptures. I will not say in what sort they abuse the word of God. What speak I of abusing? Nay, they do manifestly against and contrary to the word. The word of God teacheth us forgiveness of our sins by the blood of Jesus Christ once offered: they teach contrary, that the same blood is daily offered, and Christ as often new born as pleaseth the priest to say mass. The word of God forbiddeth to make any graven image, to bow down to it, or worship it: they teach contrary, that images are to be worshipped, and even with such honour as is due to the patterns themselves. The word of God teacheth us to pray in a known tongue: they teach the contrary, and account it for heresy to pray in a known tongue. The word of God chargeth all states of men to be subject to their prince or higher power: they withdraw their obedience unto civil magistrates, and teach the people to resist authority. Erasmus saith, in his notes upon these words of Christ, "Let these go their way:" *Novi quendam magni nominis theologum, &c.*[14]: "I know a divine of great fame and account for his learning, which did wrest these words of Christ to defend the immunity or lawless estate of clergymen. But this did he *ridicule*, fondly or peevishly," saith Erasmus. In Erasm. Annot. xviii. John.

It would be over long to declare unto you the foolish or rather blasphemous applying of the scriptures to approve their gestures at mass, and the sovereignty and chiefty that they challenge. One of their bishops in the late council of Trent said of Paulus Tertius, then pope: *Papa lux venit in mundum*[15]: "The pope, which is the light, is come into the world." Which are the words of the evangelist, declaring the Godhead of Christ. Cornel. Episc. Bitont.

By these few it may appear, how unjustly they charge us with corrupting the word of God. And how truly this fault is to be laid unto them, which either abridge the sense of the scripture, or reach it further than it yieldeth, or utterly refuse to stand to the authority thereof, and in no case can like that the people of God should read the scriptures, and have adjudged them heretics, and consumed their bodies in the fire, which have defended in speech, and sought to maintain the doctrine of truth set down in the holy scriptures.

The apostle saith he was "allowed of God." They that enter into the ministry must be allowed, not of men only, but of God. Therefore whosoever taketh that charge over the people must look narrowly into himself, and see whether his calling be of God. If he have not a testimony that God hath called him inwardly, all other outward calling is to small purpose. God is a

---

[11 Perfite, 1583.]

[12 Concil. Trident. Sess. IV. Decr. de Edit. et Us. Sacr. Libr. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 747; where *ut nemo illam rejicere.*]

[13 Their, 1594.]

[14 Novi quemdam magni nominis theologum, qui hæc verba Christi torsit ad defendendam clericorum immunitatem...Sententiam vehementer probo ...Verum id ex hoc loco ridicule colligitur, mea quidem sententia.—Des. Erasm. Op. Lugd. Bat. 1703-6. Evang. sec. Joan. cap. xviii. Tom. VI. col. 407.]

[15 Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. ad Trident. Synod. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. XIV. col. 996. See before, page 385, note 6.]

righteous judge. He will say to the conscience and to the heart of such a one: Friend, how camest thou in hither without thy wedding garment? Who brought thee in? Give an account of thy stewardship. Thine account is great.

And because some are this day to be admitted into this office, let us pray unto God for them, that God will allow them, that he will give them hearts to conceive and tongues to speak the truth of God; that they may be the servants of Christ and disposers of the mysteries of God; that they may be the salt of the earth and the light of the world; that they may lay out
Matt. xxv. the Lord's money to his advantage; and so it may be said unto them: "Thou hast been faithful in little; I will make thee ruler over much: enter into thy Master's joy."

Ver. 5. *Neither yet did we use flattering words, as you know, nor coloured covetousness, God is record;*
6. *Neither sought we praise of men, neither of you nor of others.*

The servant and messenger of God must so speak as God speaketh. God speaketh deeply, and to the heart. He lanceth the spirit, and woundeth the inward parts. He biddeth Esay shew the people their transgressions, and the
Exod. xx. house of Jacob their sins. God himself saith: "I visit the sin of the fathers upon the[1] children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate
Lev. xxvi. me." Again[2] he saith: "If ye shall despise my ordinances, either if your soul abhor my laws, so that ye will not do all my commandments,...I will set my face against you; and you shall fall before your enemies; and they that hate you shall reign over you." But unto those that repent them of their sins and turn unto
Isai. xlv. Jer. iii. him, God saith: "Turn unto me, and ye shall be saved." Again: "Thou disobedient Israel, return, saith the Lord; and I will not let my wrath fall upon you." So must the minister of God: he must shew forth the mercy of God, and not hide his judgments. He hath the Lord's business in hand, he may not do it negligently. A flatterer maketh it his greatest care to please men, he seeketh their favour, he feareth to displease, and dareth not speak that that will be evil taken. When he seeth a thief, he runneth with him, and is partaker with the adulterers: he seweth pillows under the arms of sinners. Whosoever saith "Nay," his nay is ready; and, if any say "Yea," he is ready to say yea. He changeth often as the weathercock. He dareth not strive against the stream. His heart is at the will of others. He seeketh some gain, he seeketh his own glory, and not the glory of God. They which are such are called in the scriptures "hirelings," "dumb dogs, that cannot bark." They deny God, betray his truth, and deceive the people. They lock up the truth in lies. Of such the Spirit of God
Eccles. ii. saith: "Wo unto them that have a double heart, and to the wicked lips!" And,
James i. Luke xi. "A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways." And, "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me scattereth."
1 Kings xviii. And, "How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow
2 Cor. vi. him; but if Baal be he, then go after him." And again: "What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" Cursed is he which flattereth the people, and is unfaithful in the Lord's work.

Nothing is so requisite in the steward of God as that he be found faithful, and that he speak those things whereunto the Lord hath sent him boldly; that they keep not back the message given them of God, nor fear to do their
1 Pet. iii. errand for any malice of men. "Who is it," saith St Peter, "that will harm you, if you follow that which is good? Notwithstanding, blessed are ye if ye suffer for righteousness' sake: yea, fear not their fear, neither be troubled." If the apostle speak this comfort to all Christians which have a care to serve God, and thereby exhorteth them to[3] stedfastness, and to sanctify the Lord in their hearts, and to be ready to give an account of their faith, and of the hope that is in them; how much more ought preachers, and they which are appointed to the ministry, lay
Isai. xxxi. aside all fear and flattery of men! "Wo unto them that go down into Egypt for help!...The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not

[1 Their, 1584, 1594.] [2 And again, 1594.] [3 Unto, 1594.]

spirit; and when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, the helper shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they shall all together fail."

Christ telleth his disciples they are salt, and they are light. Salt must needs be sharp to a rotten wound. Light must needs be painful to a sore eye. A good physician must needs trouble and disquiet his sick patient before he can heal his disease, and a good surgeon must needs lance and rip up festered wounds. We are surgeons, we are physicians. The word of God is committed unto us, that by us it might be applied to season the earth, and that the light thereof should shine forth in all the world. "Cry out aloud, lift up thy voice as a trumpet." If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle? When God had called Jeremy to the office of a prophet, and said, "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee shalt thou speak;" he said further: "Fear not their faces, lest I destroy thee before them. For, behold, this day I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and walls of brass against the whole land." Thou shalt not bend, thou shalt not yield. Thou shalt be a consuming fire, they shall be stubble before thee. Likewise saith God to Abraham: "Fear not, Abraham; I am thy buckler and thine exceeding great reward." When Moses sought to refuse the message, and thought himself over simple to go unto Pharao, God answered: "Certainly I will be with thee." And after he saith: "I have made thee Pharao's God: he shall tremble and quake at thy voice." So saith Christ: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light; and, what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the houses. And fear ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell."

Isai. lviii. Jer. i. Gen. xv. Exod. iii. Exod. vii. Matt. x.

The consideration hereof ever moved the prophets and apostles to warrant their sayings with authority from God, and to set apart all fear when they speak[4] in his name. When Ahab reproved Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" he answered: "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord, and thou hast followed Baalim." The prophet Esay is bold with the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and saith: "Hear the word of the Lord, O princes[5] of Sodom; hearken unto the law of our God, O people of Gomorrha." John the Baptist nothing feared to tell Herod, a mighty prince, "It is not lawful for thee to have her to wife." "If Balaac would give me his house full of silver and gold," saith Balaam, "I cannot pass the commandment of the Lord, to do good or bad of mine own mind: what the Lord shall[6] command, that same will I speak." Moses was bid to tell Pharao: "The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee." Christ calleth James and John, the sons of Zebedeus, *Boanerges*, which is, "the sons of thunder," because they should not flatter, but raise tempest, and lighten and thunder in the ears and hearts of their hearers.

1 Kings xviii. Isai. i. Matt. xiv. Num. xxiv. Exod. vii.

St Paul saith: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It is the word of God, and shall endure for ever. He hath not given us the spirit of fear to flatter, but the spirit of might and of power to speak roughly and courageously where occasion so requireth. And therefore saith: "If I would please men, I were not the servant of Christ." But I preach[7] God's doctrine, and not the doctrine of men: I seek to please God, and not men.

Rom. i.

The Pharisees sought to please men, and to deceive the people. They taught them to walk in the ways of their forefathers, to believe as they believed, to do as they had done. They flattered them, and said: You are the church of God, you are God's people, you are the sons of Abraham, you cannot err, you cannot be deceived. They that in this sort flatter the people and deceive them, they serve not Jesus Christ, but their belly, and through flattery and fair speech seduce the hearts of the simple.

"Nor coloured covetousness." The scribes and the Pharisees devoured up widows' houses under pretence of their long prayers. They prayed, and made

[4] Spake, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[5] Prince, 1584, 1594.]
[6] Will, 1594.]
[7] I do preach, 1594.]

money of their prayers. They gave alms, and made money of their almsgiving. They fasted, and made money of their fasting. This did the scribes and the Pharisees. Their doings continue still. They be dead, their name is taken away; but their profession abideth[1]. As they made gains of their prayers, and alms, and fasting, so do some now make great gains and wax rich under pretence of holiness. They have brought in a profession of wilful chastity, and forbidden marriage in some whole estate of men. No doubt chastity is a holy thing. But they have given licence for money to[2] such as would to forsake their vow of chastity. They have forbidden to eat certain meats upon certain days. God left meats as free to the choice of every man as he left his sun to shine freely to the use of all men. And they make free liberty for money to eat what every man liketh. They make money of purgatory, money of pardons, and money of their masses. They make money of Peter and of Paul, of the apostles and[3] martyrs, and of Christ himself. These are they of whom St Peter speaketh:

2 Pet. ii. "Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." One saith of them: *Curia Romana non captat ovem sine lana:* "The court of Rome careth not for that sheep that hath no fleece." I will not lay forth at large how they do all things for covetousness. I have no pleasure in speaking ill. God grant us to deliver[4] the gospel aright, that we use not the truth of God for a cloak of covetousness!

"Neither sought we praise of men, neither of you nor of others." This is another hindrance of the course of the gospel, when the ministers thereof love

John v. the praise of men more than the praise of God. "How can ye believe," saith Christ, "which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh of God alone?" How far the apostle was from this ambition, it appeared. For he was reviled and evil spoken of and counted the filth and out-cast of the world.

Ver. 7. *When we might have been chargeable, as the apostles of Christ; but we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children.*

8. *Thus being affectioned to you, our good-will was to have dealt unto you, not the gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.*

9. *For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail; for we laboured day and night, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, and preached unto you the gospel of God.*

10. *You are witnesses, and God, how holily, and justly, and unblameably, we behaved ourselves among you that believe.*

I might have required meat and drink and other things necessary at your hands. For "who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? who goeth a warfare at any time of his own cost? who muzzleth the mouth of the ox that treadeth out corn?" We plant the vineyard of the Lord of hosts. We feed Christ's flock[5]. We go to warfare, and stand in the watch and defence of your safety. We are the poor oxen that tread out the corn, which will feed you to salvation. We are your servants, we labour to do you good, we are ordained to minister in the church of God. It were great reason we should reap your carnal things, which have sown to you spiritual things. The workman is worthy his wages. Yet taught I the gospel freely, and without reward, and was ready to give my blood, my life, and my soul out of my body for your sakes. What could you ask of me more? what greater gift could I bestow upon you?

Ver. 11. *And ye know how that we exhorted you, and comforted, and besought every one of you (as a father his children);*

12. *That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.*

---

[1] Abides, 1594.]
[2] Unto, 1594.]
[3] 1594 omits *and*.]
[4] So to deliver, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[5] 1594 omits *we feed Christ's flock*.]

I took care of you as of mine own soul, and dealt with you by all ways of comfort and exhortation, that you would take heed unto yourselves and your calling. I did put you in mind that you were placed in the midst of the unfaithful people, which knew not God; and that they watched you and your doing; that their eye was upon your household, your wives, your servants, and your children; upon yourselves and your words, to espy if they might find any occasion to speak[6] evil of you. I did beseech you by the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that the name of God might not be ill[7] spoken of through you. You cannot deny this. You must needs confess you have thus been taught. Ignorance cannot be your excuse. What remaineth then, but that you perform it? For "the servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes."

"As a father his children." What manner care[8] is it that the father taketh of his children? Many men are fathers of children; but what man taketh the care he ought to take for them? Pastors or teachers of the people should be affected towards their people as fathers are to their natural children.

Let such as are fathers and have children know in what sort they must be careful. Your children are a good blessing of God: they be members of the body of Christ, and the sons of God. The kingdom of heaven belongeth to them. God hath appointed his angels to guide and lead them, and to shield them from evil; and their angels be in the presence of God, and do[9] behold the face of their Father which is in heaven. They be fresh plants of the church. Who knoweth what necessary instruments they may be in the commonwealth, and in the house of God? It is not enough to feed them, and to nourish[10] their bodies with necessary sustenance. For this do the heathen that know not God, and the savage and brute beasts, and the birds which have no understanding. They breed up their young ones, and are tender and painful to provide for them. The ass, though she be dull, the bear and lion[11], though they be wild and cruel, yet seek they far and near to get wherewith to help their young. Therefore, if there be any or can be any which doth forsake and leave his own, he is more beastly than the foolish ass, and more unnatural than most cruel bears, and lions, and tigers.

But in this part men are for the most part over careful. For this cause many build their houses with blood, and seek possessions by iniquity: they join house to house, and field to field, and will dwell alone upon earth: they oppress the poor and needy, and do wrong to the widow and the fatherless: they make money their god, and spoil one another; and all to provide for their children. This is the cover and cloak for all their mischief, they may not leave their children unprovided. Unhappy are the fathers, which in this sort care for their children by the ruin and spoil of the needy and innocent, and so break the commandment of God; because their portion shall be with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. And unhappy are their children; because they are partakers of their fathers' wickedness, and therefore shall also be partakers of punishment with them. The prophet David saith: "I have seen the wicked strong and spreading himself like a green bay-tree. Yet he passed away, and, lo, he was gone; and I sought him, but he could not be found." His root was deep, his stock strong, his branches broad, he spread over and shadowed the whole country; yet he passed away. He departed, his sons died, his house soon[12] decayed, and his name was in little time quite forgotten. Psal. xxxvii.

O how much better then is it to furnish the minds of your children, and to instruct them in godliness, to teach them to know God, to lead their life virtuously, and to rebuke them and correct them for dealing ill!

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God. Let them then[13] learn what that good and acceptable will of God is. Shew them the way in which they should walk, that they go neither to the right hand nor to the left. The word of God

---

[6] For to speak, 1594.]
[7] Evil, 1594.]
[8] Manner of care, 1594.]
[9] 1594 omits *do*.]
[10] For to nourish, 1594.]
[11] And the lion, 1594.]
[12] House was soon, 1594.]
[13] That, 1594.]

is pure, and giveth understanding to the simple: it is a light to their footsteps: it teacheth those that are young to amend their ways.

When Christ came into Jerusalem, the young children received him. They
Matt. xxi. cried: "Ozanna to the Son of David: blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Christ giveth witness of them: "By the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou set forth thy praise." The words of the little and simple children were able to confound the wisdom of the Pharisees. Thus were they taught from their cradle; so careful were their godly parents for them.

Contrariwise, they cannot have any[1] wisdom that despise the law of the Lord. They become blind, and wicked, and abominable in all their ways. They have no sense nor feeling of the will of God. They cannot know light from darkness, nor God from Belial. Such were the little children that mocked the prophet
2 Kings ii. Elizeus, and said to him: "Come up, thou bald head; come up[2], thou bald head." Their bringing up was no better. Their wicked fathers had taught them nothing else but wantonness. But the wrath of God fell upon them, and there were destroyed by two bears two and forty of them.

Another care which a father ought to have of his children is to lead them up in
Matt. v. the study of virtue and of godly life. "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God." They which keep not this way are the children of wrath. Herein
1 Thess. iv. standeth the whole profession of a christian life. "For God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness." This is the will of God, and this is our promise made unto him, that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, that we increase in virtue, and grow from grace to grace.

A good and loving father, which sendeth his son to a dangerous journey, either by sea or land, first instructeth him with advice, and telleth him in what sort he shall avoid perils. Take heed, saith he, the way is perilous which thou must pass. The sea is terrible. The waves rise up as high as heaven; and by and by thou shalt see a pit as low as hell. The sands may swallow thee, the rocks may destroy thee. Thou shalt pass by huge mountains, and through wilderness, where thieves will assault thee. Thy heart will quake. Thou shalt cry for succour, and find no man to help thee. In these and these places hath many a good man's child been cast away. O take heed, my son; thou art the staff and comfort of mine age; if ought come to thee otherwise than well, I shall soon after end my days in sorrow.

If a father be thus careful that his child should escape worldly dangers, he must be more careful of spiritual dangers, in which whosoever is lost is lost for ever. Therefore thus will he say to him: O my son, understand what God hath done for thy sake. Take heed to thyself. The world is all over strawed with snares. The devil rangeth, and seeketh whom he may devour. Give no ground to him, but resist him; and he will flee from thee. Be strong in faith. The name of the Lord is a strong tower of defence. Call upon him in the day of thy trouble; and he will deliver thee. He will give thee of his Spirit.

Take heed, my son, and be not deceived; let no wilfulness cast thee away. If sinners entice thee, be not a companion of them in wickedness. Fashion not thyself to the likeness of this world; for the world passeth away, and the lust thereof. He that loveth this world, the love of God is not in him. Be not like unto them that perish. Thou wast conceived and born in sin, thou art by nature the child of wrath. But God made thee meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, and hath delivered thee from the power of darkness, and hath translated thee into the kingdom of his dear Son. Receive not this grace in vain. Cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Be renewed in thy heart and in thy spirit, that it may appear I have been careful for thee. Thus a good father seeketh to train up his son and to nurture him.

Besides these, fathers must also be careful for their children, to give them correction and chastisement. God knoweth the mould of man's heart. He seeth
Gen. viii. our inward parts. He hath said it in the beginning: "The imagination of man's
Gen. vi. heart is evil from his youth." He did see that "all the imaginations of the

[1] 1594 omits *any*.] [2] 1594 omits *up*.]

thoughts of his heart were only evil continually." Behold man's nature, and consider it even from our first birth. How full of affections, how wayward is[3] the young child which lieth in the cradle! His body is but small, but he hath a great heart, and is altogether inclined to evil. And the more he waxeth in reason by years, the more he groweth proud, froward, wilful, unruly, and disobedient. If this sparkle be suffered to increase, it will rage over, and burn down the whole house. We are not born good, but by education we are changed and become good.

Therefore the wise man saith: "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it away from him." And again: "The rod and correction give wisdom; but a child set at liberty maketh his mother ashamed." And in the same chapter: "Correct thy son; and he will give thee rest, and will give pleasures unto thy soul." He that spareth the rod hateth the child. For "if thou bring up thy son delicately, he shall make thee afraid; and if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heaviness.... Bow down his neck whiles he is young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child; lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and bring sorrow to thine heart," saith Salomon. Prov. xxii. Prov. xxix. Eccius. xxx.

Who hath not heard the story of Eli and of his sons? It is worthy to be remembered for ever. He had shrewd children: they feared not God, but brake his commandments, and offended the people. Their father heard of their doings, but took no care for it: he suffered them, and let them alone; so long that God grew displeased thereat, and called unto Samuel, and said: "Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, whereof whosoever shall hear, his two ears shall tingle. In that day I will raise up against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house: when I begin I will also make an end. And I have told him that I will judge his house for ever, for the iniquity which he knoweth; because his sons ran into a slander, and he stayed them not." And it came to pass shortly after: "The ark of God was taken by the Philistines; and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinees, died." And Eli also, when he heard the report thereof, fell from his seat backward, and his neck was broken. Such shame and confusion came upon him. This was the hand and judgment of God: in sparing his children he cast away his children and himself all together. 1 Sam. iii. 1 Sam. iv.

But Job dealt far otherwise with his children: his eye[4] was upon them, and he took care lest they should offend God. He sanctified them, and offered burnt offerings for them daily. "For Job thought, It may be that my sons have sinned, and blasphemed God in their hearts." Therefore he prayed for them. My sons (saith he) are young and tender, and lack discretion. The ways wherein they walk are slippery: they may soon be deceived and run into danger. O Lord, be thou their guide, be thou unto them[5] a tower of defence; let thy Holy Spirit go before them to direct them in all their ways. So mindful was he of his children. Job i.

Infancy is the first part of our life, and as it were the foundation thereof. Where a virtuous and a godly[6] childhood goeth before, there a godly and virtuous age followeth after. Contrariwise, when the fathers are not careful to teach their children to know God and to know themselves, when they do not breed them up in virtue, nor reprove them when they do amiss, they become corrupt in their understanding, and abominable in their doings, void of all knowledge and grace, and of reverence, or feeling of nature.

Ver. 13. *For this cause also thank we God without ceasing, that, when you received of us the word of the preaching of God, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed, the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe.*

As the minister's duty is to teach the word of God, and divide it aright, without deceit or guile; so ought the people to receive it with reverence, and to give

[3] In, 1584, 1594.]
[4] Eyes, 1594.]
[5] Be unto them, 1584, 1594.]
[6] And godly, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

obedience unto it. But herein have we not power of ourselves: our readiness cometh of God: unless it please God to work within us, and to remove the veil, and to mollify our hearts, whatsoever we hear, it moveth us not, it helpeth not our unbelief, it bringeth us not to the obedience of Christ.

If an earthly prince speak or send message unto us, we give all shew of reverence, and hear him with all diligence. This word is not of flesh and blood: it proceedeth not from kings, or emperors, or from parliament, or from councils of men, but from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ. When this word is read, princes and emperors stand up, and lay down their sword, and uncover their head, and bow their body, and do reverence; because they know it is the word of God, which God himself uttered, that it should be as the dew of heaven to moisten our souls, as a well of water springing up to everlasting life, as a savour of life unto life, and the very power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. Without this word we can receive no comfort, we cannot see the light, nor grow in faith, nor abide in the church of God. It is the word of reconciliation. By it God maketh atonement between himself and the sons of men.

Therefore when the epistles, the psalms, the chapters, and the gospel are read in our hearing, let us remember whose word we hear[1]. Let us think thus with ourselves: These are the words of our gracious God. My God openeth his mouth from heaven above. He speaketh to me that I may be saved; he speaketh to me to keep me from error, to comfort me in the adversities and troubles of this life, and to lead me to the life to come.

What is the cause why so many so little regard the word of God; why they doubt it and[2] suspect it; why they are so soon weary of it, and bear it not that reverence that belongeth to it? Because they think not, neither from whom it cometh, nor with whose blood it is sealed, nor to whose benefit it is written. Let us not be ashamed to give place to the word of God, to awake our senses, and to submit them, and our wisdom, and learning, and bodies, and souls unto it. Let us
2 Sam. xv. nót harden our hearts. Let us humble ourselves before God, and say: "Behold, here am I: let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes."

"Which also worketh in you that believe." Whosoever heareth the words of God, and doth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man that builded[3] his
John xiii. house upon the sand. "If ye know these things," saith Christ, "blessed are ye if ye do them." The same word of God, which Paul taught the Thessalonians, which was preached by Peter and the rest of the apostles to the faithful, which Christ received of his Father, and delivered to his church, is this day by the mercy of God purely and truly set down unto you. By it you are required to amend your lives, and comforted in the promises of God to the forgiveness of your sins. If there be any in whom it worketh not this effect, if there be any which (though they hear it) believe it not, nor are thereby renewed in their minds, it is a token that they have not received the love of the truth of the gospel: they despise the word of salvation; and it shall judge them in that day.

Ver. 14. *For, brethren, you are become followers of the churches*[4] *of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus, because ye have also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they of the Jews;*

15. *Who both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and have persecuted us, and God they please not, and are contrary to all men,*

16. *And forbid us to preach unto the gentiles, that they might be saved, to fulfil their sins always. For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost.*

Wherein became they followers? In suffering as they did. This is the
Luke ix. badge and cognisance of the sons of God. Christ saith: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." They followed others, not in pleasure and glory, but in trouble and persecution. For that was the way of the prophets and apostles, and of Christ himself.

---

[1] We do hear, 1594.]
[2] *And* is repeated, 1594.]
[3] Buildeth, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[4] Church, 1584, 1594.]

Esay the prophet was cut in sunder with a saw. What more cruel death? His body was rent, his bowels torn, and yet he not quite dead. In such sort it liked the cruel tormentors to sport themselves. Why? what had he done? He was a prophet. They needed no other matter against him. It was enough that they found him to be a prophet. Jeremy was stoned to death. Wherefore? Because he called the people to repentance, that they might be saved; because he was a prophet. Amos was slain with a bar, poor old man. No reverence given to his gray head, no regard or pity was taken of him. Wherefore? Because he rebuked iniquity; because he was a prophet. Zachary was slain when he was in his prayers, and doing sacrifice in the holy place, between the entrance and the altar. Wherefore? Because he declared the truth; because he was a prophet.

This hath been the malice and hatred of the devil. The prince of the darkness of this world hath raged so even from the beginning. By this means he hath sought to deface the truth and glory of God, and to establish his own kingdom in shedding the blood and murdering the saints of God.

The churches of God in Judea were miserably vexed and afflicted: they were hated of all men, and counted unworthy of life. Wherefore? Because they turned to the true and living God, and did believe in the name of Jesus Christ. Therefore they were stripped, spoiled, headed, quartered, drowned, burnt, and put to most reproachful death. Who would become their followers? Who would willingly learn to be so persecuted, and made gazing-stocks to all the world? Yet this discouraged not the Thessalonians. They were a thousand miles distant from Judea, but were joined in fellowship of the gospel and in brotherly love unto them. They heard of their mildness and of their constancy, and were stirred up by their example. They did hearken after them, and were careful for them, as for their brethren and the members of the same body.

You have heard what numbers of late have been persecuted and put to death among[5] us. Wherefore? Because they turned from idols to serve God, as he hath commanded, and did put their trust in him. You have heard how patiently and meekly they went to their death, and what a plentiful harvest God hath raised of their blood. For "the death of his saints is precious in the sight of the Lord." Their blood cannot be spent in vain. We must remember their patience and zeal, and the cause why they suffered. We must not despise or set light by the gospel of Jesus Christ, for which they so joyfully gave their lives.

And it is not enough that we be mindful of such examples as we have had at home; we must also carefully consider of other churches abroad. God hath kindled a fire; he will have it burn. O what torments do our brethren daily suffer! What cruelty is devised daily against them! I speak not of death only, but of rackings, and wonderful extremities, more painful than death. Wherefore are these things done unto them? Because they are turned to the true and living God, and believe in the name of Jesus Christ. Some they hang by the hands, and draw up with a pully, and bind great weights of lead at their heels to rent them, and tear their bodies asunder. Some they have tied unto great pieces of timber, and have put fire at the soles of their feet. They have opened their mouths, and made them draw in lawn into their body: a thing most cruel, and yet which they have practised; the manner whereof hath been thus reported. They lay it so far in[6] the mouth that a man's breath easily draweth it into his body, and so it is conveyed into the stomach. When it is well settled, then cometh the tormentor and taketh the lawn by the other end, and rasheth[7] it suddenly with such a force, as it seemeth he doth pluck out the very heart and entrails; such a rare and strange kind of cruelty as is not practised upon most notorious rebels and traitors. As for death, forty or fifty at one time have been heaped together, and burnt in one fire. They have set upon the servants of God, and compassed the church where they have assembled together to pray unto God, and murdered them in their innocency, whiles they lifted up pure hands unto[8] God. The French king, by the counsel of such as hate the gospel of Christ, sent his

---

[5] Amongst, 1594.]
[6] Into, 1594.]
[7] Rasheth: plucketh.]
[8] To, 1594.]

cruel soldiers, and murdered his subjects at Valois[1]. He overthrew their houses, burnt their town, destroyed man, woman, and child, spoiled their corn, and turned their trees upside down. He wasted, defaced, and unpeopled it, not for that they were thieves or rebels, but because they believed in the name of Christ. Consider how many are murdered in Flanders and in the kingdom of France. They are not so far from us as Judea from Thessalonica. They join next unto us. God is blessed in his saints, and holy in all his works: no cruelty is able to quench his truth. There is no counsel which shall prevail against the Lord. He giveth increase, and placeth children instead of their fathers. The more are slain by the enemies, the more spring up by the working of his Spirit. The more are hewn down, the more multiply. We may not be strangers in this case. It behoveth us to consider the afflictions of our brethren. They belong unto us: we must pray to[2] God for them, that he will put an end to their miseries; otherwise we have not the Spirit of God, we bear no love, nor care for his house.

"Of your countrymen." This was the greatest and heaviest part of their troubles. For what a heart's grief is it to the father, if his son rise up against him! or to the son to see his father ready to betray him, and to seek his blood! Where this is done, he will say: O father, I am thy son: alas! what have I done to have thy displeasure? death is bitter; but thy displeasure is more bitter than death. It were a cruel thing that any man should kill another: what is it then, if thou shouldest kill thine own child? yet, if thou be so bent, take my life and spare my conscience: spare my soul, that I may deliver it up into his hands that hath given it me. I would be obedient unto thee: thou art my father: but I may
Matt. x. not disobey God. He is the Father of fathers. He hath said: "He that loveth father or mother more than me, he is not worthy of me." It is a miserable case when persecution groweth so hot that the child is driven to forsake his father, or the father his child; yet so doth the world blind many, and Satan so possesseth their hearts, that he turneth[3] their love into hatred, and shutteth their senses, and choketh and dammeth up the springs of nature. They become so blind and so unsensible[4], that they neither feel their own flesh, nor know their own blood. They think in so doing they do God good service. They are enemies to the truth. They are the enemies of the cross of Christ: their end is destruction.

"And forbid us to preach unto the gentiles, that they might be saved." This is the end whereunto the gospel is given, that the people should be saved.
1 Tim. ii. St Paul saith: "God will that all men shall be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth." Therefore our Saviour appointed his apostles to this office of preaching his word, saying: "Go and preach the gospel unto all nations. Go unto the lost sheep of Israel." He saith: "It is not the will of my Father that one of these little ones should perish. Whosoever believeth, and shall be baptized,
James i. shall be saved." St James exhorteth the faithful: "Receive with meekness the word that is graffed in you, which is able to save your souls." By it we hear the
Matt. xi. sweet voice of our Saviour: "Come unto me, all ye that travail and be heavily
Isai. xlv. loaden[5]; and I will refresh you." By it we hear the merciful calling of God: "Turn unto me, and ye shall be saved." By it we are warned to depart from the company of such as are enemies to the truth, and to have no fellowship with the
Acts ii. unfruitful works of darkness: "Save yourselves," saith St Peter, "from this froward generation." By it we are taught to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, that his name is Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins; and that there is not salvation in any other besides him. For "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." This is therefore the duty of the preacher, to preach unto the people, that so they may be saved; that they may know the ways of God; that they may repent them of their sins, and be renewed unto godliness.

Who would think there were any that would hinder the course of the

---

[1] The massacres at Cabrieres, Merindol and other places are probably intended. See Act. et Mon. Martyr. Genev. 1560. Lib. III. foll. 88, &c. Also Smedley's Hist. of the Reformed Religion in France, chap. ii.]

[2] Unto, 1594.]
[3] Turns, 1594.]
[4] Insensible, 1594.]
[5] Heavy laden, 1594.]

gospel, or forbid to preach it unto the people? The apostle here layeth that fault to the Jews, that they "forbid him to preach to the gentiles." The same fault Christ found in the scribes and Pharisees: "Wo be to[6] you, interpreters of the law; for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbade." Such there have been always; and such there are now. O, say they, why should the people know these things? what, should they meddle with the scriptures? let them do their business, and apply their occupations. It is not reason, nor fit, that every one should be learned. When they think they know somewhat, they become proud, and devise heresies, and maintain them: as if God had not left them to instruct the people, or as if the holy scriptures, and not the malice of Satan, were the cause of heresies. Luke xi.

But God hath said: "Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God, and keep and observe all the words of this law." The prophet David thought it meet the people should know the scriptures, therefore said: "Blessed is that man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise[7] himself day and night." And again: "Wherewith shall a young man redress his ways? In keeping thy words." Deut. xxxi.

When Christ himself came first into the world to plant his church, he vouchsafed the poor and simple the knowledge of his truth, and shewed it first unto them. The first that had tidings of his birth were not scribes and Pharisees, but a company of poor shepherds. The first that received his gospel, and taught it in the world, were not doctors or learned men, but fishers, and toll-gatherers, and of base condition. The first that met[8] him with triumph at Jerusalem, and sang Ozanna, were not bishops and priests, but babes and infants. They that followed him most and believed were not the greatest men of power and policy, but such as the Pharisees termed a cursed people, which knew not the law. The first that told the apostles the resurrection of Christ were not the sagest and wisest men, but two or three silly women. The first that were converted to the faith after his resurrection were not any of the great learned or otherwise esteemed and known among the people, but about three thousand poor silly simple men, so base and so out of knowledge, that not one of their names could ever be known.

Why should any man resist the wisdom of God, and deny the people the bread whereon they should feed, the light by which they may safely walk, the hearing and reading of the word, by which they may be turned to God from idols to serve the living and true God? They have cruel hearts, and are enemies to the glory of God and to the salvation of his people, which in such sort deny them the knowledge of the scriptures.

"To fulfil their sins always." They have refused the word of reconciliation: they are not contented that they have stoned the prophets, and killed them that were sent to them; but they yet resist the holy gospel, and devise means to keep all others from the comfort thereof. This is a token of God's heavy displeasure upon them, that they repent not of their former evils, but grow worse and worse. When the scribes and Pharisees seemed to mislike the cruelty of their fathers, and said, if they had been in their days, they would not have been partners with them in the blood of the prophets; our Saviour maketh their hypocrisy known, that herein they should be like to their fathers, for they should kill and crucify the prophets and wise men, and scourge them in their synagogues, and persecute them from city to city, and said to them: "Fulfil ye also the measure of your fathers." The cause of this judgment of God in giving over the wicked to increase the heap of their sins the apostle setteth down to the Romans: "As they regarded them[9] not to know God, God[10] delivered them up to[11] a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient." For so he sometimes Matt. xxiii. Rom. i.

---

[6] Unto, 1594.]
[7] Doth he exercise, 1594.]
[8] Meet, 1611.]
[9] 1584, 1594 omit *them*.]
[10] So God, 1584, 1594.]
[11] Unto, 1584, 1594.]

punisheth our sins, and suffereth the wicked to heap sin upon sin, that so their damnation may be the greater.

"For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost." Though God be patient and long-suffering, because he would have all men come to repentance; yet, in whom his mercy taketh no place to work their amendment, upon them he poureth out his wrath and indignation to the utmost. He meaneth not that all the whole nation of the Jews were so cast out of the favour of God, that never
Rom. xi. any of them shall be saved; for in another place he saith: "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I myself am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not cast away his people, which he knew before." But miserable shall be their end, and a terrible damnation shall they have, whosoever withstand the truth of God, and to the rest of their wickedness join such a hatred and despiteful contempt of the poor and simple sort of the people, that they keep them from the wholesome words of doctrine, and forbid such as are willing to preach unto them. This is their condemnation, that light came into the world, and they loved darkness better than light. "They persecute us (saith St Paul), and forbid us to preach unto the gentiles, that they might be saved, to fulfil their sins always; for the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost."

Ver. 17. *Forasmuch, brethren, as we were kept from you for a season, concerning sight, but not in heart, we enforced the more to see your face with great desire.*

18. *Therefore we would have come unto you (I Paul at least once or twice); but Satan hindered us.*

He told them before how dearly and tenderly he loved them, exhorting, comforting, and beseeching every one[1] of them, as a father his children. He taketh[2] care lest by any means they should doubt of his great good-will towards[3] them; and therefore doth both witness the same, and shew them through what cause he hath stayed from them. Such a zeal and care had he over the people. O, in what case then are they that are careless and make no regard of the people of God; which hunt after many livings, and bend not themselves to do good; which serve their own belly, and seek to be rich, and eat up the people of God as if they were bread! They cannot say they have a desire to see the face of their flock, and that their heart is with them. Howsoever they find time for other matters, they can never take time to know their sheep, and to do the work of their ministry among them. They care not for them, they think not of them. They plant not, they water not, they watch not, they give no warning of the dangers at hand: they teach them not to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godlily[4] in this present world.

It were happy if all such were removed out of the church of God. They destroy the souls of many, and lead them to destruction by their negligence. What account shall they give unto God for the souls of their brethren? Where shall they stand, or what will they say, when he shall bid them make a strait account of their stewardship? This is the practice of Satan. He useth all means to snare us and withdraw us from that blessed hope. Sometimes he letteth the increase of the gospel by raising up tumults, and disquieting the church of God, and stirring the hearts of such as are in authority to persecute by all means the teachers of the gospel of Christ. Again, when God giveth peace and quietness to his church, he leadeth the overseers of the people to a forgetfulness of their duty, to seek the pleasures and delights of this life, and to have no regard of the work of the Lord. Such occasions the devil seeketh to hinder our salvation and to withstand the truth and glory of God.

[1 1584, 1594 omit *one.*]
[2 Taking, 1611.]
[3 Toward, 1584, 1594.]
[4 Godly, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

Ver. 19. *For what is our joy*[5] *or crown of rejoicing? are not even you it*[6] *in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?*
20. *Yea, ye are our glory and joy.*

The greatest comfort to him that laboureth is to see that his labour cometh to good effect, and worketh that which he purposed. He hath before approved his diligence and shewed the mercy of God in making his word fruitful, by opening their hearts, that it might sink into them, and take root in them. Therefore now he exhorteth them to continue stedfast; that so he may present them unto God, and be partaker with them of everlasting glory. This ought to be the care of all such which are ministers: they should seek above all things to bring the people to such perfection of understanding, and to such godliness of life, that they may rejoice in their behalf, and so cheerfully wait for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III.

Ver. 1. *Wherefore, since we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to remain at Athens alone,*
2. *And have sent Timotheus our brother and minister of God, and our labour-fellow in the gospel of Christ, to stablish you, and to comfort you, touching your faith.*

I KNOW your faith in Christ Jesus is many ways assaulted. The envious man will take all occasions to sow darnel among the Lord's corn. He will seek to take away the good seed that is sowed in your hearts. You are dear unto me. Your wounds are my wounds, and your grief my grief. Therefore, since I myself am hindered that I cannot come unto you, to be with you in your afflictions, I send unto you my fellow-labourer in the gospel. I have but one with me, whom I love tenderly, and trust him as mine own soul: him I send unto you. I leave myself destitute and without a companion among the infidels here at Athens, in a city much given to idolatry, and which cannot abide the name of Christ. Thus have I burdened myself to relieve you, and taken from myself to comfort you. I have been careless of myself, and careful for you and for the church of God which is among you.

The apostle had sent Timothy to other places, to the Corinthians and to the Philippians. He always found him constant in faith and zealous to do good unto the saints, and now commendeth him to this congregation, and calleth him brother, "a minister of God, and his labour-fellow," that so they might conceive his[7] great care for them, which sent so worthy a man unto them; and also that they would esteem him and have him in reputation, to hearken unto Timothy, and to do in all things as he should direct them.

Such as St Paul nameth Timothy should all they be which are sent unto the people. They must hold the faith of Christ unfeignedly, and profess it boldly: they must be called and allowed of God to his service, and must not be idle, but painful, and labouring to build up the house of God, and to gather in his harvest; that they may truly be called the ministers of God and labourers in the gospel.

They that are called to this service must not think it enough that they serve God as men of other trades do. For princes and all sorts of people owe service and homage unto God, to serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. This service of godly conversation and obedience must ministers also most carefully perform. But the especial service which belongeth to their calling is to carry the ark of the covenant before their people, to do their message truly when they are sent; to teach, to instruct, to exhort, to comfort, to rebuke in season and out of season, to plant, to weed, to graff, to shrid, to hold up their hands and to pray for the people;

[5] Our hope or joy, 1584, 1594.]
[6] Yet, 1594.]
[7] Conceive of his, 1584, 1594.]

to do this service for kings, for subjects, for rich, for poor, for the wise, for the simple, for the godly, and for the wicked; to establish them and comfort them touching their faith.

Paul calleth himself often "the servant of God," and "the servant of our Lord Jesus Christ." He rejoiceth in this service, and reckoneth it in part of his glory. If we consider the pains and travels[1] which he took, we shall know what diligence all others that are called to the same service ought to shew. Thus
Rom. i. he writeth of himself: "I am debtor both to the Grecians and to the barbarians, both to the wise men and to the unwise. Therefore, as much as lieth in me, I am ready to preach the gospel to[2] you also that are at Rome." Again:
1 Cor. ix. "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself[3] servant unto all men, that I might win the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I may win the Jews; to them that are under the law, as though I were under the law, that I may win them that are under the law. I am made all
2 Cor. iv. things to all men, that I might by all means save some." Again: "We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus'
1 Cor. iv. sake." Again: "We are reviled, and yet we bless: we are persecuted, and yet suffer it." I serve not myself, saith he, but God. I serve not to seek mine own affections, but to set forth his glory. Thus in his own example he teacheth us, that in the service of the church of God we must endure all pains, and not refuse to follow our calling for any reproach, or shame, or villany, which may be wrought against us by men.

Ver. 3. *That no man should be moved with these afflictions; for ye yourselves know that we are appointed thereunto.*

Think not that you shall enjoy the pleasures of this world, if you be the faithful servants of Christ. Christ shed his blood for thee, that thou shouldest not refuse to give thy blood for him. Drink the cup of bitter gall whereof Christ began to thee; and carry thy cross, that thou mayest follow him. If thou be ashamed of the cross, thou art ashamed of Christ: if thou be ashamed of Christ, he will be ashamed of thee before his Father in heaven: the cross cannot hurt thee; for Christ hath sanctified it in his blood. Behold not the sword which striketh thee, but think on the crown of glory which thou shalt receive. Gold is clearer after it hath been put into the fire: be thou gold; and the fiery persecution shall not hurt thee. Let not the fear of death put out thy faith. Trust in the Lord, be strong; and he shall stablish thy heart. Be rooted and built in Christ, and stablished in the faith. Then shall thy heart rejoice; and no man shall take thy joy from thee.

Ver. 4. *For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulations; even as it came to pass, and ye know*[4] *it.*

Ecclus. ii. God giveth us warning to be ready to suffer afflictions for his name. "My son, if thou wilt come into the service of God, stand fast in righteousness
Prov. iii. and fear, and prepare thy soul to temptation." And in the Proverbs: "My son, refuse not the chastening of the Lord, neither be grieved with his correction. For the Lord correcteth him whom he loveth; even as the father
Rev. iii. the child in whom he delighteth." "As many as I love I rebuke and chasten,"
Heb. xii. saith Christ. Therefore the apostle telleth the Hebrews: "If you be without correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards, and not sons." In
Matt. x. the tenth of Matthew our Saviour warneth his disciples hereof: "Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves." Thus God schooleth and nurtureth his people, that so through many tribulations they may enter to their rest. Frankincense, when it is put in the fire, giveth the greater perfume: spice, if it be pounded[5], smelleth the sweeter: the earth, when it is torn up with the plough, becometh more fruitful: the seed in the ground, after frost and snow,

---

[1] Travails, 1583, 1584; the rest have *travels.*]
[2] So, 1594.]
[3] Meself, 1583.]
[4] Knew, 1584, 1594.]
[5] Punned, 1584, 1594.]

and winter storms[6], springeth the ranker: the nigher the vine is pruned to the stock, the greater grape it yieldeth: the grape, when it is most pressed and beaten, maketh the sweetest wine: fine gold is the better when it is cast in the fire: rough stones with hewing are squared and made fit for building: cloth is rent and cut that it may be made a garment: linen is bucked, and washed, and wrung, and beaten, and is the fairer. These are familiar examples to shew the benefit and commodity which the children of God receive by persecution. By it God washeth and scoureth his congregation. "We rejoice," saith St Paul, "in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed." The power of God is made perfect[7] in weakness. And all things turn unto good to them that fear the Lord. Rom. v.

Ver. 5. *Even for this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent him, that I might know of your faith; lest the tempter had tempted you in any sort, and that our labour had been in vain.*

6. *But now lately, when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us, always desiring to see us, as we also do you;*

7. *Therefore, brethren, we had consolation in you in all our affliction and necessity, through your faith.*

8. *For now are we alive, if ye stand fast in the Lord.*

9. *For what thanks can we recompense to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we rejoice for your sakes before our God;*

10. *Night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face, and might accomplish that which is lacking in your faith?*

The apostle continueth in declaring his earnest affection towards them, and how greatly he rejoiced to hear of their constancy in the faith, and of their love and agreement together; for he feared it might have happened to them as it had done to others. He preached to the Galathians; but they gave ear to false apostles, and went back from that he had taught them. "I am in fear of you," saith he, "lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." And, "Ye did run well; who did let you, that you did not obey the truth? It is not of the persuasion of him that calleth you." The devil hath bewitched you and beguiled your eyes. Such is the subtilty and the power of Satan in the children of disobedience. Judas was an apostle, equal with Peter and the other apostles: the devil entered into his heart and bewitched him; and then he became the child of destruction. Julian the Apostata was a Christian and a reader in the church, but became an enemy of Christ; and, when he was stricken in the field by miracle from heaven, he threw up his blood in defiance of Christ; so had the devil bewitched him and changed his heart to wickedness. It might have been that their weakness should in like sort have been overcome, when the tempter tempted them. And so the gold which he had left with them might have been turned into dross, and the light into darkness, and the kingdom of God taken away from them. For then had his labour been in vain, and they had received the word to their own damnation. "For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them." Gal. iv. Gal. v.

The devil is the tempter. His strength and practice is not always by force of arms, but by subtile persuasions and other sleights. He reasoneth with Eve, why she would not taste of the apple, which was sweet, pleasant, and delicate, and[8] telleth the poor woman God did nothing but mock her; for God knew what day they should eat thereof their eyes should be opened, and they should know as much as God. He came to Christ and said, "Command that these stones be made bread;" and, "Cast thyself down, if thou be the[9] Son of God;"

---

[6] Storm, 1584, 1594.]
[7] Perfit, 1594.]
[8] 1584 and 1594 omit *and.*]
[9] 1594 omits *the.*]

then thou shalt be worshipped and taken for a great prophet. He tempted David after this sort: Why wilt thou serve God? he hath advanced thine enemies,
Psal. lxxiii. and hath forsaken thee and left thee in misery. "I fretted," saith David, "at the foolish.... These are the wicked; yet prosper they alway, and increase in riches. Certainly I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency; for daily have I been punished, and chastened every morning. ....Mine heart was vexed; so foolish was I and ignorant. I was a beast[1] before thee." He tempted Job, the faithful servant of God, and told him that he was righteous and holy, and gave alms, in vain; that God had no regard to his prayers, and would not hear them[2].

This tempter waiteth all occasions to draw us from our faith and stedfastness in the Lord. Yet is he never so busy as when any persecution is raised against the truth. Then is he in his ruff[3]. Then playeth he his part, and leaveth nothing undone whereby he may move us to forsake the truth. Wilt thou (saith he) be so foolish to lose thy[4] life, and knowest not wherefore? Art thou wiser than thy forefathers? Why shouldest not thou be contented to do as thy father, and mother, and friends, and kinsfolks? Thinkest thou they have not as good care of their souls as thou hast of thine? .Wilt thou make them pagans and infidels? Dost thou think they are damned? Be wise, and cast not thyself away. Flesh is frail, life is sweet, death is dreadful; but to die in the fire, to be burned alive, to see thy arms and thy legs quite burnt from thy body, and that yet thou canst not die, this is most terrible: thou canst never abide it. Behold so many kings, and princes, noblemen, cardinals, bishops, doctors, and learned men, and whole kingdoms and countries, of the contrary opinion. Be not wilful. Think not thyself wiser than all the world. What were it for thee to come to the church, and to shew thyself obedient, and to do as others do? It is a small matter to look up and hold up thy hands at the sacring[5]. If it be an offence, thou shalt be excused, because thou art forced to do it by authority. God is merciful: he will forgive thee.

Thus and thus doth Satan tempt us, and sifteth us, to lead us from our stedfastness. These devices he practised of late days before our eyes, with many constant professors of christian religion; but, through the mighty power of God, they quenched all his fiery darts, and through many tribulations entered into glory.

Thanks be to God, which doth make us able through his grace, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. He is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but will even give the issue with the temptation, that we may be able to bear it. He hath bidden
Psal. xxxvii. us call upon him in the day of trouble, and he will deliver us. "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in him," saith the prophet; "and he shall bring
Psal. xvi. it to pass." "I have set the Lord always before me; for he is at my right hand;
Psal. cxviii. therefore I shall not slide." And again: "The Lord is with me: therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me.... It is better to trust in the Lord than to have confidence in princes."

When our Saviour foretold his disciples of the troubles to come, he also maketh comfort to them of the strength and the help which they shall receive
Matt. x. of God, saying: "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say." He
Luke xxi. telleth them by whom they shall be persecuted: "Ye shall be betrayed also of your parents, and of your brethren, and kinsmen, and friends." And in what sort: "They shall lay hands on you, and persecute you, and deliver you to the synagogues, and into prisons, and bring you before kings and rulers." And for what cause: "For my name's sake." Then what the godly in this case
Matt. x. must do: "Fear them not.... He that endureth to the end shall be saved."
Luke xxi. Last of all, he promiseth to be with them and to strengthen them: "This

---

[1] 1611 repeats the word *beast*.]
[2] 1584 and 1594 omit *them*.]
[3] In his ruff: in his best attire; at his highest exaltation.]
[4] Their, 1583, 1584.]
[5] The sacring: the elevation of the host by the priest after consecration.]

shall turn to you for a testimonial. Lay it up therefore in your hearts, that you premeditate not what you shall[6] answer. For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, whereagainst all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist."

Thus were the things spoken of long before, which we have seen lately done. Whosoever will set down the story thereof, now they are past, must needs declare it in the manner as it was fore-spoken. Their own kinsfolks and friends betrayed many, and brought them to the bishops, who delivered them into prisons, for the name of Christ, and for the love of his truth. The blessed witnesses or martyrs of God feared not, but endured. Many were simple young men, young maidens, men and women of great age, labouring men and men of occupations. Yet God gave them such a mouth and such wisdom, as all their adversaries were not able to speak against it nor resist it. Who readeth that scripture diligently, and considereth this story of our time advisedly, cannot confess but that[7] the light of God's gospel is come among us; and that we are they upon whom the latter[8] end of the world is come, and in whom he doth shew forth the great might of his power.

Therefore such temptations as Satan useth cannot make the man[9] of God fall from his anchor-hold. His hope is safely laid up in his breast. He knoweth in whom he putteth his trust; and therefore saith, I presume not of knowledge[10]. I esteem not to know any thing, save Christ Jesus, and him crucified. I believe not in my fathers: I reverence them and love them; but I believe only in God. I fear not the sword, I fear not what man can do unto me; but I fear him that can kill my body and soul. It is better for me to abide the fire, and lose my life, that I may live for ever, than to deny God for safeguard of my life, and be cast into hell-fire. If there be so many partakers of their errors, and so few that cleave to the truth, the multitude of them shall not save me; and it is no trial of God's truth, whether it be received of many or of few. Cardinals, and bishops, and doctors may be wise and learned. So were Annas and Caiaphas, the high priests, and scribes and Pharisees, which did put to death the Lord of glory. I dare not do ill because other men do it. I may not tempt God. My conscience is truly assured by God's word what is idolatry and the dishonour of God. If I should come into the church and make such shews[11] as you advise me, and be partaker with idolaters, I should do hurt to others in mine ill[12] example: I should do against mine own conscience, which would be a heavy witness against me, both whiles I live in this world, and in the dreadful day of judgment.

Ver. 11. *Now God himself, even our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, guide our journey unto you.*

12. *And the Lord increase you, and make you abound in love one toward another, and toward all men, even as we do toward you;*

13. *To make your hearts stable and unblameable in holiness before God, even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with his saints.*

I have planted you: you are my children, whom I have begotten in Christ. I love you, and have care over you. I have an exceeding desire to see your face. But Satan hath withstood my purpose, and found means to keep me from you. I commit my voyage to God; if it please him, that I may come unto you, to rejoice with you, and comfort you. He knoweth what is good for me, and what is profitable for you. The cause is his own. He will do all things to his glory. He will tread Satan under our feet. We cannot purpose and dispose of ourselves. "I know that the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps." Jer. x.

---

[6] Shall ye, 1583; ye shall, 1584, 1594.]
[7] Cannot but confess that, 1584, 1594.]
[8] Later, 1583.]
[9] Name, 1584, 1594.]
[10] He knoweth not in whom he putteth his trust. And therefore saith, I presume out of knowledge, 1611.]
[11] Shew, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[12] Evil, 1594.]

"The Lord increase you" in all godliness, that you may abound more and more, even as you have heard of us how you ought to walk. You are but a little flock: God increase your number, and make all them partakers of his kingdom with you, which hear of your faith and conversation in Christ!

"To make your hearts stable and unblameable." That nothing move you or trouble you; that your hearts and consciences be quiet; that you may stand upright, and shew yourselves in great confidence before his judgment-seat; that, when you shall see God's hand stretched out, and his plagues prepared against the wicked, you be not afraid. This is the haven of rest, whereto no man cometh but he that hath a quiet conscience: this is the tabernacle of the Highest, wherein they shall dwell; this is the holy mountain, wherein they shall rest that walk uprightly, and work righteousness, and speak the truth in their heart.

Here let us consider the rages and tempests of a troubled mind, and of an unquiet conscience; which knoweth that God is an avenger of all wickedness, and that death is the due reward of sin; which acknowledgeth himself to be a sinner, and findeth no way how he shall escape hell-fire. This man when he thinketh with himself of these things, he cannot but be amazed and disquieted above measure. The sound of the trumpet is ever in his ears: he heareth the voice of the Judge, saying, Stand forth, sinner: now declare how thou hast used thy body, give a reckoning of thy whole life. Then his conscience beginneth to quake and tremble. Then he needeth no witness to accuse him, nor judge to condemn him. He is both witness and judge against himself.

The danger hereof may somewhat appear in those which are taken and prisoned, and arraigned before a judge. When he knoweth himself guilty, heareth the evidence proved against him, seeth the judge severe to deal justice without mercy, and therefore is assured of death; what grief and torment feeleth he at heart! what would he not give, what would he not do, to scape[1] the danger!

But the danger whereunto God judgeth us is greater, and the manner of his judgment is straiter. Here the judge may be deceived, he is but a man; but there God is the Judge, who is the searcher of the heart and reins; and no man shall be hid from his heat. Here nothing can be done without evidence, without witnesses and proof; before God, he that hath offended shall accuse himself. This is the case of conscience. Itself is witness, itself calleth for judgment to condemnation. His conscience shall make the sinner say, I have offended against God: I have despised his word, and would not give ear to learn it. I would not know the time of God's mercy, and of my visitation: I lived in fornication, and committed theft, and kept wrongfully other men's goods: I was disobedient to parents, nurtured not my children in the fear of God, kept not my heart from doing iniquity: I abused my goods, my wits, my senses, and the good grace of God: I have sinned against heaven and against God, and am not worthy to be called his son: the wrath of God is worthily fallen upon me, hell-fire is my meed: the mercy of God cannot save me; for my sin is greater than that it can be forgiven. Mine own heart and conscience, heaven and earth, the angels and archangels, God himself, and Christ, the Redeemer of them that believe in him, are against me: I cannot cast mine eyes to any place, but ever I see my damnation before me. Then doth he tremble with agony, and stand in fear. His heart dasheth and beateth as the waves of the sea. He feeleth uproar, war, lightning, thunder, death, and hell in his heart: he shall fly[2] when no man followeth him. He shall say to the hills and rocks, Fall on me, and hide me from the presence of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb. Such is the terror of an unquiet mind. Though all the princes in the world would join themselves to do it, the wicked can never enjoy peace. God keep us far from such agonies, and give us pure hearts and clear consciences!

[1 Escape, 1594.]

[2 Flee, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

CHAPTER IV.

Ver. 1. *And furthermore we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God.*

2. *For ye know what commandments we gave you by the Lord Jesus.*

We command you not, nor use any force, but entreat you with all patience and meekness, that ye will love your own souls, and think and do those things which please God. You are they to whom the promise was made. God hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light. He hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

We come not to you in our own name. We have charge to preach the gospel to all nations. Therefore we speak unto you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. We shew you the way, that you may walk in it: we declare unto you the will of God, that you may be saved. For "yet will the Lord wait that he may have mercy upon you; and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have compassion upon you," saith the prophet Esay. We have opened unto you the[3] whole treasure of God's mercy. We have led you to the throne of grace, and made you see the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. We have preached unto you remission[4] and forgiveness of your sins through his name. If you have heard us and believe, you shall be saved. If any man preach unto you otherwise than that you have received, let him be accursed. Isai. xxx.

"How ye ought to walk and please God." It is not enough that ye believe: ye must also walk and live according to knowledge. This is the will of God. "For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto[5] good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them." "For the grace of God hath appeared, that bringeth salvation unto all men, and teacheth us that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly, in this life; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." In this sort hath our teaching been among you, that you might shew forth your faith by your works; that it availeth you nothing to say you have faith, if you[6] have no works; because the faith that hath no works is dead. This we are taught by the words of our Lord Jesus: he saith: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth[7] my Father's will that is in heaven." Again: "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." "The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth[8] it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Thus hath our Lord commanded us to be like our Father which is in heaven, to let our light so shine before men, that they may see our good works. Thus the apostle taught: thus the church of God this day teacheth. It requireth faith, as the instrument and means to apply the merits and passion of Jesus Christ for our salvation; and good works, as fruits and witnesses of our faith. Whosoever learneth aright, and believeth the gospel as he ought, groweth and goeth forward from virtue to virtue. If he were ignorant before, he cometh thereby to knowledge. If he were weak, he groweth in strength. If he were wicked, he turneth unto godliness. Eph. ii. Tit. ii. Matt. vii.

Ver. 3. *For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that ye should abstain from fornication;*

4. *That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour.*

God requireth true and unfeigned holiness. "Wash you," saith the prophet Esay, "make you clean; take away the evil of your works from before mine eyes; cease to do ill." This is the commandment of God, that so we should be Isai. i.

[3] That, 1584, 1594.]
[4] The remission, 1594.]
[5] To, 1594.]
[6] Ye, 1594.]
[7] Doeth, 1584.]
[8] Doeth, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

1 Pet. i. partakers of his heavenly nature. "As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation," saith St Peter.

"Abstain from fornication." Nothing so much hindereth true holiness as fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, and such-like. Every sin that a man doth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body. God is the avenger of such. He will judge the adulterers and fornicators. Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons[1], shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

"Know to possess his vessel." That is, his body. And the body is the tem-
1 Cor. vi. ple of the Holy Ghost, as he saith to the Corinthians: "And therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit; for they are God's." In this body we shall rise out of our grave, and appear before the judgment-seat of God; in this body we shall sit upon the twelve seats, and judge the twelve[2] tribes. God shall crown it with glory and honour. Keep this vessel clean, it is precious: keep it in honour, keep it in holiness. Make not the member of Christ a member of the devil. Shame not your bodies, shame not yourselves.

Ver. 5. *And not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the gentiles which know not God.*

Give not yourselves over to filthy affections, as the horse and mule which have no understanding, and as the gentiles which have no fear of God's judgment. Their heart and mind is unclean. They know not God, they know not themselves. They know not the difference of this life and of the life to come. Therefore they know not sin; or, if they know it, they refrain it not, but follow the lusts of their corrupt nature, and give themselves to wantonness, to work all uncleanness, even with greediness. Thus the apostle setteth down what is the fruit of ignorance, and whereto a man groweth that knoweth not God. That devotion, therefore, which some say is the daughter of ignorance, hath no like-
John xvii. ness with true holiness. "For this is life eternal," saith Christ, "that they know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ."

Ver. 6. *That no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter; for the Lord is an avenger of all such things; as we have also told you beforetime and testified.*

Let no man defraud his brother, neither by false weight, nor by false measure, nor by lying words. Let your measures and weights and words be true: let your gains be just and true, that God may bless them. His blessing will make you rich; and whatsoever he blesseth not shall waste and consume, and do you no good. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you. This is true dealing and upright.

If thou speak more than is true, if thou take more than thy ware is worth, thy conscience knoweth it is none of thine. God will destroy all the workers of iniquity. He that delighteth in sin hateth his own soul. The mouth that accustometh to lie slayeth the soul.

Defraud not thy brother: he is thy brother, whether he be rich or poor: he is thy brother, and the son of God. Wilt thou do wrong to thy brother? wilt thou oppress the son of God, and that even in the sight of God? God is his Father: he will not leave it unpunished in thee. If he be simple and unskilful, abuse not his simplicity. God is the God of righteousness. Deal justly, that thine own conscience accuse thee not. Teach not thy sons nor thy servants to deceive others, and to gain by wickedness. After they have learned of thee to deceive others, they will deceive thee also. Job prayed daily for his children. Be thou also careful that thy children and servants deceive no man, nor hurt any. Their sins shall be laid to thy charge. Why askest thou of God, that he will feed thee, and give thee thy daily bread; and waitest not upon his will, but feedest upon the bread of iniquity? This meat will not nourish thee, this wealth will not stand

[1 Two words are omitted.]

[2 1594 omits *seats and judge the twelve.*]

by thee; for God will not prosper it. The wise man saith: "The bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterward his mouth shall be filled with gravel." Ill-gotten goods have an ill end. God hath said by the prophet Aggeus: "Ye have sown much, but you have brought in little: ye brought it home; and I did blow upon it." We have examples hereof daily. We have seen great heaps of wealth suddenly blown away, and consumed to nothing; great houses decayed, and the hope of the wicked quite overthrown. Prov. xx. Hag. i.

Here will I speak somewhat of the unhappy trade of usury, because therein standeth the most miserable and shameful deceiving of the brethren. I will not speak all that may be said; for it would be too long and over wearisome. I will have regard of that shall be agreeable, and profitable, and behoveful for you to hear. And that you may the better consider hereof, and see the whole matter of usury, I will shew you, first, what usury is; then, whence it springeth, and what are the causes of usury; thirdly, what cometh of it, what hurt it worketh to the commonwealth; and I will lay forth such reasons as may make any good man abhor it; then I will declare what the holy fathers, and the apostles, and martyrs, and Christ, and God himself have thought and spoken of usury.

Many simple men know not what is usury, nor never heard of the name of it. The world were happy if no man knew it: for evil things do less harm when they be most unknown. Pestilences and plagues are not known but with great misery. But that you may learn to know it, and the more to abhor it, this it is.

Usury is a kind of lending of money, or corn, or oil, or wine, or of any other thing, wherein, upon covenant and bargain, we receive again the whole principal which we delivered, and somewhat more for the use and occupying of the same: as, if I lend 100 pound[3], and for it covenant to receive 105 pounds, or any other sum greater than was the sum which I did lend. This is that that[4] we call usury: such a kind of bargaining as no good man or godly man ever used: such a kind of bargaining as all men that ever[5] feared God's judgment have always abhorred and condemned. It is filthy gains, and a work of darkness. It is a monster in nature, the overthrow of mighty kingdoms, the destruction of flourishing states, the decay of wealthy cities, the plagues of the world, and the misery of the people. It is theft, it is the murdering of our brethren, it is the curse of God and the curse of the people. This is usury. By these signs and tokens you may know it; for wheresoever it reigneth, all those mischiefs ensue. But how and how many ways it may be wrought, I will not declare. It were horrible to hear; and I come now to reprove usury, and not to teach it.

Let us see then what is the cause hereof, and whence it groweth, who is the mother, the nurse, or the breeder of usury. For it groweth not every where, nor among[6] all men. Many hate it and detest it, and had rather die than live of such spoil. It is not of God; for God straitly forbiddeth it. Neither is it found among[6] the children of God; for love seeketh not her own profit, but to do good to[7] her neighbour.

Whence then springeth usury? Soon shewed. Even thence, whence theft, murder, adultery, the plagues and destruction of the people, do spring. All these are the works of the devil and the works of the flesh. Christ telleth the Pharisees: "You are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father you will do." Even so may it truly be said to the usurer: Thou art of thy father the devil, and the lust of thy father thou wilt do; and therefore thou hast pleasure in his works. The devil entered into the heart of Judas, and put in him this greediness and covetousness of gain, for which he was content to sell his Master. Judas' heart was the shop: the devil was the foreman to work in it. St Paul saith: "They that will be rich fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men into perdition and destruction. For the desire of money is the root of evil." And St John saith: "Whosoever com- John viii. 1 Tim. vi. 1 John iii.

[3] Pounds, 1584.]
[4] Which, 1584, 1594.]
[5] 1594 omits *ever*.]
[6] Amongst, 1594.]
[7] Unto, 1594.]

mitteth sin is of the devil." Thus we see that the devil is the planter and the father of usury.

Covetousness, desire of money, unsatiable greediness, deceitfulness, unmercifulness, injury, oppression, extortion, contempt of God, hatred to the brethren, and hatred of all men, are the nurses and breeders of usury. It springeth from Satan, and groweth, and is watered, and fed and nourished by these cruel and damnable monsters.

Let us see farther[1] what are the fruits which come of usury. For perhaps it doth[2] some good, and you may think that many are the better for it. These therefore are the fruits. It dissolveth the knot and fellowship of mankind: it hardeneth man's heart. It maketh men unnatural, and bereaveth them of charity and love to their dearest friends. It breedeth misery, and provoketh the wrath of God from heaven. It consumeth rich men, it eateth up the poor, it maketh bankrupts, and undoeth many households. The poor occupiers are driven to flee, their wives are left alone, their children are helpless, and driven to beg their bread, through the unmerciful dealing of the covetous usurer.

Psal. lv. When David layeth out the wickedness of the country where he was persecuted, he saith of them: *Non defecit usura et dolus in plateis eorum*: "Usury and deceit departeth not from their streets:" one seeketh to spoil and eat up another. These are the commodities and the fruits of usury. Such is usury in the midst of a city, and such good it worketh as fire doth when it is set to the roof of a house; or as the plague doth when it is taken to the midst of the body, and toucheth the heart.

We have heard whence usury springeth, and what hurt it doth[3]. Which whosoever considereth may find cause enough to loathe it and forsake it. One asked of Cato "what it was to commit usury." "What is it," saith he again, "to kill a man?" He that is an usurer is a murderer. The same Cato saith: "Our fathers punished a thief with payment of the double of that he had taken; but the usurer was always condemned to pay four times the value." They were wise men. They thought that an usurer was much worse than a thief.

For a thief is driven by extremity and need; the usurer is rich, and hath no need. The thief stealeth in corners and in places where he may be unknown; the usurer openly and boldly at all times and in any place. The thief, to relieve his wife and children; the usurer, to spoil his neighbour and to undo his wife and children. The thief stealeth from the rich, which have enough; the usurer from the poor, that hath nothing. The thief fleeth, and will be seen no more; the usurer standeth by it, continueth, and stealeth still: day and night, sleeping and waking, he always stealeth. The thief repenteth of his deed, he knoweth he hath done wrong, and is sorry for it; the usurer thinketh it is his own, that it is well gotten, and never repenteth nor sorroweth, but defendeth and maintaineth his sin impudently. The thief, if he escape, many times becometh profitable to his country, and bestoweth himself painfully in some trade of life; the usurer leaveth his merchandise, forsaketh his husbandry, giveth himself to nothing whereby his country may have benefit. The thief is satisfied at length[4]; the usurer hath never enough. The belly of the wicked will[5] never be filled. As the sea is never filled with water, though all the streams of the world run into it; so the greediness of an usurer is never satisfied, though he gain[6] never so unreasonably. The sea is profitable; the usurer is hurtful and dangerous. By the sea we may pass, and come safely to the haven; but no man passeth by usury without loss or shipwreck.

Now hear what the godly and learned fathers of the church have thought of usury. No doubt they were godly men, and wrote[7] hereof as God had inspired them, and as others before them had done. Augustine saith: *Quid dicam de usuris, quas ipsæ leges, &c.*[8]: "What shall I speak of usury, whereof the laws and

August. Maced. Epist. 54.

[1 Further, 1594.]
[2 Doeth, 1584, 1594.]
[3 Doeth, 1583, 1594.]
[4 At the length, 1594.]
[5 Shall, 1594.]
[6 He do gain, 1594.]
[7 Wrate, 1583, 1584.]
[8 Quid, &c. quas etiam ipsæ leges et judices reddi jubent? An crudelior est, qui subtrahit aliquid vel eripit diviti, quam qui trucidat pauperem

judges require that restitution be made? Is he more cruel which stealeth some thing away from the rich man, or he that killeth a poor man with usury?" Mark this: an usurer, saith Augustine, is cruel. Why? He killeth. Whom? The poor man, whom in charity he is bound to relieve.

Ambrose hereof saith: *Usuras solvit, qui victu indiget: an quicquam gravius?* &c.[9]: "He that lacketh wherewith to keep life payeth you usury. What heavier case may there be? He seeketh to be healed; and you poison him: he asketh you bread; and you give him a knife: he desireth you to set him at liberty; and you bring him to further bondage." And again: "Thou, usurer, growest wealthy by other men's heaviness: thou makest gains of their tears and weeping: thou art fed with their hunger: thou coinest thy money of the skins of those men whom thou destroyest: how thinkest thou thyself to be rich, and yet beggest an alms of him that is poor[10]?" And the same father saith further: *Ab hoc usuram exige, quem non sit crimen occidere*[11]: "Whomsoever it is lawful to kill, thou mayest lend him thy money to usury." For he that taketh usury killeth without a sword. These be holy fathers, and worthy of credit: they shew us that usury is as bad as to kill and murder a man wilfully.

Lib. De Tob. cap. iii.

Ibid. cap. xv.

Chrysostom likewise: *In his sensibilibus pecuniis prohibuit ne quis usuram acciperet*, &c.[12]: "God hath forbidden that no man shall take usury in this sensible or common money. Why? because either of them is much hindered. He that oweth money is made poorer, and he that lendeth it by this kind of enriching himself increaseth the number of his sins." Again he saith: *Sicut... fermentum modicum, quod mittitur in multam farinam, totam conspersionem corrumpit*, &c.[13]: "Even as little[14] leaven leaveneth the whole lump of dough, even so usury, when it cometh into any man's house, draweth all his substance, and changeth it into debt."

Hom. 41. in xviii. Gen.

Hom. 12. in v. Matt.

He that is an usurer wisheth that all others may lack, and come to him and borrow of him, that all others[15] may lose, so that he may have gain. Therefore our old forefathers so much abhorred this trade, that[16] they thought an usurer unworthy to live in the company of christian men: they did excommunicate[17] him. They suffered not an usurer to be a witness in matters of law. They suffered him not to make a testament, and to bestow his goods by will. When an usurer died, they would not suffer him to be buried in places appointed for the burial of Christians. So highly did they mislike this unmerciful spoiling and deceiving our brethren.

But what speak I of the ancient fathers of the church? There was never any religion, nor sect, nor state, nor degree, nor profession of men, but they have disliked it. Philosophers, Greeks, Latins, lawyers, divines, catholics, heretics, all tongues and nations have ever thought an usurer as dangerous as a thief. The very sense of nature proveth it to be so. If the stones could speak, they would say as much.

Therefore our Saviour saith: "Do good, and lend, looking for nothing again." He saith not, Lend, and look not for your principal again: but, Look for no gain thereby, look not to receive more than thine own for the use and occupying of it. Defraud not another: thou wouldest not another should defraud thee. Oppress him not, have pity on his wife and children: thou wouldest not have thy wife

Luke vi.

---

fenore?—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Maced. Epist. cliii. 25. Tom. II. col. 534.]

[9 Usuras, &c. An quidquam gravius? Ille medicamentum quærit, vos offertis venenum: panem implorat, gladium porrigitis: libertatem obsecrat, servitutem irrogatis.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Tob. Lib. cap. iii. 11. Tom. I. col. 594.]

[10 De ærumnis ditaris, de lacrymis lucrum quæris, de fame aliena pasceris, de exuviis spoliatorum hominum cudis argentum; et judicas te divitem, qui stipem poscis a paupere?—Id. ibid. cap. xiv. 50. col. 608.]

[11 Id. ibid. cap. xv. 51. ibid.]

[12 Ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν χρημάτων τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀπηγόρευσε τὸν τόκον λαμβάνειν· τίνος ἕνεκεν καὶ διὰ τί; ὅτι ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπομένει τὴν βλάβην. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ πενία ἐπιτρίβεται, ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ πλεονασμοῦ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἁμαρτημάτων πλῆθος ἑαυτῷ ἐπισωρεύει.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xviii. Gen. Hom. xli. Tom. IV. p. 413.]

[13 Sicut enim fermentum, &c. et trahit illam, et facit illam totam fermentum: sic quum usura in domum alicujus intraverit, totam substantiam ejus ad se trahit, et convertit in debitum.—Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xii. ex cap. v. Tom. VI. p. lxx.]

[14 As a little, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[15 Other, 1594.]

[16 As, 1594.]

[17 They excommunicated, 1594.]

Lev. xxv. and children undone. In Leviticus God saith: "If thy brother be impoverished and fallen in decay,... thou shalt take no usury of him nor vantage; but thou shalt fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." God saith, thou shalt take no usury. And he hath power and authority to command. And in Exodus:
Exod. xxii. "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him: ye shall not oppress him with usury." Shew them mercy for my sake: they are my people. I can enrich him, I can impoverish thee. I set up and throw down whom I will. When thy neighbour needeth thy help, and seeketh comfort at thy hands, afflict him not as an enemy, oppress him not like a tyrant.

Ezek. xviii. Ezechiel the prophet setteth down the wrath of God against usurers: "He that hath given forth his money upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? he shall not live," saith the Lord. He shall perish in his own sin: his blood shall be upon his head. Therefore when he reckoneth the offences of Jerusalem, and declareth the heavy plagues that are prepared against that
Ezek. xxii. wicked city, he[1] saith: "Thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast defrauded thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God. Behold, therefore, I have smitten mine hands upon the covetousness that thou hast used." Thou hast done injury to my people, that thou mightest make thine own gain. Thy wrongs and oppressions done by usury rise up into heaven; therefore I will gather thee, and blow the fire of my wrath upon thee, saith the Lord.

Thus hath God spoken, even the Lord of heaven and earth, which can scatter thy gold in the wind, and blow it to nothing. Thus he speaketh to thee that hearest and readest his word, which knowest that his will is thou shouldest not lend thy money to usury. Thou dost oppress, saith he. Whom? thy brother, for whom Christ vouchsafed to shed his blood. And what brother? him that was poor, which came to thee for need to seek thy help. How? wickedly, closely, falsely, craftily, deceitfully, like an hypocrite, under colour to do him good. Wherewith? with thy money, thy gold and silver, which God hath given thee to relieve the poor and needy withal.

God hath said thou shalt not take usury; and what art thou, that despisest the voice of the Lord? Whose words wilt thou hear, that wilt not hear the word[2] of God? Remember the words: you cannot forget them. Thou shalt not take usury of thy brother: he is poor and fallen in decay: thou shalt not be an usurer unto him: thou shalt not oppress him with usury. For it is cruelty and abomination in the sight of God; therefore will God pour out his wrath, and consume the usurer: he shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Highest, he shall have no part in the kingdom of Christ and of God, but shall be cast into the utward[3] darkness.

But some will say, all kinds of usury are not forbidden: there may be cases where usury may stand with reason and equity. And herein they say so much as by wit may be devised to paint out a foul and ugly idol, and to shadow themselves in manifest and open wickedness. Whatsoever God saith, yet this or this kind of usury, say they, which is done in this or this sort, is not forbidden. It profiteth the commonwealth, it relieveth great numbers. The poor should otherwise perish: no man would lend them.

By like good reason there are some that defend theft and murder. They say there may be some case where it is lawful to kill or to steal; for God willed the Hebrews to rob the Ægyptians, and Abraham to kill his own son Isaac. In these cases their robbery and the killing of his son were lawful. So say they. Even so by like reason do some of our countrymen maintain concubines, courtezans, and brothel-houses, and stand in defence of open stews. They are (say they) for the benefit of the country: they keep[4] men from more dangerous
Deut. xxiii. inconvenience: take them away, it will be worse. Although God say, "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a whore-

[1] 1583 omits *he*.]
[2] Words, 1584, 1594.]
[3] Outward, 1594.]
[4] They do keep, 1594.]

keeper of the sons of Israel;" yet these men say all manner of whoredom is not forbidden. In these and these cases it is not amiss to allow it.

God said to Saul: "Go and strike Amalek, and destroy ye all that pertaineth to them, and have no compassion on them; but slay both man and woman, both infant and suckling, both ox and sheep, both camel and ass." So strait and precise was God's commandment. Forth marcheth Saul, setteth upon his enemies; God assisteth him, and giveth him the victory. When he took Agag prisoner, and saw him to be a goodly tall gentleman, he had pity on him, and saved him alive. And the best and fairest of the sheep, and oxen, and other cattle, he did not destroy, although he knew well that God had commanded him to kill man and beast, every one without exception. Then came Samuel unto him, and said: O why hast thou not done as thou wert[5] commanded? Here let us mark the wicked answer of Saul in defence of his wilful disobedience. It had been great pity to have[6] slain Agag, so comely and tall a gentleman. I have taken him and kept[7] him prisoner. And, if I should have destroyed this goodly cattle, they had come to nothing. It was better to save them for the victualling of my soldiers; and the fairest of them may be offered in sacrifice. So brake he the commandment of God under pretence of doing honour to God. 1 Sam. xv.

But Samuel said: "Hath the Lord as great pleasure in burnt-offerings and sacrifices as when the voice of the Lord is obeyed? behold, to obey is better than sacrifice." And to disobey his holy will is to renounce and forsake him.

So may we say to the usurer: Thou hast devised cases and colours to hide thy shame; but what regard hath God to thy cases? what careth he for thy reasons? the Lord would have more pleasure, if when thou hearest his voice thou wouldest obey him. For what is thy device against the counsel and ordinance of God? What bold presumption is it for a mortal man to control the commandments of the immortal God, and to weigh his heavenly wisdom in the balance of human foolishness? When God saith thou shalt not take usury, what creature of God art thou, which canst take usury? When God maketh it unlawful, what art thou, O man, that sayest it is lawful? This is a token of a desperate mind. It is found true in thee, that Paul said: "The love of money is the root of all evil[8]." Thou art so given over unto the wicked mammon, that thou carest not to do the will of God.

Wilfulness and presumption are tokens that such men are impudent and past shame. He that offendeth of simplicity may find mercy: but they which of pride and boldness go[9] against the known truth, and do that thing which they know to be ill[10], and devise shifts to colour that which all reason and learning of God and men, and nature itself have condemned, they are fallen into temptation and snares, and into foolish lusts which drown[11] them in destruction.

God is the Lord. We are but servants: he hath made us, and not we ourselves: we are but as clay in his hands: we cannot repeal the law that God hath established: we must obey it. We may not do the things that seem good in our own eyes, they may deceive us; but we must do whatsoever God biddeth us to do, and forsake to do those things which he forbiddeth.

Thus much for an entry to those which can bring so good reasons for so ill a matter.

Many defend their usury by that liberty which they think they have to use their goods in such sort as seemeth best to themselves, and is most to their advantage[12]. May I not, say they, do with mine own goods what I will? This would they not say, if they were of him which hath said by his holy apostle: "Let every man, as he hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another as good disposers of the manifold grace of God." It is the law of nature, that no man abuse the things that are his to the hurt and hindrance of another. May a man take his own dagger, and therewith commit murder? or may a man take of his own fire, and therewith burn his neighbour's house? He that said, "Thou 1 Pet. iv.

[5 Were, 1583.]
[6 1584 repeats *have*.]
[7 Keep, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[8 Ill, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[9 Do go, 1594.]
[10 Evil, 1594.]
[11 Do drown, 1594.]
[12 Their own advantage, 1594.]

shalt not kill," hath also said: "Thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not commit usury: thou shalt not defraud thy brother in bargaining." He is not unrighteous, that he will judge the murderer, and will not condemn the usurer. In that day the usurer shall know whose money it was wherewith he defrauded his brother. His money shall not help him: he shall have no shift to convey himself from the wrath of God: he and his money shall perish together.

But the usurer will say: The poor man came to me: I was not in haste to seek him. He moaned[1] his case to me. I took pity of him and lent him money. Since then he and all his have been the better. Here you shall see the great kindness and pitiful heart of this rich usurer. He draweth his purse, giveth out his goods, and helpeth the poor; and the poor is much eased by him. But, alas! what help is this? even such as he findeth, that in the midst of his fit of an ague drinketh a great draught of cold water. No doubt he is refreshed and cooled, and for that present time much the better. But after a while, when his heaves renew, the heat increaseth: his heart panteth, his pulse beateth, his mouth is dry, his tongue burneth: he is more terribly tormented than ever before. So fareth it with him that borroweth money upon usury. He looketh in his hand, and seeth somewhat: it is not his own; yet is he refreshed therewith, and much eased. The year passeth, the day of payment draweth on, the creditor calleth for money: then, then the heats, and fits, and agonies begin to grow. Then must pot and pan trudge to redeem his[2] body. Then he feeleth more cruel torments than ever before.

Thus doth the gentle usurer help to relieve the poor in time of his necessity: as if a man would cure a sore finger by cutting off the arm; or as if he would cure the blemish of the eye-sight by the pulling out the eyes; or as if he would quench thirst by giving poison to drink; or as if, to save one from drowning in a boisterous tempest, he would cast him over the boat into the sea.

The scorpion embraceth a man sweetly with his legs, but in the meanwhile striketh him deadly with his tail: his face looketh amiable[3]; his tail poisoneth. So an usurer looketh fair, and giveth good words; but at the end he undoeth.

Who is stung by an adder, he perceiveth no hurt, but feeleth a gentle beating of his veins with some delight, whereat he rejoiceth. After this he falleth into a slumber: then the poison worketh, overcometh him, and killeth him. Even so he that borroweth upon usury findeth himself wonderfully amended, and rejoiceth; but he is stung, and hath a deadly stroke. The poison will grow over him: he shall die in a slumber, and be undone before he is aware. So necessary is an usurer for to relieve the poor and needy, as rust is to help iron, and as the moth is to help a garment: it eateth him through from one side to another. Therefore saith Ambrose: *Talia sunt vestra, divites, beneficia. Minus datis, et plus exigitis. Talis humanitas, ut spolietis etiam dum subvenitis*[4]: "Such are the benefits that you rich men bestow; you give out little, and require much again. Such is your kindness, that you undo them whom ye help."

Lib. De Tob. cap. iii.

And thus much of the ease that poor men find in borrowing upon usury. They are bitten, and stung, and eaten up and devoured by it. Most men confess that this kind of usury is forbidden, because it relieveth not, but spoileth and consumeth. God take the liking of it out of all men's hearts! then shall they be the better able to judge of the other sorts, which they yet think allowable.

What if one rich man lend money to[5] another? What if a merchant take money to usury of a merchant, and both be the better, and both be gainers? Here is no sting nor biting. What shall we think of this? What if a thief or a pirate[6] take usury of a pirate or a thief, and both be partakers of the gain, and be both of them holpen? Let no man mislike the comparison. For, as I said before, a pirate or a thief is not so noifull[7] as an usurer. Here, say you, he that lendeth is a gainer, and he that borroweth is a gainer. It doth good to[5] both. If both be gainers, who is the loser? for usury never

---

[1] Moved, 1584, 1594.]
[2] This, 1584, 1594.]
[3] Amiably, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[4] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Tob, Lib. cap. iii. 11. Tom. I. col. 594; where *cum subvenitis*.]
[5] Unto, 1594.]
[6] Or pirate, 1594.]
[7] Noifull: noisome, injurious, guilty.]

passeth without working loss. Take this as a rule: there is never usury without loss.

Here I pray you to lend me your minds, and consider what I say. A merchant taketh up of his neighbour a hundred pounds, and must answer again a hundred and ten pounds[8]. He bestoweth it all in corn, and buyeth for his hundred pounds a hundred quarters of corn. He sendeth it to the market: the people have need of it, and buy it. If he sold it for eight groats a bushel, he might make up his hundred pounds, and be a gainer. But unless he make up a hundred and ten pounds to discharge his usury, he must needs be a loser and undone. But undone he will not be: he will rather undo many others. Therefore he setteth price at three shillings the bushel, and so maketh his money, and payeth the usurer, and saveth himself, and is no loser. Who then payeth the ten pounds? who is the loser? Any man may see. The poor people which buy the corn. They find it and feel it in every morsel they[9] eat. Thus, if the merchant borrower be not hindered by the usurer, yet the people that buyeth[10] his wares are plagued. Thus it is no hard matter to find that, howsoever usury be used, it is always dangerous and beguileth the people, and is therefore the destruction and overthrow of the commonwealth.

But, saith he, why should I not make money to yield me gains, as well as my wares? I lend my shop for a year, or two, or three, so many pieces of velvet, satins, taffeta, grograin, camlet, hollands, &c. And for the use he shall pay me by the year forty pounds, and in the end restore me my shop, so many pieces of velvet, &c., so long, so broad, of the same making, so good, so fine, as were the other. This, saith he, is lawful; therefore the other is lawful.

No, no, this is not lawful. It is not lawful so to set out thy shop: it is usury, it is forbidden. But he that taketh the shop shall be a gainer: who shall be the loser then? They that buy the wares must needs buy at the dearer price. We may not allow one ill thing by the allowance of another. He should rather say: Usury taken upon wares is not lawful; therefore usury for bare money is less lawful. Hierome upon Ezechiel saith: *Putant quidam usuram tantum esse in pecunia; quod prævidens scriptura divina omni rei aufert superabundantiam, ut plus non accipias quam dedisti*[11]: "Some think there is no usury but in money. This did the holy scriptures[12] foresee, and therefore taketh away the increase or gains in any manner of thing, and requireth that thou receive no more than thou didst deliver." Lib. vi. in xviii. Ezech.

An occupier waxeth old, his occupying is done. He hath in stock two hundred pounds: he cometh to a young man, wise, of good credit, and of honest dealing, and saith: I give thee this money freely: it shall be thine for ever, upon this condition, that thou give me twenty marks by the year during my life. This may be done, it is no usury. Wherefore? *it is a plain gift* with a condition. The principal is gone from me for ever: I have no right unto it: it is none of mine. If I die to-morrow before I receive any penny, my executors cannot claim any thing. But in usury it is otherwise: the usurer requireth his whole sum again, and somewhat more for the use and occupying. Therefore this is a gift, and not usury.

Again, I lend my neighbour twenty pounds until a day. He hath it freely and friendly without any usury. Yet I say to him: Neighbour, you must needs keep day; for the next day after I must discharge a pain, I stand bound for a[13] payment. I have no more but this which you borrow. If I miss, I forfeit five pounds. I pray you be careful for it. The day cometh, my[14] neighbour cometh not: I lack[15] my money, and, because I lack it, I lose five pounds. He cometh afterward and offereth me mine own money. Then say

---

[8] Pound, 1594.]
[9] The, 1611.]
[10] Buy, 1584; do buy, 1594.]
[11] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. VI. in Ezech. Proph. cap. xviii. Tom. III. col. 823; where *omnis*, and *recipias*.]
[12] Scripture, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[13] 1583, 1584, 1594 omit *a*.]
[14] Any, 1611.]
[15] I do lack, 1594.]

I: Neighbour, I have lost five pounds by your negligence and slackness: I hope you will not suffer me to be a loser for my gentleness. This is interest, it is no usury.

Here, by the way, you may learn wherefore it is called interest, because he[1] may say, *Interfuit mea habuisse,* "It behoved me, it stood me upon to have it," and now by your default I sustain loss. It is good to know the one from the other. This kind of dealing is interest, and not usury. In usury I seek to be a gainer: in interest I seek only to be no loser: gain or profit I seek none. And hereof I may lawfully seek to be answered: it standeth with equity and conscience and good reason. This is interest, and no usury, that a man who requireth no gain should seek to save himself harmless. Bear patiently with me if I be long. My desire is you should understand this whole matter, and be able to know one thing from another; that so no man may excuse[2] his usury by name of interest; and others be not offended, nor reckon all men to be usurers which lend forth their money, or any ways dispose of their stock.

A poor orphan left in his cradle hath a hundred pounds' stock. This stock may be put out to usury: and the usury is allowed. This is a deed of charity; it is no usury, as shall appear. For, if the hundred pounds should lie still without increase, and be bestowed from year to year to the use of the child, the whole stock would be spent before the child should come to years. But if the stock be put to occupying, and into an honest man's hands, something will grow to the relief of the orphan, and yet his stock remain whole. This is charity, to relieve the infant that cannot relieve himself. The like is in using the stock of a man that hath not his wits, and is not able to dispose of his goods. Or if a merchant, by sickness, or maim, or any other hindrance, be not able to follow his business, he desireth another to use and occupy for him, and to do with his stock as it were his own, only to maintain him with the increase thereof. This is not usury. Why? because he that taketh the stock of the orphan, or of the madman, or of the diseased merchant, is not bound to answer all adventures and casualties that happen. As, if to like use I take a stock in cattle, and they die without my default, or a stock in money or wares, and the wares be burnt by fire, or the money stolen without my default, I am not bound to answer the principal: therefore it is no usury.

But he that taketh money to usury, whether he gain or lose, or whatsoever happen unto him, he must answer the whole stock he borrowed. And this is[3] it that undoeth so many, and maketh them bankrupts. But this happeneth not in this case. He that occupieth the orphan's money or stock is charged only to use it as his own, and no otherwise. If it perish or decay or miscarry without his default, he is not bound to answer it. Therefore, as I said, it is no usury.

Yet say they farther[4] for defence of usury: It is suffered in other countries; in France, Spain, Italy, Rome, &c., the laws permit it. And what law doth suffer it? I trow, not the law of God; for that law straitly forbiddeth it. But what speak I of the law of God? The civil law condemneth usury, the canon law condemneth it, the temporal law condemneth it, and the law of nature condemneth it. And how is that sufferable by any law, that by so many laws is condemned? or how is he worthy to live among men, that despiseth the authority of so many laws? or what will you judge of that man that will be tempered and ordered by no law; neither by civil, nor by canon, nor by temporal, nor by law of nature, nor by law of men, nor by law of God? I say not, How may we think him to be a man of God? but, How may we think such a one to be a man? for it is the part and duty of a man to be ruled by law and reason.

But it is every where, and therefore to be suffered. Too true, that it is common every where. Would God it were false! It undoeth all the world. So

---

[1] You, 1594.]
[2] Accuse, 1584, 1594.]
[3] 1611 omits *is*.]
[4] Further, 1584, 1594.]

the devil is every where, and suffered: so are the stews suffered in France, Spain, Italy, Lombardy, Naples, Venice, and in Rome. Rome is called the holy city: the most holy hath his seat there, and yet suffereth he the stews in Rome. So were the Canaanites among the people of God, and suffered. But they were as goads in their sides and as thorns in their eyes. As these were suffered, and as the stews are suffered, and as the devil is suffered, so and no otherwise are usurers. Such good, and no better, do they. For they are the children of the devil: their houses be the shops wherein the devil doth[5] his work of mischief. They be Canaanites and enemies of God's people. They be goads in our sides and sharp thorns and prickles in our eyes. God grant that the law may espy them, and the people abhor them, and they may repent and loathe their wickedness!

Some other are bold to take authority for usury from Christ himself. He saith: "The kingdom of heaven is as a man that, going into a strange country, called his servants, and delivered to them his goods; and unto one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one;" "and said unto them, Occupy until I come." The first did so, the second accordingly. They increased his stock, and are commended for their usury. The third wrapped his talent in a napkin and kept it together. His master returned, and chid him, and said: "Wherefore gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required it with vantage?" Therefore usury is allowed by the mouth of Christ. The two first are commended, not for any thing else but for the gain they made by usury: the third is rated and rebuked, not for theft nor adultery, but because he laid not out his stock to usury. Matt. xxv. Luke xix.

What? and is usury allowed? and allowed by the witness of Christ? How can that be? for Christ, as we heard before, doth plainly forbid it. How is it then? what is the meaning of this parable? This it is. When Christ delivered his gospel unto his disciples, he gave them charge to be diligent, and to multiply and increase the number of them that should believe. To this purpose he saith, Be as careful in this business for the glory of God and the salvation of your brethren, as worldly-wise men shew themselves in seeking wicked mammon. Behold the usurers: they occupy their stock, and make it grow, and so of five pounds make ten, and of ten make twenty pounds, and so they become rich. So deal you in the gifts and knowledge that God hath bestowed on you: give them to the exchangers, put them out to usury, increase the Lord's stock. If they be diligent and faithful in the things of this world, how much more ought you to be so in heavenly things!

This therefore is the meaning: Covetous men and the children of this world be wise in their generation; you are the children of light, be you also wise, and do you so likewise in your office and service as you see them do. So he saith: "Behold the fowls of heaven," "learn how the lilies of the field grow." What of this? The lilies are but grass: the fowls of the air are but birds. The mercy of God in his providence and care, wherein he giveth us all things needful, is made plain by example of these, and thereby our distrust and overmuch carefulness reproved. So doth Christ speak this parable of the usurer, that, as he is diligent in doing ill, so we should be painful and ready to do well. Matt. vi.

But shall usury therefore be lawful, because Christ draweth a comparison or maketh an example by an usurer? If it were so, we should do many things otherwise than well. For in the scriptures we are oftentimes required to take example of those things which are ill. In the sixteenth of Luke Christ biddeth his disciples take example of the unfaithful steward, to be provident and careful as he was. Doth he therefore commend the falsehood of the steward? or shall falsehood therefore be lawful? St Paul saith: "The day of the Lord shall come even as a thief in the night." Is theft therefore lawful? St James saith: "The devils believe and tremble:" take example of the devils. They believe, but their bare, vain, and dead faith, in which they can do no good, cannot serve them. Even so shall not your faith, if it be dead and void of all good works, save you. 1 Thess. v. James ii.

[5] Doeth, 1583.]

God himself, to reprove the unthankfulness and forgetfulness of his people, which did so often forsake him and followed Baal and Astaroth, saith in this manner unto them: "What nation did ever forsake their gods?" Doth he in this speech approve that the idols of the heathen are gods? or, because God taketh example of idolatry, shall idolatry therefore be lawful? He biddeth his servants to be as faithful and willing and ready to serve him, the God of heaven and earth, as the gentiles were in service of their idols, the works of their own hands. As God did will the Israelites to take example of the idolaters, and as Christ biddeth take example of the false steward, and as James of the devils; so is this parable an example of that which is commendable, that is, the diligence of the servants. Usury is no more allowed by this than idolatry and falsehood and the devil is by the other. Some will say, I have no trade to live[1]: I must needs give my money to usury, or else I must beg. This is it that I spake of: this sheweth that despair and mistrust in the providence of God is the mother of usury. If this were cause why he should be an usurer, if this be well spoken for defence of his wickedness; why may not the thief, or the bawd, or the enchanter, by like answer excuse themselves, and stand in defence of their doings? Augustine therefore saith: *Audent etiam fœneratores dicere, Non habeo aliud unde vivam, &c.*: "The usurers are bold to say they have no other trade whereby to live. So will the thief tell me, when I take him in his theft. So will he say that breaketh into other men's houses. So will the bawd say that buyeth young maidens to use them to filthiness. So will the wicked enchanter that selleth his sin. If we reprove any of all these, they will answer that this is their maintenance, and that they have not any other way to live." But Augustine saith: *Quasi non hoc ipsum in illis maxime puniendum est, quia artem nequitiæ delegerunt unde viverent, et inde se volunt pascere, unde offendant eum a quo omnes pascuntur*[2]: "As if they were not therefore most worthy to be punished, because they have chosen a trade of wickedness to live by, and will maintain themselves by that thing wherewith they displease him by whom all are maintained." How much better would it be with them, if they did serve God truly in such place and calling wherein they might most set forth his glory, and do such things as should be profitable to themselves and others!

In Psal. cxxviii.

The servant of God knoweth there is no want to those that fear him. He knoweth the Lord hath care over him, and therefore casteth his care upon the Lord. He saith as the prophet: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall want nothing." And, "The Lord is the defender of my life; of whom then shall I be afraid?" "I trusted in thee, O Lord, and said, Thou art my God. My times are in thy hand."

Psal. xxiii. Psal. xxvii. Psal. xxxi.

Thus much I thought expedient to speak of the loathsome and foul trade of usury. I know not what[3] fruit will grow thereby, and what it will work in your hearts. If it please God, it may do that good that I wish. I have done my duty: I call God for a record unto my soul, I have not deceived you. I have spoken unto you the truth. If I be deceived in this matter, O God, thou hast deceived me. Thy word is plain. Thou sayest, "Thou shalt take no usury:" thou sayest, He that taketh increase shall not live. What am I, that I should hide the words of my God, or keep them back from the hearing of his people? The learned old fathers have taught us it is no more lawful to take usury of our brother than it is to kill our brother. They that be of God hear this, and consider it, and have a care that they displease him not. But the wicked, that are no whit moved, and care not what God saith, but cast his word behind them, which have eyes, and see not, and ears, yet hear not; because they are filthy, they shall be filthy still. Their greedy desire shall increase to their confusion; and, as their money increaseth, so shall they increase the heaps of their sins. Pardon me if I have been long or vehement. Of those that are usurers I ask no pardon.

[1 Live by, 1594.]

[2 Audent, &c. Hoc mihi et latro diceret, deprehensus in fauce; hoc et effractor diceret, deprehensus circa parietem alienum; hoc mihi et leno diceret, emens puellas ad prostitutionem; hoc et maleficus incantans mala, et vendens nequitiam suam: quidquid tale prohibere conaremur, responderent omnes, quia non haberent unde viverent, quia inde se pascerent; quasi, &c. unde vitam transigant, et inde, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. cxxviii. Enarr. 6. Tom. IV. col. 1450.]

[3 I do not know what, 1594.]

I hear that there are certain in this city, which wallow wretchedly in this filthiness without repentance. I give them warning in the hearing of you all, and in the presence of God, that they forsake that cruel and detestable sin. If otherwise they continue therein, I will open their shame and denounce excommunication against them, and publish their names in this place before you all; that you may know them, and abhor them as the plagues and monsters of the world; that, if they be past all fear of God, they may yet repent and amend for worldly shame.

Tell me, thou wretched wight of the world, thou unkind creature, which art past all sense and feeling of God, which knowest the will of God, and doest[4] the contrary, how darest thou come into the church? it is the church of that God which hath said, "Thou shalt take no usury;" and thou knowest he hath so said: how darest thou read or hear the word of God? It is the word of that God which condemneth usury; and thou knowest he doth condemn it: how darest thou come into the company of thy brethren? Usury is the plague and destruction and undoing of thy brethren; and this thou knowest: how darest thou look upon thy children? Thou makest the wrath of God fall down from heaven upon them: thy iniquity shall be punished in them to[5] the third and fourth generation: this thou knowest: how darest thou look up into heaven? Thou hast no dwelling there: thou shalt have no place in the tabernacle of the Highest: this thou knowest. Because thou robbest the poor, deceivest the simple, and eatest up the widows' houses; therefore shall thy children be naked and beg their bread; therefore shalt thou and thy riches perish together.

But Christ saith: "The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live." John v. Zacheus was a receiver of tribute, and was rich when he received Jesus to abide in his house: "He stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken from any man by forged cavillation, I restore him fourfold. Then Jesus said unto him, This day salvation is come into this house; forasmuch as he also is become the son of Abraham." Luke xix. God may make his word work so in the hearts of usurers, that they may also receive Jesus, and forsake usury, and restore fourfold if they have deceived any, and so may also receive salvation. Let us increase in that usury which is to the glory of God. He hath given us knowledge and many excellent graces. Let us put them forth, let us occupy that talent which he hath left us. He will return: the day of his coming is at hand. He will require his talents: we must answer them. Let us restore them with increase, that our service may be allowed, and we received into his tabernacle.

Ver. 7. *For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.*
8. *He therefore that despiseth these things despiseth not man, but God, who hath even given you his holy Spirit.*

Let every man possess his vessel in holiness and honour; for this is the will of God: hereto are ye called. "I am the Lord your God," saith he; "be sanctified therefore, and be holy; for I am holy." Lev. xi. So our Saviour to his disciples: "Be merciful[6], as your Father also is merciful." Luke vi. Unmercifulness, cruelty, uncleanness, fornication, usury, and such-like, are not of God. They answer not their calling, that commit any manner of sin. "If any man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Lord." 2 Tim. ii.

It behoveth every man, when he is in secret and alone, to bethink himself whereto God hath called him. The magistrate thus: I am called to do justice, to be merciful to the widow, to have pity upon the fatherless: I am the minister of God for the wealth of them that do well, and to take vengeance on him that doth[7] evil. The minister and preacher thus: I have charge given me to lead the people of God to the way of righteousness: I am called to do the work of an evangelist, to preach the word in season and out of season, to shew the

[4] Dost, 1594.]
[5] Unto, 1594.]
[6] Be ye merciful, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[7] Doeth, 1583, 1584.]

people their offences, and to reprove them with all earnestness, to teach them
1 Cor. ix. that they deny all ungodliness, and turn wholly unto God; "for necessity is laid upon me; and wo is me if I preach not the gospel." The subject must thus think with himself: I owe obedience to my sovereign; I must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. If I resist, I resist the ordinance of God, and shall receive to myself damnation.

It behoveth all men, when they feel themselves led to any evil purpose, to bethink themselves: Alas! what mean I? why should I do it? This is not the will of God: God hath not called me to uncleanness, but unto holiness: God is my God: I am his creature, I must serve him with my heart. "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is upon them that do evil."

"He therefore that despiseth these things despiseth not man, but God." Alas! what are we? we are but unprofitable servants: we are the voice of the[1] crier in the wilderness. By us it hath pleased God to make his name known through all the world: we are your brethren, and your servants for Christ's sake. We are your helpers, by whom you[2] are called to the faith. We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ. We speak unto you in the name of God. If you despise us in doing this service toward[3] you, you despise not us, but you despise God, who hath sent us; and God can in due time avenge your unthankfulness.

"Who hath given you his holy Spirit." You have received the Spirit of wisdom and understanding: you know these things are true, you cannot deny them. If you shall now offend, you shall offend against God's Spirit, which is given unto you.

Ver. 9. *But as touching brotherly love you need not that I write unto you; for ye are taught of God to love one another.*

Love is the bond of unity, of perfection, of knowledge, of wisdom, and of all godliness. Paul, the more to set forth the sweetness and comfort thereof, calleth it "brotherly love." Brethren are bound to love one another. God, and nature, and bringing up do bind them. Many brethren have endangered themselves to save their brethren. It were a monster in nature, that one brother should kill another. You are all brethren, and have one Father, even God. How then can you hate and trouble your brethren? Hereto Christ calleth us:
John xiii. "A new commandment give I you, That ye love one another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Hereof the prophet David saith:
Psal. cxxxiii. "Behold, how good and how comely a thing it is, brethren to dwell even together." There is peace, there is comfort, there is heaven, there is God himself among them. This is the duty of the children of God, to love together, as the parts and members of one body, as brethren, and as the sons of one father.

Here let us consider one great disorder among us that are Christians. If an action or matter at law grow between man and man, then forthwith is the bond of brotherly love broken: they are no longer friends. If he stand against him in suit of law, he will have no more to do with him, will not pray with him, nor drink in his company, nor talk together with him. Whensoever he seeth him, his heart riseth at him, as if he did see his enemy. This should not be so; it is a disorder in christian behaviour.

Next after the gospel, the law is the greatest comfort that God hath given to the sons of men. It remedieth injuries, and giveth to every man that is his. He that goeth to a judge, goeth to him that is the minister of justice, and that sitteth[4] in the room of God to do right: for the seat of justice is the seat of God. If there were no law to be ministered, but every man might do what he would, and reckon all his own, whatsoever he could get or come by, what a life would it be! How should any man be master of that he hath? Who can imagine what injuries, cruelties, murders, and streams of blood would fol-

[1 A, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[2 Ye, 1594.]
[3 Towards, 1594.]
[4 Sits, 1594.]

low? Thanks be unto[5] God, who in mercy hath given us a law and justice to guide us by.

Let us be content to seek help at this law without wrath or malice: let us come to it as we would come to[6] our father. Let us ask counsel at it as we would at the mouth of God. As every man thinketh[7] it lawful to use his own, or to require his own; so let every man be content to leave that he holdeth, when law saith it is none of his. The law is no breach of charity: it is the bond and knot to keep men in love. A son may attempt law with his father, yet do it in such duty as becometh a son. A subject may attempt law with his prince, and yet love and reverence his prince as becometh[8]. Who useth the law otherwise doth abuse it. All strife and contention must be laid aside. Love may avoid wrong, love may require right, love may stand forth and seek defence before a judge. Love is patient and gentle, it envieth not, it doth not boast itself, it is not puffed up, it disdaineth not, it seeketh not her own things, it is not provoked to anger, it thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but it rejoiceth in the truth. It suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth all things. Such is the nature of love, such it is wheresoever it is, when it seeketh right, when it defendeth itself against challenge of doing wrong.

Ver. 10. *Yea, and that thing verily you do unto all the brethren which are throughout all Macedonia; but we beseech you, brethren, that you increase more and more.*

You love the brethren, not only those that are with you, and whom you know; but all, whatsoever they be, and in what place soever, though ye know them not. Some love none but such as are of their sort and devotion and sect and fellowship. If any be of another mind than they are of, they cannot love them. This love is not of God: it is carnal, and proceedeth but from the flesh. Whosoever carrieth the name of Christ is our brother: we must love him for Christ's sake. Christian love doth love those that are enemies and do not love us: it blesseth them that speak ill of us, and prayeth for them that persecute us.

O that these words of Paul might truly be spoken of us! "As touching brotherly love we need not write unto you." O that God would touch our hearts with his holy Spirit, that we were all so knit together and loved one another as he hath commanded us! Then should we feel that peace that passeth all understanding: then would it appear how joyful a thing it were for brethren to dwell together in unity: then should we taste of the comfort of the sons of God. And, alas! what is our life or what is our profession without love? What is the sun without light? What is the fire without heat? "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels," saith the apostle, "and have not love, I am as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal. And though I had the gift of prophecy, and knew all secrets, and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and had not love, I were nothing." 1 Cor. xiii.

"That you increase more and more." Men of this world seek to increase in their wealth and riches. They never think their store so great but it may abide to have more laid to it. Wicked men stand not at a stay, they cease not to do ill[9], they heap sin upon sin, and draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin with cart-ropes, until they come to the height and extremity of wickedness. Do you increase in every thing that is good. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." A child that stayeth at one stature, and never groweth bigger, is a monster. The ground that prospereth not, and is not fruitful, is cursed. The tree that is barren, and proveth not, is cut down. This must all know, men and women and babes and infants. They must all walk on still in the way of godliness, and increase and go forward therein. Unless we go forward, we slip back. If we wax weary to do the work of God, God will forsake us. 1 Cor. iv.

---

[5] To, 1594.]
[6] Unto, 1594.]
[7] Thinks, 1594.]
[8] As it becometh, 1594.]
[9] It, 1594.]

Ver. 11. *And that ye study to be quiet, and to meddle with your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you;*
12. *That ye may behave yourselves honestly towards them that are without, and that nothing be lacking unto you.*

Let no man among you be a busy-body in other men's matters. Be not eavesdroppers, and hearkening what is said or done in your neighbour's house. Wide ears and long tongues dwell together. They that love to hear all that may be told them do also love to blab out all they hear.

Study to be quiet, and meddle with your own business. The church of God is as the body of man. In a man's body every part hath his several office, the arm, the leg, the hand, and foot, do that whereto they are appointed; and, doing the same, they live together in peace. But if the arm would take in hand to do that is the duty of the leg, or the foot that is the part of the hand, it would breed great disorder in the whole body. So, if every man in the church of God seek to do that to them belongeth, the church shall flourish and be in quiet: but when every man will be busy, and take upon him to look into other; when every private man will govern, and the subject take in hand to rule the prince; all must needs come to wrack and decay. Busy-bodies ever find fault with their brethren and neighbours, with the state, the clergy, the commonwealth, the church, the government, and with the prince. They are an unquiet kind of men, ever looking for that they may mislike, and never contented. From these men come privy whisperings, slander, backbiting, mutinies, conspiracies, treasons, deposing of princes, and utter decay of commonwealths. These are the fruits of curiosity.

"And to work with your own hands." God hath ordained that all sorts of men should labour, and eat their bread in the sweat of their brows. And here the apostle doth not only charge them to work, but that they work with their own hand[1]. Thou that hast hands and settest them not to work, thou that abusest the grace of God by thy idleness, shalt give an account thereof. What filleth your prisons? What dubbeth and enricheth your gallows, but idleness? When your children come to these places, and see they must live no longer, whereof complain they, but of idleness? then they curse the time, and their father and mother that brought them up in idleness.

Though kings and princes and counsellors and preachers and magistrates dig not and plough not, nor do any handy-work, yet they break not therefore the commandment of God; they break not this rule of the apostle. The head walketh not as the feet, nor travaileth as the hands; yet is it not idle. There is no labour comparable to the labour of a prince: day and night, sleeping and waking, he is full of cares and full of pains. The nobleman and magistrate, if he regard his country, be careful for the laws, aid the poor, repress[2] tyranny, comfort the weak, punish the wicked, is not idle. The minister, if he apply his book, be diligent in prayer, exhort and teach publicly and privately, is not idle. These labours are greater than all the labours of the body.

Ver. 13. *I would not, brethren, have you ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not even as other which have no hope.*
14. *For if we believe that Jesus is dead, and is risen, even so them that sleep with Jesus will God bring with him.*

Herein standeth the comfort of christian religion. Were it not for the hope of the second life, the godly in this world were in worse case than the dumb and brute beasts. When Christ appointed his disciples to go and preach, he said: "I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves." They will scourge you: you shall be hated of all men. As the gospel increased in any place, these words were fufilled. The godly were put to death for the name of Christ. The father did see his son slain before his face, and the son his father cruelly tormented. Hence grew great mourning and heaviness. O, said they, he was a reverend sage

---

[1 Hands, 1584, 1594.] [2 Redress, 1584, 1594.]

father; O, he was a wise young man, learned, zealous, and a great stay in the church. Why would God take him before his time? There is not now any one left, whom we may behold or hear or follow. We are left comfortless and without hope. After this sort it is likely the Thessalonians mourned, when they beheld the persecution of the church of God among them. Herein they grew towards mistrust, and to be like the heathen, which had no hope. St Paul thought good to reform this error. And, because this abuse grew of ignorance, for that they knew not the happy estate of such which die in the Lord, he saith: "I would not have you ignorant" what is become of them, and what God hath done for them. He hath tried them as gold, and hath made them worthy for himself. Therefore you ought rather to rejoice: there is no cause at all of mourning. When Christ saw his disciples heavy and sad because of his departure, he said: "If ye loved me, ye would verily rejoice, because I said, I go to the Father; for my Father is greater than I." I shall sit at the right hand of my Father in glory: then shall every knee bow unto me, and every tongue shall confess my greatness. Therefore, if ye loved me, you would rejoice in my behalf. It is ignorance that maketh you heavy, because you know not whither I go. John xiv.

When Joseph was sold into Egypt, good father Jacob thought he was dead, and therefore mourned day and night. Nothing could comfort him. Alas! saith he, that I have lived to see this day: O Joseph my son, my son Joseph, O that I might give my life to redeem thee! Now shall my hoary head go down to the grave in heaviness. But when he heard that Joseph lived, and did see him with his eyes; when he did see that he was a prince, next in place to the king, and had all the country at commandment; then he knew he had mourned without a cause: then his heart leaped within him, his eyes gushed out with water, he wept for joy. Ignorance, as we see, made him heavy; knowledge of the truth as it was rejoiced his heart, and made him glad.

There is great error and darkness and ignorance in man's life. We rejoice when we have cause to mourn, and mourn many times when we have cause to rejoice. Therefore he saith: "I would not have you ignorant." Be not deceived. God hath given you eyes to see the right way: God hath given you ears to hear counsel, and a heart to know reason, and to understand and judge. God hath given you the scriptures, and by them the knowledge of his will. He hath given you a face to look up to heaven, and the Spirit of life hath he poured into you, that you should not by any means be deceived.

"That ye sorrow not as other that have no hope." He doth not forbid natural affection. Our parents and our children are dear unto us. They are our flesh and blood, and the chief and principal parts of our body. Any part of our body cannot be cut off, but we shall feel it. The father, if he feel not the death of his son, or the son, if he feel not the death of his father, and have not a deep feeling of it, he is unnatural. David mourned for Jonathan. The whole land mourned for Josias. Paul saith: God have "mercy upon Epaphroditus (he was sick, very near unto death), and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." If God had taken Epaphroditus out of life, no doubt Paul would have sorrowed. What need more examples? Christ mourned for Lazarus, and shed tears for him. "Then said the Jews, Behold how[3] he loved him." John xi.

We are not therefore forbidden to mourn over the dead; but to mourn in such sort as the heathen did we are forbidden. They, as they did neither believe in God nor in Christ, so had they no hope of the life to come. When a father saw his son dead, he thought he had been dead for ever. He became heavy, changed his garment, delighted in no company, forsook his meat, famished himself, rent his body, cursed his fortune, cried out of his gods[4]. O my dear son (saith he), how beautiful, how learned and wise and virtuous wast thou! Why shouldest thou die so untimely? why have I offered sacrifice, and done service to my gods? they have made me a good recompence. I will trust them no more, I will no more call upon them. Thus they fell into despair, and spake blasphemies.

[3 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609, omit *how*.] [4 Goods, 1609, 1611.]

Therefore saith Paul, you may mourn as did the holy men of God; but in such sort as the unfaithful sorrow for their dead you may not mourn. You are the sons of the holy fathers: fashion not yourselves therefore like to the heathens[1]: do not as they did, neither in feasts, nor in marriages, nor in your attire, nor in your mourning, nor[2] in your pastimes. But behave yourselves as becometh the children of the Most High[3].

But why may not Christians mourn and continue in heaviness? Because it is no new thing for a man to die; because he goeth the way of all flesh. Again, they that depart this life are not dead, they are not gone for ever, as the heathen imagined. They are laid down to take rest quietly for a time. The death of a godly man is nothing else but a sleep. So saith our Saviour of
John xi. Lazarus: "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth:" "howbeit, Jesus spake of his death."
Acts vii. So it is[4] said of Stephen: "And they stoned Stephen, who called on God, and said, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge: and, when he had thus spoken, he slept." Whosoever dieth in the peace of conscience, he may say, I will lie down and take my rest. Thus doth the man of God repose himself. For Christ is unto him both in life and in death advantage. He saith with the apostle:
Rom. xiv. "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore or die, we are the Lord's." He goeth into his grave as into a bed; he forsaketh this life as if he lay down to sleep. He shall shake off his sleep, rouse himself, and rise again. As we wake out of sleep we know not how, so shall we rise again though we know not how. As we are much refreshed, and our bodies strengthened by sleep; so shall we rise again in much more strength, and our corruption shall put on incorruption, and our mortality immortality. So often then as we go to our beds, let us think of our resurrection from death. Who is sorry to go into his bed? What father lamenteth to see his child lie quietly and take his rest? Why then should he so mourn for his death? wherein God dealeth mercifully with him, and doth translate him to the glory of the sons of God; where is no death nor fear; but we shall be made like to the angels of God.

The body rotteth in the ground; yet God preserveth it, that it shall not perish. His spirit shall return to it again, and it shall live. God is able to bring this to pass. He hath promised so to do. He hath done it already, and will do
Luke vii. it again. "When Christ came near to the gate of the city of Naim, there was a dead man carried out, the only-begotten son of his mother, which was a widow; and much people of the city was with her; and when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he went and touched the coffin; and they that bare it stood still; and he said, I say unto thee, young man, arise. And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak; and he delivered him to his mother." Lazarus was laid in his grave, he had been four days dead, his
John xi. body did stink: yet, when Christ "cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth; then he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with bands, and his face was bound with a napkin: Jesus said unto[5] them, Loose him, and let him go."
Matt. xxvii. St Matthew saith: "The graves did open themselves; and many bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." These few stories witness unto us the rising again of our bodies unto life. But what do I speak of the bodies of men? They are the houses of God, the temples of the Holy Ghost: God hath appointed unto them a kingdom.

Who considereth not the swallows and other birds? They sleep all the winter long. But when the spring cometh, they come to life again, and are seen abroad. What creature so little, so vile, and so little worth as the fly? yet by those so base and contemptible things doth God teach us to know ourselves and our estate. The greatest part of the winter they are as dead. They creep into chinks and corners, as into their grave, and lie there without life, without feeling.

---

[1] Heathen, 1594.]
[2] And, 1594.]
[3] Highest, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[4] Is it, 1594.]
[5] To, 1594.]

Prove it who list, he shall see it so. The body is dead, the wings moulted. Yet the very same fly, so little and so vile, shall be restored again at the spring, and shall live in the warm weather, and have the same wings, and the same feet, and the same body. If we be hard of belief to give credit to the word of God, these are manifest proofs to teach us the resurrection of our bodies. If God do so much for the flies, which are so vile a creature; how much rather will he quicken us again, whom he hath chosen out of this world to live with him for ever!

The word of God is almighty. He shall but speak; and it shall be done. The trumpet shall sound; and the dead shall return to life. "I am sure," saith Job, "that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh; whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me. This is my hope laid up in my bosom." Saint Paul willeth Timothy never to forget his[6] doctrine: "Remember that Jesus Christ, made of the seed of David, 2 Tim. ii.
was raised again from the dead according to my gospel." This is the foundation, the beginning, and the ending of religion. "If the Spirit of him that raised up Rom. viii.
Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because that his Spirit dwelleth in you."

This is an article of our faith. We believe the resurrection of the body, even of this body in which we live, and which we carry about with us. All flesh shall see the salvation of our God. This is the hope of Christians, the resurrection of their flesh. "Set your affections on things which are above, not on things Col. iii.
which are on the earth. For ye are dead," saith the apostle, "and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, which is our life, shall appear, then shall ye appear with him in glory."

Therefore let not your hearts be dull through unbelief. As God was able to save the bodies of his servants, that they were not hurt in the fire; as he was able to keep Jonas safe in the whale's belly; so can he preserve our bodies safe in the earth. Yea, much better: because the fire naturally consumeth, and the fish's belly destroyeth those things which they[7] raven; but the earth naturally preserveth that which is earthly[8].

As our God is of power to divide the waters, to make the sea stand like a wall, and give passage to his people; as he can change the course of the heavens, and make the sun go back; as he can draw water out of the hard rocks; so is he of power to raise our dead bodies again unto life. If he made the earth, the water, the air, the heavens, and all creatures in them, of nothing; he is much more able to restore again those bodies which have been. "We look," Phil. iii.
saith Paul, "for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ; who shall change our vile body, and make it like his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself." The prophet Esay comforteth the people of God in their afflictions: "Thy dead men shall live, even with my body Isai. xxvi.
shall they rise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is the[9] dew of herbs; and the earth shall cast out the dead." Again: "The earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain." Therefore saith our Saviour: "This is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he John vi.
hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." Again he saith: "The hour shall come, in the which all that are in the John v.
graves shall hear his voice. And they shall come forth that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation." And again: "I am the resurrection and the life: John xi.
he that believeth in me, though he were dead, shall live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

For, if we believe that Jesus is dead, and is risen; that he was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification; if we believe that he is ascended up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God his Father; he will also raise up our mortal bodies, and bring us with him. "Now Christ 1 Cor. xv.

[6] This, 1584, 1594.]
[7] 1594 omits *they*.]
[8] Earthy, 1584, 1594.]
[9] Is as the, 1584, 1594.]

is risen from the dead, and was made the first-fruits of them that sleep." He is our head, we are his body: "we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone." Rom. viii. He hath given us his Spirit to dwell in us. "But, if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his." Christ our head liveth. His body then John xii. cannot be dead. "Where I am," saith he, "there shall also my servant be." Rom. vi. "Wherefore, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall live also with him."

What then shall become of the infidels, which have no faith, which have not the Spirit of God? Shall not they rise again? Yes, verily. They shall rise, but not with Christ. They shall not rise the resurrection of the just. Some shall rise unto[1] life, some unto[1] death; some to salvation, others to damnation; 2 Cor. v. some to glory, others to shame. "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil." The wicked shall rise up again with their bodies, and their portion shall be with the devil and his angels: they shall come forth of their graves, to the resurrection of condemnation; their body and soul shall be cast into hell-fire. Their worm shall never die; their fire shall not be quenched. It had been better for them they had never been born.

Ver. 15. *For this say we unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which live and are remaining in the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them that sleep.*

16. *For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first.*

This that we declare unto you is not of ourselves. It is the truth of God, it shall stand good and be found true for ever. God will raise our bodies out of the grave, and restore them from death to life. You may not reason how or in what order this shall be done, or who shall be the first, or the second, or the third, that shall rise up in the resurrection. Such questions are unfit, and not to 1 Cor. xv. be moved. "We shall all[2] be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." At that hour some shall be alive, and some shall be dead. For he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. "We that are remaining in the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them that sleep." Neither is their part better in the resurrection that shall then be found alive, nor their part worse that have been dead many years before. For they which were dead shall as soon be partakers of the glory of the sons of God as the other.

Touching the state of men that shall live in the end of the world Christ Matt. xxiv. saith: "As the days of Noah, so likewise shall the coming of the Son of man be." I doubt not but you remember the story, what dreadful plague of rain and tempest fell, when all the world was drowned and destroyed with water. Vice and ungodliness increased, and all flesh had corrupt[3] his way upon earth. They had no shame: there was no fear of God before their eyes. God's wrath was kindled against them. He sent Noah, a preacher of righteousness, to reform them, to tell them of the destruction at hand, that they might repent and be saved. But they regarded it not. They laughed Noah to scorn, and grew desperate, and continued in sin. Suddenly all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. As they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, building, purchasing, stirring and travailing[4]; as they were in the midst of their joys and travails[4] and pleasures, the rain came upon them, and the floods grew so great that it destroyed the whole world, except Noah and a few of his company. Their lands, their goods, cities, castles, nor any other their pleasure or wealth could save them; so shall it be in the coming of Christ.

As it was in the days of Lot, and as it befel to Sodom and Gomorrha—they

---

[1] To, 1594.]
[2] 1594 omits *all.*]
[3] Corrupted, 1594.]
[4] So 1583, 1584; the rest, *travel.*]

lived and increased in filthiness: their hearts were blind, and regarded no counsel: their bodies were filthy; their souls, their lives, their houses and cities were full of filthiness: the angel of God departed from them: Lot went out from among them; and fire came down from heaven and consumed them to ashes, and carried them down quick into hell: there was no father left to lament his child, no child left to lament his father—so shall it be at the coming of Christ. He shall come as a thief, suddenly, when no man looketh for his coming; he shall come at such season when men's hearts will be asleep, and think not of him.

St Peter saith: "There shall come in the last days mockers, which will walk after their lusts, and say, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers died all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation." They scorn the threatenings of God's judgment. When shall the world come to an end? We have winter and summer, rain, snow, day and night, as before. The sun keepeth his course; the floods run; the trees bear fruit; all things are as they have been. O, saith Peter, know this, that God hath made the heaven and earth, and all the furniture in them. They are his creatures: he doth hold them up and preserve them by the power of his word. When God shall withdraw his word, they shall decay and have an end. As for our Lord, he shall come, and not tarry: at his coming heaven shall depart away as a scroll that is rolled, the element shall melt with heat, and the earth with the works that are therein shall be burnt up and consumed before his face. Deceive not yourselves with lying words. For when you say, Peace, peace, and all things are safe, then shall sudden destruction come upon you. "Then two men shall be in the fields: the one shall be received, and the other refused. Two women shall be grinding at the mill: the one shall be received, and the other refused." "So shall also the coming of the Son of man be." 2 Pet. iii. Matt. xxiv.

The number of the faithful that shall remain at his coming shall not be many. So saith Christ: "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" St John, prophesying of that day, saith: "The sun was as black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon was like blood." The beauty of the church shall be defaced: the light of the gospel shall be put out. Then shall few be left of those that shall behold the glory of God. These shall give witness unto the truth. And albeit they be but few, yet are they enow[5] to condemn the ungodliness of the wicked. We shall not go in routs[6]; for we shall be but few. We shall then be in the body, and live in this world, and look up, and see these things; yet, when the Lord shall come, we shall not prevent them that sleep. Although we live, and they were dead, yet shall they be as ready as we. Luke xviii. Rev. vi.

Why? "For the Lord himself shall descend with a shout," &c. Here is laid before us the true manner of the terrible judgment of God. For our better understanding, let us compare heaven with earth, and the judgment of God with the judgment of men. The judges sit on high, accompanied with noblemen and justices, attended on with constables and bailiffs, and the state and presence of the country: the thief is brought forth pinioned and bound in chains and fetters. The poor wretch standeth in great fear: his conscience accuseth him, and saith, Thou didst steal, thou art worthy to die. The voice of the judge is as a blast of thunder; the face of the judge terrible to him as hell-fire. But the innocent, that is wrongfully imprisoned and hath not offended, he seeth himself clear, his conscience excuseth him, and therefore rejoiceth at the coming of the judges. He thought it long before they came. These, saith he, will strike off my shackles and set me at liberty. Their voice unto him is as the voice of life: he beholdeth them; and they are as the angels of God.

Such shall be the shew and sight of the Son of God: he shall come down with majesty from heaven; the trumpet of God shall sound, and be heard[7] from the one end of the heaven to the other; and whosoever shall hear it shall quake for fear. Then shall he be the Judge over all flesh. Then he shall shew himself to be King of kings, and Lord of lords. Then shall he not come in humility,

[5] Enough, 1583, 1584.]
[6] In routs: in crowds.]
[7] 1594 omits *heard.*]

meekness, and mercy; but with dread and terror of judgment and justice: not with twelve poor apostles; but with twelve thousand angels to attend upon him: not in the preaching of the gospel, and calling sinners to repentance; but in the sound of a trumpet, wherewith all the corners of the earth shall be amazed. Then shall he not say, "Come unto me, all ye that travail and be loaden[1]; and I will refresh you": "I am sent to the lost sheep of Israel." He shall not say, "Father forgive them; for they know not what they do." But, You have been ashamed of me and of my word before men; therefore now will I be ashamed of you before my heavenly Father.

Then shall they that despise[2] the word of God know what they despised; and the blasphemers shall reap the fruit of their blasphemy. Then the careless shepherd, which hath not fed the Lord's sheep, but neglected them and left them at all adventures, which hath betrayed his flock, and given them to be a prey unto the wolf, shall receive a just reward for his treason. Then the adulterer, oppressor, and usurer, shall have their life laid open before them. Then
Rev. i. shall every eye see him. "They shall see him whom they pierced through:" they shall see his wounds, which they did not regard. They shall see his sword ready drawn to slay all his enemies, and shall fall down for fear of him that sitteth upon the throne, and of the Lamb.

But the hearts of the righteous shall rejoice. They shall lift up their heads, and see him in whom they have trusted. Then they shall say: "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it." "Come, let us rejoice unto the Lord;" "let us come before his face with praise; let us sing loud unto him with psalms." Such shall be the state and countenance and honour and majesty of our God, when he shall come down from heaven for our deliverance.

"And the dead in Christ shall rise first." The earth shall open and yield forth her dead bodies; that so they may be ready with us that remain to go before the presence of our Judge. "Which are dead in Christ." Who are they? They whom he chose out of this world, and which have chosen God for their portion; whom God hath sealed unto the day of redemption: which have said, "Christ is to me both in life and death advantage." And, "I live; not I now, but Christ liveth in me." And again: "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." Which say: I have bound myself to serve the Lord all the days of my life.

They are dead in Christ, which commend themselves wholly unto him, and say: "O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded." "I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ." "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast[3] redeemed me, O Lord of truth." To be short, whosoever liveth in the Lord, he dieth in the Lord. He in whom Christ liveth, which hath a taste and feeling of Christ in his heart; he that rejoiceth in Christ, and looketh for that blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ; he is a sheep of his pasture, he is a member of his body, he is the apple of his eye, he liveth and dieth in Christ. Blessed is he that so liveth and so dieth; for he shall rise with Christ in the resurrection of the righteous, and shall have his part in the land of the living.

Ver. 17. *Then shall we which live and remain be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.*

18. *Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words.*

We which shall see all these things shall also be caught up ourselves. But here you must note, that Paul speaketh not this of his own person, and of them that lived in his time, as if they should continue alive unto[4] the end, or that the world should have an end before they should die; but he sheweth what shall be the state of such whosoever shall then remain alive. And again, mark, that he saith not, We which live and remain shall die forthwith, or our bodies shall be turned into dust, and so our souls alone go to meet the Lord; but, Whether we be

---

[1] Laden, 1594.]
[2] Despised, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[3] Hath, 1611.]
[4] Until, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

standing or sitting, doing well or ill occupied, "we shall be caught up." For the trumpet shall suddenly blow; and then the dead shall rise, and we shall be changed. So saith St Paul: "Behold, I shew you a secret thing; We shall not all 1 Cor. xv. sleep, but we shall all be changed." In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye shall they that are dead arise; and we shall be changed. This our mortal body shall be changed, and shall put on immortality: this corruptible body shall be changed, and put on incorruption. Christ will change our earthly bodies to the likeness of his glorious heavenly body. Then shall our flesh be pure and heavenly and spiritual; and we shall be able to behold the glory of God. "Then 1 Cor. xv. shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up into victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

"To meet the Lord in the air," &c. This is a comfortable end of all troubles and persecutions which the godly suffer in this life, that they be received into the glory of God, and that both their body and soul doth live with him and enjoy his presence for ever. Then shall they eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God. "They shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat." "God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes." Then shall they feel those joys which "eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man." Such an end shall they have, whosoever fear the Lord.

"Comfort yourselves one another with these words." You see the turmoils and troubles of the world, what vexations and afflictions Satan raiseth up against all those that will live godly. Open and notorious sinners are forborne. Theft, adultery, usury, extortion, wilful murder, rebellion, treason, are many times pardoned and unpunished; but true religion, which is the turning from idols to serve the true and living God, and faith in Jesus Christ, that by him we shall be delivered from the wrath to come, findeth few friends, and seldom escapeth without strange and most cruel torments. What is this, but to crucify the Lord of glory, and to set Barabbas, a murderer, at liberty? David saith: "The kings of the Psal. ii. earth band themselves, and the princes are assembled together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed." They seek to spoil the vine of the Lord, and to destroy his little flock. They use all means to put out the light of the gospel. But be you of good cheer, continue you stedfast in the truth; your redemption is even at hand. You shall be caught up into[5] the clouds to meet the Lord, and so shall abide with him for ever. Let every neighbour comfort his neighbour, and every father his child; let us all one comfort another with these words.

CHAPTER V.

Ver. 1. *But of times and seasons, brethren, you have no need that I write unto you.*

2. *For ye yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night.*

3. *For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then shall come upon them sudden destruction, as the travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape.*

WHEN the disciples came unto Christ apart, and said, "Tell us when these Matt. xxiv. things shall be, and what sign shall be of thy coming, and of the end of the world? he answered, Take heed lest any man deceive you." "It is not for you Acts i. to know the time or the seasons[6], which the Father hath put in his own power." "For of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in Mark xiii. heaven, neither the Son himself, save the Father." Vex not your spirit in vain. Seek not for that you may not know; you shall not be able to find it.

Therefore saith Paul: I need not to[7] write of times and seasons in which these things shall be done. Yourselves have been taught the word of God: you

---

[5] In, 1584, 1594.]

[6] Times or the seasons, 1584; times or seasons, 1594.]

[7] 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609, omit *to*.]

have learned what his will is: you know the day of the Lord shall come upon you as a thief. And how cometh a thief? not in the day-time, not when a man hath company about him, not when he is watched; but in the night, in the darkness, when all light is out, when the goodman of the house taketh his rest, when the servants are asleep. Even so, when the light of the truth is taken away; when the heart of the goodman of the house is at rest, and his eyes are darkened that they cannot see, and all his senses drowned in worldly pleasures; when we care for nothing, and think of nothing; when we say, Peace and safety; then will the Son of man come to judgment, then shall destruction suddenly fall upon us. Therefore let us be ready; for in the hour that we think not will the Son of man come.

Mark that Paul saith: "Ye have no need that I write unto you of times and seasons;" and that our Saviour saith: "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons." What may we think then of them that write books and almanacks, and say, Such a year and at such a time Christ shall come; and with these speeches fray and mock the world? Paul was the apostle of Christ, an elect vessel of the Holy Ghost: he said, I have no need to write of it; you cannot know it. What need is there now that such books and pamphlets should be written? why should the world be troubled with such vanities?

Spare me your patience, and give me leave a little to deal with these wizards. Tell me, thou that dost measure and behold the compass of heaven, and markest the conjunctions and oppositions and aspects of the stars, and by that wisdom canst foretell the things that shall be done hereafter; where learnest thou this skill? how comest thou by this deep knowledge? Paul was taken up into the third heaven, and heard words which cannot be spoken, which are not lawful for man to utter; yet he knew not this secret, nor might not know it. What art thou then? art thou greater than the apostle of Christ? hast thou been taken up into some place higher than the third heaven? hast thou heard such words as are not lawful to utter? If it be so, why dost thou utter them? wilt thou take that upon thee which the holy apostle dareth not? art thou of God's privy council? The angels and archangels know not hereof; and shall we think that thou knowest it? Art thou wiser than an angel? Consider thyself; thou art a miserable man, thy breath fadeth as the smoke. Thou art nothing but dust and ashes: thou canst not attain to the knowledge hereof.

And what is that which thou boastest? the knowledge of that terrible day when all flesh shall appear before the Judge, even of that time which God hath put in his own power. O vain man, thou knowest not thine own day, thou knowest not when thy soul shall be taken from thee. By what helps and means camest thou unto this knowledge? By reading the writings of the apostles[1]? by reading the gospel of Christ, or any part of the word of God? No, God wot, thou hast no great skill in this learning. Thou hast it from Manilius[2], Maternus[3], Albumazar[4], or Haly[5]. What is Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, and Haly? What are they, but heathens, painims, and infidels? Were they not void of all knowledge of God? were they not the enemies of the cross of Christ? These never believed in God; how could they then know that day when he would judge[6] the world? Let thy common reason reform thee. Can Saturn and Mars know this, when the angels of God cannot know it?

To what end write they thus? to give a token of their knowledge? Nay, hereby they proclaim and publish their folly and want of knowledge. These two hundred years there have ever been some which have adventured to tell such news, and to say: In this year or that year you shall have dooms-day. Such a day will Christ come to judgment; and the world shall have an end. They have appointed many such years and days and hours. The years be

---

[1 1594 omits the clause *by reading the writings of the apostles.*]

[2 Marcus Manilius (date uncertain) wrote a Latin poem on Astronomy.]

[3 Firmicus Maternus lived under the sons of Constantine. The books on Astronomy, printed by Aldus in 1499, attributed to him, are assigned by some to Julius Firmicus, who was his contemporary.]

[4 Albumazar was an Arabian physician of the ninth century.]

[5 Albohazen Haly, also an Arabian, whose books 'de Judiciis Astrorum' were translated into Latin, and published at Basil in 1551.]

[6 Come to judge, 1594.]

gone, the days be past, and the hours be slipped away; but the world abideth, and giveth witness of their folly.

But the meaning of these men is good. Hereby they move the people to repentance: for, when men think the end of the world is at hand, they will bear the less affection to[7] the things of this world. This is not the way to teach repentance and amendment of life. The people may not be taught by lies and fables. If this had been good for them, God himself would have used it. God grant them grace to repent, which thus presume of knowledge and reach so high, and yet know nothing!

Let us yet reason further with them. How have they this knowledge? of certainty, or by conjecture? If of certainty, then it must needs be so: it cannot fail, nothing can let it. But you will say, it is a conjecture; it may so be, and it is likely; for such a day shall be a conjunction of Saturn and Mars in a fiery house; and therefore all things shall be consumed with fire. Alas! what hath Saturn or Mars to do with the day of the Lord? They are but creatures, they are no gods. They are stars made to give[8] us light; why should they lead us into darkness? In the day of the Lord they shall be melted and perish with fire. Why then trouble they the world with such vanities, and set those things down for truth, whereof they have no certainty, but only a guess and conjecture?

And what time chose they to cast abroad these news? the same in which the gospel, through the mercy of God, is well known of most men. Even now tell they these tales, when all men know that Christ saith, the angels in heaven know not of that day and hour. The angels behold the face of God, and stand in his presence; yet know they not the day of the Lord. This is a secret which[9] God revealeth not unto[10] any.

Children can reprove this folly in them, and say: *Mitte arcana Dei, cœlumque inquirere quid sit:* "Seek not to know the secrets of God, nor what manner thing[11] the heaven is." Know thyself, that thou art but a mortal man, crawling on the ground like a worm. He that will stare upon the sun may be blind and lose his eyes. God hath given thee knowledge in measure; thou canst not know as much as thou wouldest. Know that is fit for thee to know, and speak that is lawful to be spoken. Think of the commandments of God to follow them. Search not into his works to be curious in them. For he that is curious in searching the majesty of God shall be oppressed and confounded by his glory.

Thus much we may well know, that the Lord will come; that all flesh shall appear before him; that the world, the heaven, the earth, the sun, and the moon shall have an end; that the day of the Lord shall come suddenly, as a thief in the night. This warning God hath given us, that we should not be taken unawares[12]; but that we repent, and stand in readiness, and watch, and pray, that we may be caught up into the clouds to meet our Redeemer.

Ver. 4. *But you, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should come on you as it were a thief.*

5. *Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night, neither of darkness.*

6. *Therefore let us not sleep, as do other; but let us watch and be sober.*

7. *For they that sleep sleep in the night, and they that be*[13] *drunken are drunken in the night:*

8. *But let us which are of the day be sober, putting on the breast-plate of faith and love, and the hope of salvation for an helmet.*

9. *For God hath not appointed us unto wrath, but to obtain salvation by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ;*

---

[7] Of, 1584, 1594.]
[8] For to give, 1594.]
[9] That, 1594.]
[10] To, 1594.]
[11] Manner of thing, 1594.]
[12] Unwares, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[13] Are, 1594.]

10. *Which died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.*

Your conversation is in heaven, from whence you look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ. Ye were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord: walk as children of light, approving that which is pleasing to the Lord. That day shall be dreadful, and come suddenly upon the wicked; but to you it shall not seem sudden, which fear the Lord, and put your trust in him, and take all care to be in readiness at his coming. Arm yourselves strongly: the enemy seeketh to overthrow you. Your enemy is the devil with all his force. Your strength standeth not in your own prowess or manhood, but in the mighty power of God: put on therefore the breast-plate of faith and love: he that believeth shall be saved, he that abideth in love abideth in God, and whosoever putteth his trust in him shall not be confounded.

Here I may take occasion to say somewhat of the troubles of war, how Satan seeketh by it to disquiet the church of God. Who hath not heard what force is this day raised in this realm[1]? who hath not heard of it? but let it not trouble you. God will turn all to his glory. I love not to speak of such things: yet somewhat I must speak thereof; the time enforceth me.

This is the first disturbance and breach of that blessed peace in which God hath so long and so quietly preserved this realm, since the time that her majesty came to the crown. It giveth great occasion to the enemy to break in upon us: it is the spoiling of our country. The barbarous soldiers rush into men's houses, and take out what they list. They draw their sword, bend their force, join themselves to war against the Lord, and against his anointed. They have torn and defaced and burnt in fire the holy bible, the gospel of our salvation, and would set up the loathsome service of the mass.

What hath the word of God offended? why should it be torn in pieces? why should it be burnt? what word is in it which is not the word of life? it is the power of God unto salvation to them that believe. And where should the word of God have place, where should it be heard, but in the church of God? O cursed hands that so despitefully rent it! Wo worth that unhappy fire that burnt it!

As for the mass, would God they that so much desire it knew what it is! Would God they knew how the people of God are mocked by it, and how the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ is blasphemed by it! would God they knew how grievously God is offended with them in this thing, wherein they think they please him so highly! But the mass and God's word cannot dwell in one house together; the one is so contrary to the other.

God forgive them[2], and lay it not to their charge. For they know not what they do. They are driven[3] on to work the things which others have most wickedly devised. There is no doubt but God will confound their enterprise: for this is his own cause, this quarrel is picked against his church, and against the knowledge and setting forth of his gospel, and therefore against the setting forth of his glory. Only let us lift up our hands unto[4] heaven, and call for help from above. Let us say unto him: "Rise up for our succour, and redeem us for thy mercy's[5] sake." Let us say: "They have cast thy sanctuary into the fire, and rased it to[6] the ground, and have destroyed the dwelling-place of thy name." "Arise, O God, maintain thine own cause: remember thy daily reproach by the foolish man." Let us say: Save, O Lord, queen ELIZABETH thy servant: establish that good thing which thou hast begun: open the eyes of all people, that they may see thy saving health, and enjoy it through hearing thy gospel, which thou hast made known unto[7] us: save thy people, which trusteth in thee; and break the cords of the wicked in sunder. Let us com-

Psal. xliv. Psal. lxxiv.

[1] The northern rebellion, in 1569, under the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland is intended. See Strype, Annals, Vol. I. chap. liv.]

[2] Forgive it them, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[3] Drawn, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[4] Pure hands into, 1583, 1584, 1594; pure hands unto, 1609.]

[5] Mercy, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[6] Unto, 1594.]

[7] To, 1594.]

fort ourselves with these words, that "God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ." He hath overcome the world: let us be of good cheer. And let us walk as the children of light: let us walk honestly as in the day. Then, "whether we wake or sleep," whether we live or die, we shall "live together with him."

Ver. 11. *Wherefore exhort one another, and edify one another, even as ye do.*

This is the bond of true love and christian friendship, that every man be careful of his brother as of himself; that every man exhort and teach the things that are good, and rebuke others in ill; that every man seek to bring home the lost sheep, and to restore him to his Master. Therefore Christ saith: "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his faults between him and thee alone: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother." For what knowest thou whether thou shalt save thy brother? "Brethren," saith St James, "if any of you hath erred from the truth, and some man hath converted him, let him know that he which hath[8] converted the sinner from going astray out of his way shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins." Matt. xviii. James v.

Therefore saith the apostle: "Exhort one another, and edify one another." Let the father exhort his son: O son, walk uprightly before God, live honestly and virtuously in the sight of all men, do those things that are good: thou art the child of God; be holy in spirit and holy in body, because he is holy. Say to the adulterer: O brother, be not deceived. Whosoever is an adulterer hath no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God: God hath said of them that are such, They shall not enter into my rest. Say to the swearer: O take not the name of God in vain; "for God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain." "He that sweareth, and nameth God continually, he[9] shall not be faultless. A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with wickedness; and the plague shall never go from his house," nor from his cattle, nor from his corn, nor from his servants, nor from his children, nor from himself. His house shall be full of plagues. Ecclus. xxiii.

Say to the usurer: O hear the voice of the Lord: thus saith the Lord, before whom thou shalt stand to give an account of those things which thou hast done in this life: "Thou shalt not give thy money to usury." He that careth not for these words, but doth[10] otherwise, shall not escape[11] unpunished. Say to the rich man: O put not your trust in riches. Lay up your treasure in heaven: lay it up in the bosom of the poor; and it shall make intercession for thee. Put thy trust in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy. Thy house, thy land, thy money, thy gold and silver shall not continue: thou shalt go the way of all flesh; and thy riches shall not be able to deliver thee in the day of wrath.

Say to the learned man, to the wise man, and to the man whom God hath endued with worldly power: What hast thou that thou hast not received? Be not high-minded. It is the gift of God. It is not thine. Thou shalt give a reckoning of all that thou hast received. Abuse it not to the dishonour of God. It is of charity that I speak unto thee. Thou art my brother: God hath a care over thee: it is his will that one of us should exhort another. O why should thy life give offence to any man? why should the name of God be ill spoken of through thee? He hath made thee to be a vessel of honour: thou belongest to his fold; why shouldest thou be lost and perish in thy wilfulness?

Ver. 12. *Now we beseech you, brethren, that ye know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you;*

13. *That ye have them in singular love, for their work's sake. Be at peace among yourselves.*

---

[8] 1594 omits *hath.*]
[9] 1583, 1584, 1594 omit *he.*]
[10] Doeth, 1583, 1584.]
[11] Scape, 1583, 1584.]

They which exhort you and warn you and are over you in the Lord, they be shepherds and husbandmen and watchmen for you. They feed the Lord's flock, plough the Lord's ground, and watch the tower of the God of hosts. You are God's sheep: ye must be fed, else you cannot live. You are a field: you must be ploughed, else you will be overgrown with brambles, and stand unfruitful, and lie waste. You are the Lord's tower: you must be watched; else the enemy will break in upon you, and so you should be destroyed. They labour and travail in your behalf: they must give an account for your souls: they are ambassadors sent from God, they come to tell you the truth; they preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus: they speak to you in the name of the Lord. Although you reckon them fools, unlearned, and simple, they are the messengers of the great King, even of him that is Lord over all. St Paul
1 Cor. i. saith: "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." The heavenly treasure is brought to you in poor, broken, earthy vessels. The vessels are simple; but the treasure is heavenly. The messenger is weak; but his word is the word of life, which can cast down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God. Whatsoever they seem to you, they are the eyes of the church, and the mouth of God. Christ saith unto[1]
John xx. them whom he appointeth to this ministry: "As my Father sendeth me, so
Luke x. send I you." They have the same commission, be they never so poor. "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me," saith Christ.

Some there are that thus say: O that I might hear Christ, or Peter, or Paul! I would verily believe what they should preach. This is fondness and curious vanity. For, whensoever[2] thou dost hear the minister of God break unto thee the word of life, and teaching thee the truth of the gospel, thou hearest Paul, and Peter, and Christ himself. If thou despisest the word of God spoken unto thee by him, and the grace which God offereth thee by him, thou despisest Christ himself, and heapest up the heavy displeasure of God against thee. God will give thee over into a reprobate mind: thou shalt have eyes, yet shalt not see; thou shalt have ears, yet shalt not hear; thou shalt die in thy sin. It shall be easier for Sodom at that day than for thee. Therefore acknowledge them, give credit to their message: they watch and take pains for you.

What shall we say of them that labour not; that do neither teach nor exhort nor reprove nor correct; that have no care to do their[3] message, and no regard
Isai. lvi. to the people? What may I say of such? God himself saith: "They are dumb dogs, and cannot bark: they lie and sleep, and delight in sleeping:...they all look to their own way, and to their own advantage, and every one for his own purpose." Christ calleth them thieves and robbers. They are unsavoury salt, profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and trodden under the[4] feet of
1 Cor. ix. men. "Wo is unto me," saith Paul, "if I preach not the gospel!" Wo to the servant that wrappeth his talent in a napkin, and increaseth not his master's gain! God grant such idle and slothful ministers grace to know their office and to do it. If not, God give the people grace to know them, and shun them, and to fly[5] from them.

"That ye have them in singular love for their work's sake." He telleth
1 Tim. v. Timothy: "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, specially they which labour in the word and doctrine." Reverence them and love them. Love them for your own sakes: you have life and comfort by them. Honour them for their office sake: they are your fathers, they have begotten you in Christ, they carry the keys of the kingdom of heaven; they are the stewards of God's house, and the disposers of his mysteries. Honour them and love them for God's sake: he hath sent them and hath put his word in their mouth. He hath said to them: "Go ye into all the world, preach the gospel unto every nation." "Go speak to the heart of Hierusalem, that they may feel the weight of thy words and repent." Love them therefore. For they love you in Christ, and are ready

[1] To, 1594.]
[2] Whomsoever, 1594.]
[3] 1594 omits *their*.]
[4] 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609 omit *the*.]
[5] Flee, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

to give their lives for your sake. The Galathians so reverenced and loved St Paul, that he saith: "Ye received me as an angel of God....For I bear you record, that if it had been possible ye[6] would have plucked out your eyes, and have given them me." Gal. iv.

"Be at peace among yourselves." You are the sons of God. God is the God of peace. Discord, contention, and unquietness, are fit for the children of Satan. Live in godly unity, as becometh the children of peace.

Ver. 14. *We desire you, brethren, that ye admonish them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, bear with the weak, be patient toward all men.*
15. *See that none recompense evil for evil unto any man; but ever follow that which is good, both towards yourselves, and towards all men.*

There are some which walk among you inordinately: they break the bond of peace: they sow divisions and discord between the brethren: they draw disciples after them, and disquiet the church of God: they command that hath been forbidden by God, and forbid that God hath commanded. Warn them that are such; say unto[7] them as did St Paul to the Corinthians: "We have no such custom, neither hath the church of God." Wo to him by whom offence cometh! Say unto them as Josuah said to Achan: "Inasmuch as thou hast troubled us, therefore God will trouble thee this day." After this sort admonish them, and lay open their wilfulness and blasphemy before their eyes; that they may see the blindness of their hearts, and in what sort their life is disordered, and so repent and be saved. 1 Cor. xi. Josh. vii.

But what greater disorder can there be than that of theirs who have this day assembled themselves in force and in armour; which have lifted up their sword against their sovereign, and disturbed the peace of this realm, and have misled the people, and sought to overthrow the church of God? Let us admonish them, if we may speak with any that are so ill-disposed, and shew them the danger that hangeth over their heads. Let us say to them: Thou hast done wickedly in the sight of God: thou hast resisted the ordinance of God, because thou hast resisted the power which he hath ordained: thou hast stricken with the sword, therefore thou shalt perish by the sword: thou hast disquieted the Israel of God; therefore God shall disquiet thee. Such rebels are unruly. They rise up against their prince, as did Dathan and Abiram against Moses; they advance themselves against God, as did Lucifer; therefore shall they be cast down alive into hell.

"Comfort the feeble-minded," and those that be heavy in heart, which suffer imprisonment, and live in poverty, and are grieved, and cannot help themselves. Say unto them as St James: "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised them that love him." Say unto them as St Peter: "This is thanksworthy[8], if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully." Comfort them with the words of the prophet: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." Comfort them with the words of Christ: "Blessed are ye which weep now, for ye shall laugh." James i. 1 Pet. ii. Psal. cxxvi. Luke vi.

"See that none recompense evil for evil to any man." Though you suffer many things at the hands of the wicked, yet you may not be followers of that evil which is in them. "Avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord. Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." Herein shall it appear if we love our neighbour as ourself, if we patiently abide injuries, and seek to do good to them that grieve and oppress us. "I say unto you," saith Christ, "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that hurt you and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father that is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to arise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust." Rom. xii. Matt. v.

[6] You, 1584, 1594.]
[7] To, 1594.]
[8] Thankworthy, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

Ver. 16. *Rejoice evermore.*

The[1] joy of the wicked shall have an end. They rejoice in their goods, in their wisdom, in their peace and worldly safety, and in the multitude of their children, or descent of their pedigree. This joy is transitory, it fadeth and
1 John ii. abideth not. "The world passeth," saith St John, "and the lust thereof." They rejoice in their wickedness: the lute and the harp, tabret and pipe and wine are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord. They eat up the people as it were bread: they do whatsoever they can devise against the servants
Luke vi. of God; but the latter[2] end of their joy shall be heaviness, as it is said: "Wo be unto you that laugh now! for you shall weep and lament."

But the joy of the righteous is everlasting. Their heart shall rejoice; and no man shall take their joy from them. They have[3] comfort in this, that their names are written in the book of life. They know the Lord is at hand; therefore they are careful for nothing, but rejoice always in the Lord. St Peter therefore
1 Pet. i. saith: "You are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be shewed in the last time; wherein ye rejoice, though now for a season (if need require) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations." Again: "Ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorious, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls." This is the happiness, the joy, and the comfort that the godly have, and shall continue with them.

Ver. 17. *Pray continually.*

It is the part of a good Christian and a wise man to know himself, and to know the nature of this[4] flesh which we bear about with us, which fighteth always so mightily against the Spirit; to know the waywardness and crookedness of our heart, and the weakness and vanity of our mind. Many are so far from this, that they think all their ability is of themselves. I have, saith he, judgment, I have the light of reason, I have sense, I have understanding and counsel, and the ordering of mine own way. Thus say they that neither know God nor themselves.

But we must humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and acknow-
Rom. vii. ledge that we are nothing. We must confess with St Paul: "I know that in me,
Rom. ix. that is to say, in my flesh, dwelleth no good." And again: "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy." Our Saviour
John iii. saith: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that that is born of the
Gen. viii. Spirit is spirit." And God saith: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." He hath made us, and not we ourselves: he knoweth us, and not we ourselves. This is his saying and his judgment of us. This we find true. For our will is froward and our understanding blind. Therefore saith the
Jer. x. prophet: "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself, neither is it in
Prov. xx. man to walk and direct his steps." And Salomon: "The steps of man are ruled by the Lord; how can a man then understand his own way?" And the prophet
Jer. xviii. Jeremy: "Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are you in my hand, O Israel." I mould you and form you to my glory.

When the apostle putteth the Corinthians in mind of that good success which
2 Cor. iii. God gave unto his ministry among them, he saith: "Such trust have we through Christ to God; not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." Christ sheweth this to his disciples:
John xv. "I am the vine; you are the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." To the Colos-
Phil. ii. sians[5] saith Paul: "It is God which worketh in you both the will and the deed, even of his good pleasure." It is God that disposeth our goings, and turneth our hearts as seemeth best to him. He is able to make of the stones in the streets children unto Abraham: he is able to take away our stony heart, and to give us a heart of flesh.

---

[1] They, 1611.]
[2] Later, 1583, 1584.]
[3] 1583, 1584, 1594 omit *have.*]
[4] His, 1594.]
[5] An error for Philippians.]

The consideration hereof leadeth us to seek help and comfort by prayer at the hand of God. And then, because we stand in continual need of God's help, either to give us something that is good or to deliver us from that is evil, the apostle biddeth us pray continually. The ears of the Lord are open to the prayers of the righteous. Therefore Christ saith: "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." God will give you your heart's desire. "Let us therefore go boldly to the throne of grace, that we may receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." Matt. vii. Heb. iv.

David prayed unto God: "Open thou mine eyes:" "lighten my darkness:" "direct my feet into the way of peace:" "incline my heart, O Lord, unto thy testimonies:" "stablish, O God, that which thou hast wrought in us:" "take not thy Holy Spirit from us:" "be thou our helper in troubles. O forsake us not utterly." He found no way to attain unto knowledge of the will of God, unless God would open his understanding, and endue him with his Spirit. Faith is the gift of God; or else was the apostles' prayer in vain: "Increase our faith." Our Saviour teacheth us to pray in this manner: "Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done;" because, without the grace and mercy of God, we can do nothing to the setting forth of his glory. Luke xvii.

Ver. 18. *In all things give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus toward you.*

These three are the badges or cognisance of a christian soldier, to rejoice in the mercy of God, to be fervent in prayer, and to give thanks to God in all things. The heathens, which have no part in the kingdom of Christ, are thankful for their life, and liberty, and wealth, and glory, and worldly prosperity: but Christians ought to be thankful in persecution, in thraldom, in adversity, in shame, in misery, and in death itself. Who would think that a lion, which by nature is fierce and cruel, should yield forth honey? yet Samson found honey in the body of a lion. Who would think it likely that a man should be preserved in the belly of a fish? Jonas was swallowed up of a whale, and yet not hurt. Who would think that a man might be saved in the midst of burning fire? yet the three servants of God walked in the fire safely, and came safe forth again. "We know," saith the apostle, "that all things work together for the best unto them that love God." The apostles rejoiced in their persecution, that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, speaking of this perfection in the godly, saith: "We rejoice under the hope of the glory of God. And not so only, but also we rejoice in tribulations." Judg. xiv. Rom. viii. Rom. v.

Who hath not heard of the patience of Job? His herds of cattle were driven away, his houses consumed with fire, his children slain, his body stricken with a scurf or manginess: his wife loathed him; and his friends forsook him. What did Job in all these miseries? What thought he? or what spake he? Let his patience in suffering and his words of thanksgiving teach us how to bear adversity. "The Lord," saith he, "hath given, and the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord." Again: "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." Who is able to express the manly comfort of his heart? which said, I will trust in him though he kill me. He is my God: I am his creature. His will be done. I will always give him thanks, and praise his holy name. By these we are learned to give thanks in poverty, in afflictions, in misery, and in all things, though they are heavy and grievous unto us. Job i. Job xiii.

What are we then, that are neither thankful for riches, nor for health, nor for our pleasures, nor in the abundance of all things? yea, which abuse the good gifts of God to dishonour God, who hath given them unto us? The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is; the world, and they that dwell therein. He openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with his good blessing. Let us look up into the heavens: there is God the Father of lights, from whom "every good and perfect gift cometh:" there is our Redeemer Jesus Christ, "in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." When we turn in our beds, when we see our fare and the furniture of our table, when we see our servants and children about us, when we see our money and houses and lands, let us think

with ourselves how many good men and faithful servants of God lack the same, and have not received these blessings in such measure as we. In all these things God speaketh to us, and saith, I have given them thee: thou hast them at my hands: use them well, and be not unthankful.

If I would stand herein, and declare what causes we have to give thanks unto God, I should never make an end. There is no beast on the ground, no fish in the sea, no bird in the air, no star in the heavens, no leaf of the tree, no corn of the field, no sand on the shore, no drop of water, no sparkle of fire, but God hath created them all for the sons of men. So much are we bound always to
Psal. viii. give thanks to God, and to say as the prophet: "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the world!" Let us confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.

But who is able to render thanks sufficient to God, for that he giveth us the knowledge of his gospel, and maketh us know the secrets of his will? This is a great blessing, and far above all the other comforts of this life. They that have not this are in darkness and in the shadow of death. To be short, even in death we have to praise God: we must say, I thank thee, O God; for thou hast delivered him from the body of this death, thou hast translated him unto thyself, that so he may remain with thee in thy glory. Thus whithersoever ye turn, what state or part of life or death soever ye consider, whether it be trouble or peace, things present or things to come, heaven or earth, life or death, you shall always find causes to be thankful.

Ver. 19. *Quench not the Spirit.*

He meaneth by the Spirit the gifts and graces of the Spirit. The Spirit of
1 Cor. xii. God is the Spirit of wisdom and the Spirit of truth. "No man," saith St Paul,
Rom. viii. "can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." Again: "The Spirit
Ibid. helpeth our infirmities." And again: "The same Spirit beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God." It is he that leadeth us into all truth, that openeth our hearts to understanding, and guideth our feet into the way of peace. O, saith he, despise not the wisdom of the Spirit: refuse not his help, but seek it that you may be strengthened: comfort yourselves in his testimony of your adoption: quench not the light he hath kindled in your hearts: disdain not his leading: abuse not his mercy: abuse not the time of your visitation: let not so great mercy of God be bestowed on you in vain: fulfil not your own wills, abstain from fleshly lusts: walk in the Spirit: desire the best gifts, and
1 Pet. iv. "let every man, as he hath received the gift, so minister the same to another, as good disposers of the manifold grace of God."

Ver. 20. *Despise not prophesying.*

Prophecy is the preaching and expounding of the word of God; and he is called a prophet, and doth prophesy, that openeth unto us the will of God. This is not meant of fond and vain and lying prophecies, as were those of Merline and such-like, which tell you tales of lions and bears and goats, of the sun, of the moon, and many strange devices. Such prophecies must be despised: they are works of darkness, and forged by the devil to make uproars, and to beguile the people.

But, despise not prophesying: that is, despise not to hear the word of God: turn not away thine ear from understanding. God giveth power to his word, that it may work according to his good pleasure. It will let thee see the weakness of thine error, and settle thee in the way wherein thou shouldest walk. If it had been dangerous for the people to hear the preaching of the gospel, he would not have sent his apostles into all the world. If Lydia should not have liked to hear Paul prophesy, how might she have known God? If those great numbers, which heard Peter and were converted, had despised prophesying, and would not have heard him open the gospel unto them, they had never considered the great mercy of God, nor sought to be instructed in their salvation. "Faith cometh by

hearing." This hath been the means by which Christ hath given knowledge to kings and princes and all nations. "It hath pleased God," saith St Paul, "by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." 1 Cor. i.
Despise not then to come to the church of God, to pray in the congregation of the faithful, to hear the scriptures of God read and expounded: it is the blessing of God offered unto thee. Where there is no prophecy, the people perisheth. He that despiseth it shall be despised of the Lord: he shall be cast into darkness, because he would not delight in the light.

Ver. 21. *Try all things, and keep that which is good.*

"Try all things." God hath given you the spirit of discretion and of judgment. Be wise, and know what is that good and acceptable will of God. Be not deceived with words of man's wisdom. Let not the baseness or simplicity of any cause you to refuse the message which he bringeth; and carry not yourselves to liking of all that whatsoever shall be told you of such as bear great shew and countenance. This was it that deceived the people of God: they gave ear to false teachers, which lead[1] them to worship the works of their own hands. Therefore they said unto the stone, Thou art our father, thou hast delivered us: they fell down before it, worshipped it, believed in it: they slew the prophets of God, and stoned to death such as were sent unto them.

The scribes and Pharisees seemed so grave and wise, that the people thought nothing good but what they allowed. They were altogether appliable to believe, to do, to speak, and to think whatsoever the Pharisees willed them. Christ saith unto them: "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." Matt. vii. St John therefore saith: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world." 1 John iv. And further directeth us how we should try them: "Hereby shall ye know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God." Again, hereby may you try them: "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that continueth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not to house, neither bid him God speed." 2 John. Hereby St Paul requireth[2] the Galathians to try between him and the false apostles. "If any man preach unto you otherwise than that ye have received, let him be accursed. For now do I preach man's doctrine or God's?" Gal. i. The Sadducees erred touching the resurrection, because they searched not the scriptures. God teacheth us by the prophet Esay to make trial of teachers and doctrines. "When they shall say unto you, Inquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the soothsayers, which whisper and murmur; should not a people inquire at their God? from the living to the dead? To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Isai. viii. Paul putteth Timothy in mind wherefore he left him at Ephesus, "to command some that they teach none[3] other doctrine;" and to warn both the teachers and the hearers that they "give no heed to fables and genealogies, which are endless, which breed questions rather than godly edifying which is by faith." 1 Tim. i. Thus are the people of God called to try the truth, to judge between good and ill, between light and darkness. God hath made them the promise of his Spirit, and hath left unto them his word. They of Berea, when they heard the preaching of Paul, searched the scriptures daily, whether those things were so as he taught them, and many of them believed. So do you: give heed to instruction, and yet receive not all things without proof and trial that they are not contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the word of God.

"Keep that which is good."

When you have tried and found out the truth, be constant and settled in it. "A wavering-minded man is unstable in all his ways." Follow the truth, and be not

[1 Led, 1594.] [2 Required, 1583, 1584, 1594.] [3 No, 1594.]

carried about with every wind of doctrine. The devil will come in the name of God, and change himself into an angel of light. Let him not take the love of the truth from you. Let him not remove you from faith and a good conscience: return not like swine unto your mire. God hath purged your hearts, and made them clean. Except they be preserved and kept occupied, the unclean spirit will return, and enter in, and dwell in you; so the last state of you shall be worse than the first.

We have great cause to hearken diligently to the apostle, to "keep that is good." We see this day great confusion in all places. Satan would fain entangle us again with the error of the wicked, and seeketh to draw us from our stedfastness. Now is the time wherein God maketh some trial of his servants: now iniquity seeketh[1] to have the upper hand. They seduce the people, and say, Here is Christ, there is Christ: here is the church, there is the church. God give us his holy Spirit to guide us in judgment, that we may discern the truth from falsehood, and know the blessed and gracious will of God; that we may walk in his ways, and serve him in reverence and fear all the days of our life.

In this world, as there is a Jacob, so is there an Esau; as there are many that love Christ with an unfeigned heart, so are there many that serve antichrist; and as there be many true professors of the truth of God, so are there many despisers of the same. This we may see here at home within this realm. We may see it, and mourn and lament for it in our hearts.

Their practices are opened: they[2] have broken out into open rebellion, to the breach of the peace both of God and man. They say with their lips, God save queen Elizabeth; yet they hold up their sword against her. Alas! what hath she deserved at their hands? She hath always dealt mercifully, without cruelty, without shedding of blood. God preserve her, that she may long reign over us, and bring all her enemies to confusion!

What pretence make they for this their doing? That hereby they seek to have religion reformed. Thanks be to God, religion is reformed far better than our fathers knew it these many hundred years. If those which lived before us might have seen and heard as we see and hear, they would have rejoiced and thought themselves happy.

But they would have the mass. What find they or see they in it, wherefore they should so desire it? "Try all things," saith Paul. Therefore, examine and try the mass. What do we learn by it? what doctrine, what godliness in life, what comfort for salvation? It is a dumb and deadly service. The people are forced to be at it: it is the very key of their religion: the people are bound to be present at mass: yet they neither receive any thing, nor eat, nor hear, nor understand any thing. You are wise, you have reason, you are the children of God; be you judges herein, and judge uprightly; for it is God's cause. Will they call this the Lord's supper? Is this the sacrament of our redemption? Is this that which Paul received of the Lord, and delivered unto the church? Is this the shewing forth of the Lord's death until he come?

They would have the pope's authority restored. What is the pope? They say, he is the successor of Peter. What doth the pope as Peter did? or what did Peter as the pope doth[3]? He is a mortal man. And cursed are they of God, that put their trust in man. He feedeth not the flock, he teacheth not the simple, he strengtheneth not the weak: I will say no more. God make him a servant of Christ, and a faithful disposer of the mysteries of God!

They are offended at the marriage of the ministers of the church. Yet Gratian their great master saith: *Copula... sacerdotalis... nec legali, nec evangelica, nec apostolica auctoritate prohibetur*[4]: "The marriage of priests is not forbidden by any authority, either of the law, or of the gospel, or of the apostles." The holy fathers, that lived in the apostles' time and shortly after, report that Peter and all the other apostles, excepting[5] only John, were married and had wives: the

xxvi. Quæst. 2. Sors.

[1] Seeks, 1594.]
[2] Thy, 1611.]
[3] Doeth, 1583.]
[4] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXVI. Quæst. ii. can. 1. col. 1456; where *vel apostolica.*]
[5] Except, 1594.]

prophet Esay was married, and yet he saw the Lord sitting upon an high throne. Moses was married, and yet he[6] saw God face to face. Will they reform the prophets and the apostles? Will they account that to be unholy, which the apostle calleth "honourable in all men?" Ignatius, the scholar of St John, said: "I wish to be found meet for God; as was Peter, and Paul, and the other apostles that were married[7]." Ignat. ad Philadelph.

They paint their banner with the cross and five wounds. Why bring they those arms against us? Do not we believe the cross of Christ? Do not we rejoice and comfort our hearts by the remembrance of his wounds? Do not we read and shew forth to the people the story of his passion? God knoweth it, and you can bear us witness, and they cannot deny it, that we make this work of our redemption, wrought by the passion of our Saviour Christ, the chief and principal rock and foundation of our faith. Therefore say we with the apostle: God forbid that we should rejoice in any thing, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nay rather, they are become our enemies, because we believe in Jesus Christ crucified; because we say, as God's word teacheth, that Jesus Christ is the only advocate to the Father for our sins, and that "he hath with one offering consecrated for ever them that are sanctified," and that "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." For this cause are they become our enemies. Heb. x. 1 John i.

Let us nothing fear their treacheries and attempts: let us keep that is good, and hold it fast until death. Now we have tasted the word of God, and have received the comfort of the gospel, let us not despise it nor be weary of it. Let us pray unto God, that he establish the love of his truth in us, and that he will open the eyes of their hearts, and bring them to be partakers of those mercies which yet through ignorance they have despised.

Ver. 22. *Abstain from all appearance of evil.*

Keep yourselves not only from doing those things which are evil, but also from all appearance of evil. Offend not the conscience of thy brother, that he may have no occasion to think evil of thee. Commit not adultery, and withdraw thyself from the company of such unthrifty and light and suspected persons. Be not like to them that are such. Lay not out thy money to usury, nor do any thing whereby others may think so of thee. Beware of uncharitable conveyance of thy money. Be not idolaters; and leave off to do any thing that may bring you into suspicion of idolatry. Give not that honour unto any creature which is proper to God. Have no fellowship with their works: bear no appearance of liking their evil. Go not as they go: live not as they live. St Paul reproveth the Galathians: "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years[8]. I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." So doth he the Colossians also: "If ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why, as though ye lived in the world, are ye burdened with traditions? as, touch not, taste not, handle not." So do the idolaters: you should not be like unto them. They are the children of darkness: you are the sons of light. They will not be like unto[9] you, and forsake their false gods; why should you become like unto them, and forsake the God that made the heavens and the earth? You cannot make them ashamed of their errors, and embrace the truth. Why then should you betray the truth, and be partakers with them in error? Gal. iv. Col. ii.

The Christians in old time began to wear garlands made of bay. What harm might be in that? What is a garland, but a furniture for the head? What is bay, but a little tree or bush? Yet the fathers that lived with them, to teach them, said it was not lawful; not for that the thing itself was ill of itself, but for that they would not seem to follow idolaters. It had some "appearance of evil." It was a ceremony and solemn fashion among the heathen: they would not[10] be emboldened; and it would offend the hearts of many of the faithful to see Christians follow the fashion of the heathen.

[6 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609 omit *he*.]

[7 Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Philadelph. cap. iv. in Coteler. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 77.]

[8 Year, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[9 To, 1594.]

[10 So all the editions.]

1 Macc. i. When king Antiochus sent unto Hierusalem, and to the cities of Juda, that they should follow the strange laws of the country, many chose rather to die than to be defiled with unclean things, and to break the holy covenant which God had given them.

Dan. vi. Darius made a decree, whosoever should ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions. Daniel would not be kept so long from the service of God. He would not dissemble: he would not hide his zeal, nor shew any appearance of ill[1]. He prayed and praised God as he did before, and opened his chamber windows that it might be seen.

Polycarpus might have saved his life, if he would have dissembled. He would not, he could not. He saw it would have been an appearance of evil, and a discourage unto the brethren; therefore spake boldly: *Christianus sum,* "I am a Christian;" and, being required to speak ill[2] of Christ, said: *Octoginta et sex annos servio ei; et nihil me læsit unquam: quomodo possum maledicere ei, et blasphemare Regem meum, qui salutem mihi dedit*[3]*?* "I have served Christ these fourscore and six years; and he did never any thing hurt me: how may I speak ill and blaspheme my King, which hath given me salvation?" This is my faith: Christ is my God: this is my religion: I am not ashamed to suffer death rather than I will deny him who suffered death in his own body to save me.

Euseb. Lib. iv. cap. xv.

Rom. xiv. "It is good," saith St Paul, "neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." Again

1 Cor. viii. he saith: "Now, when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience[4], ye offend against Christ. Wherefore if meat offend[5] my brother, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I should offend my brother." He that hath once made a shipwreck standeth watchful ever after, not only to escape that rock or sand whereat he had loss[6] before, but all other the like rocks and sands whatsoever.

Therefore, abstain from all appearance of evil: be not like the wicked of this world. You are the salt of the earth: you should not be partners of their corruption, but powder and season them. You are the light of the world: you may not be partners of their darkness, but lighten and guide them. Dissemble not: serve God in the simplicity of your heart, and in the sight of all the world. Let it be written in your forehead what you think in your heart. Why should any man be ashamed of God's truth?

Ver. 23. *Now the very God of peace sanctify you throughout; and I pray God that your whole spirit and soul and body may be kept blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Our God is the God of peace. He giveth peace and quiet to his church. He doth muzzle the lion, amaze the[7] tyrant, make blunt the sword, and quench the fire prepared against his servants. He giveth his sons peace and quietness

1 John iv. among themselves. He abhorreth discord and malice between brethren. "God is love," saith St John; "and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in

1 John iii. him." "He that loveth not his brother abideth in death." God hath made us all members of one body. There is no respect of persons with him, no difference of learned and unlearned, wise or foolish, rich or poor. His will is that we all should be as one, of one mind; and that we should all think one thing and speak one thing; that we should be one fold under one Shepherd, and with one mouth glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For this peace Christ prayed:

John xvii. "Sanctify them through thy truth." Bless them, take away all bitterness and swelling from amongst[8] them. Make them citizens of thy heavenly Hierusalem, that they may live in peace, and love one another, and delight one in other[9]. "That they all may be one, as thou, O Father, art one in me, and I in thee."

---

[1] It, 1584, 1594.]
[2] Evil, 1594.]
[3] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695—1700. Lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 107.]
[4] Consciences, 1584, 1594.]
[5] Meat do offend, 1594.]
[6] Lost, 1584, 1594.]
[7] A, 1594.]
[8] Among, 1584, 1594.]
[9] In an other, 1594.]

God is the God and giver of peace. Whence then cometh division and dissension of minds? What is the cause that the whole world is so shaken with sects and troubles? All are not the children of peace. Christ himself, the Lamb of God, in whose mouth there was no guile, came unto[10] his own; and his own received him not. Cain is always against Abel. Esau will never love Jacob. The darkness and the light can never agree. This is the cause of all unquietness and trouble. "These things," saith Christ to his disciples, John xvi. "have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace: in the world you shall have affliction." The wicked shall not only hate, but betray and cause them to die which profess the name of Christ. "Whosoever killeth you will Ibid. think he doth[11] God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they[12] have not known the Father, nor me." The setting forth of the gospel of Christ is that which the world cannot abide. It revealeth things that were hidden: it discloseth the covetousness of those who kept the people in ignorance to make gain and merchandise of their souls: it overthroweth mighty buildings and holds of merits, of pardons, of masses, of purgatory, which by the policy and wisdom and power of this world were exalted against God. This is the only cause of all this strife and trouble.

We have need of peace; of the peace of conscience within ourselves; of peace from the rage and fury of the world; and of peace and love among those that are of God's household. Let us seek peace at the hands of God; and he will stablish us in the peace of his gospel, and so give us the rest and peace of our souls.

"Sanctify you throughout." The God of peace bless you, and keep you under the shadow of his wings, "that your whole spirit and soul and body may be kept blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Here mark that the apostle divideth man into three parts, "the spirit, the soul, and the body:" so that he seemeth to make the spirit one thing, and the soul another. How is it then that we divide man into two parts, the soul and the body, and say that he doth stand but of two parts? There is no difference: the matter is all one. For Paul divideth the soul into two parts. The first is reason and understanding, which he calleth the spirit; the other is will and affection, which he calleth the soul. For, as God hath given us reason to see what is good, so hath he given us will to seek after that which is good. Reason hath eyes: will is blind, and cannot see the way: therefore will must be led and guided by reason. Reason must go before: will must follow after. Therefore reason is compared to the husband, and will to the wife. If will take in hand to rule reason, it is no less disorder than if the wife will adventure or take upon her to rule her husband. Therefore in this place reason, which[13] is the principal part of our soul, is called the spirit; and will, which is the other part, is called the soul. So the spirit is not a several substance; but the soul and the spirit are one soul; even as the body and the flesh are one body. Thus therefore Paul prayeth for the church: The God of peace sanctify you throughout, that your spirit, your reason and understanding, your soul, your will and affection, your body and your flesh, may altogether be pure and holy; that they may be found innocent and upright in the day of the Lord.

Ver. 24. *Faithful is he which calleth you, which will also do it.*

He hath begun a good work in you, he will finish it. He will lead you from virtue to virtue, from strength to strength, from glory to glory. He hath called you, he will also keep you faithful until the day of the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. You are Christ's sheep. No man shall take you out of his hands. He hath not lost one of all them whom his Father had given him. He knoweth his sheep. None shall be confounded that put their trust in him. "There is no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus." He

[10] Into, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[11] Doeth, 1594.]
[12] Ye, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[13] Reason the which, 1594.]

is faithful, he will perform this unto you; not for your merits, but for his own name, and for his mercy sake. Because he is faithful, he will not despise the work of his own hands.

Ver. 25. *Brethren, pray for me.*

I wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with the prince and power of darkness. My enemies are strong, they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: I am weak and of no resistance. Our sufficiency is of him. Without him we can do nothing. Pray for me, that he will put his word into my mouth, that I may be a vessel of his glory to preach forth the glad tidings of his gospel; that I may be a faithful minister of the new testament; that I may disclose the mystery of our redemption; that his holy Spirit will assist me, and make my travails fruitful.

Ver. 26. *Greet all the brethren with an holy kiss.*

27. *I charge you in the Lord, that this epistle be read unto all the brethren the saints.*

Salute one another in token of true and unfeigned love. And withhold not this epistle from any of the brethren. It is written for their sakes. Let them hear it, that they may take comfort by it. How agreeth Paul in this charge with them that in no case would have the people read the scriptures? that say, ignorance is the mother of devotion? It is the word of God the Father; why should not the people of God understand it? It is the water that springeth out to everlasting life; why should the people of God be driven away and not suffered to drink thereof? It is the light of the world; why should the people be hood-winked, and kept that they should not look up and see it? why should they sit and perish in the darkness of death? It is the will of God that all the people should know him, from the least to the greatest among them. St Paul saith: "Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the scriptures might have hope." Christ saith: "This is life eternal, to know thee to be the only very God, and, whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." Let us not forget these words of Paul. "I charge you in the Lord," by his death, by his cross, by his blood, by the day of his appearance, that this epistle be read to the learned and unlearned, to the wise and simple, to the masters and to the servants, to all our brethren, to all the sons of God.

Rom. xv.

John xvii.

Ver. 28. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.*

God open your eyes, that you may behold the way of righteousness, and direct you, that you may walk in it. Through his grace you have received the word; and it hath been fruitful in you; and by the same grace you shall continue in it for ever. His grace and blessing and mercy be with you all. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF THE APOSTLE ST PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

Ver. 1. *Paul, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians which is in God our Father and in our Lord Jesus Christ.*

In the former epistle he wrote somewhat touching the latter day, and the coming of our Lord to judgment, and said that that day shall come as a thief in the night; and therefore exhorted them to watch and pray, and to prepare themselves to be in a readiness. The false apostles did fondly and maliciously mistake his words, and devised means thereby to disquiet the minds of the faithful, and to trouble the church of God. Thus could the prince of darkness, the old serpent and deceiving spirit, turn the truth of God into occasion of slander. In the mean while the apostle was far off from them at Athens. But when he heard of their case, he sent unto them this other epistle, wherein he declareth more plainly that matter which before seemed doubtful, and seeketh to satisfy their hearts, and to remove them from all[1] that error which they had conceived.

In discourse hereof he taketh occasion to speak of antichrist, of whom we hear much, and have had warning often. He telleth us that he shall come in working of signs and wonders; that he is the man of sin, which shall thrust himself into the place of Christ. He sheweth who is antichrist, and how we may know him; what things he shall do; what credit he shall have in the world; and by what power he shall be overthrown and confounded. After this he speaketh of idleness and of bodily labour, and requireth[2] every man to live in the sweat of their brows, and in painful travail, as God hath ordained. Other comfortable and necessary doctrine is delivered in this epistle, as will appear. The whole matter of the epistle is so fit for these days in which we live, as if it were purposely written for us. For we live in the latter[3] age of the world; and it cannot be but the end of all things is at hand, and that the glorious appearing of our Lord shall be shortly.

"Paul, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus." This epistle was sent, not only from Paul, but also from Timothy and Sylvanus. These three were all guided by one Spirit, and had all one like care for the church of God. Therefore he writeth thus: Paul, and Sylvanus, and Timotheus, the servants of God, chosen from our mothers' womb, and appointed to publish the gospel of Jesus Christ, and to carry his name before kings and princes; and especially[4] I Paul, which am your father, and have begotten you in Christ; which was sometimes a blasphemer, and did persecute the faithful; whom it pleased God to make a chosen vessel for himself; which am also hated of my brethren and kinsmen after the flesh for the gospel's sake; and which am ready to give my life for your behalf.

"Unto the church of the Thessalonians which is in God our Father," &c. You are (saith he) the beloved of God, you are his people; and he hath assured his mercy unto you: you have the promise and the earnest of the life to come. Here let us mark the state of that country as it was then, and compare it with itself as it is now. Then it was the church of God; for otherwise St Paul would not so have called it: according to the grace of God given unto him he laid the foundation, he planted and watered their hearts; and God gave the increase: so that they received the word in much affliction; and the word of the gospel

[1] 1584 omits *all*.]
[2] Requires, 1594.]
[3] Later, 1583, 1584.]
[4] Specially, 1594.]

sounded from them, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but their faith towards[1] God was spread also abroad in all quarters. In such sort were they a vessel sanctified unto honour, full of blessing and full of the mercy and grace of God.

But what is become of that country? In what case standeth the church of Thessalonica at this day? It is now the synagogue of Satan, under the tyranny of the Turk, and such as are enemies of the cross of Christ. Such a change hath the right hand of the Lord wrought in that place, which hath sometimes been his holy tabernacle. I thought good to mark this, that we might understand how vain a thing it is to put confidence in cities or churches, or in the names of our fathers.

The church of Thessalonica, whose foundation was surely built by St Paul himself, for which he was so careful, unto[2] which he wrote[3] special letters to commend their increase in godliness and their stedfastness in the gospel, is forsaken and laid waste. If the work which the Spirit of God wrought by the apostle be decayed, whose work may we think shall stand? Jeremy spake unto[2] the people
Jer. vii. of the Jews, saying: "Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord." That temple God himself commanded to be built; the form and fashion thereof God himself devised and appointed; therein he placed his tabernacle, and set up his mercy-seat; therein he shewed forth his majesty and the glory of his countenance. Yet, all this notwithstanding, God said by the prophet: Trust not in these words: they be lying words, and will deceive you.

As the prophet spake of the temple at Jerusalem, so may it be said of any other church throughout the world. So may it be said of the church of Rome. We may say: Trust not in lying words, saying, The church of Rome, the church of Rome. Say not thus with yourselves: The church of Rome is built upon a rock, so surely that it cannot be moved, or that no wind can shake it: say not, the faith of that church can never fail. These be lying words: trust not in them; for Christ never spake any such thing of the church of Rome. It never had promise of more special privilege than was given to[4] the church at Thessalonica. Read the scriptures, behold the words of our Saviour, and consider them; you shall find no speech made of the church of Rome, nor any promise or[5] piece of promise, wherein he bindeth himself more to the church of Rome than he hath done to other churches, or to this of Thessalonica.

Thessalonica was beautiful in the sight of God: the Lord of hosts had pitched his tents round about her, the name of the Most Holy was placed in the midst of her: she enjoyed like spiritual peace and prosperity as did the Jerusalem of the Almighty; she was as a city fenced within itself: but the Lord hath taken away the light of his countenance from her: she hath forsaken the ways of righteousness, she hath left off to serve the Lord, and is become the place which the Lord hath forsaken: there is scarce any remnant left there of those which call upon the name of our salvation, and love the Lord Jesus with an unfeigned heart. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." And is his hand shortened that he cannot, or is his zeal abated that he will not, in like severity deal with such as forsake him? If he spared not the natural branches, if Jerusalem were overthrown because of her iniquities, it cannot be that he will spare other places that do the like, but that they shall also be cut off. This is it that our Saviour
Matt. xxi.[6] hath said in the gospel by St Matthew: "Therefore say I unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof." Such terrible and dreadful examples hath God laid before our eyes, to keep us in his fear, and in awe of his judgments.

Ver. 2. *Grace be with you, and peace, from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*

This is the salutation of Paul in all his epistles, to say: I wish that the blessing and favour and love of God may light upon you. But for the better

[1] Toward, 1594.]
[2] To, 1594.]
[3] Wrate, 1583, 1584.]
[4] Unto, 1594.]
[5] Nor, 1584.]
[6] 1584 omits this reference.]

consideration hereof, and that we may know how earnestly we ought to pray unto God for this grace and peace the apostle[7] wisheth to the churches, let us look into ourselves and see how miserable we are if we be left void of this grace, and if God take his holy Spirit away from us. By nature what are we other than the bond-slaves of sin? We are not able to lift up our eyes unto[8] heaven, nor to believe in God, nor to praise him, nor to call upon his name. "We are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves." Unless he open[9] our lips, we cannot shew forth his praise: unless he heal our deafness, we cannot give ear to his word: unless he give us understanding hearts, we cannot take knowledge of his will. "Destruction and unhappiness," saith the prophet David, Psal. xiv. "are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes;" speaking of such as had not received the favour and grace of God to guide and direct them. And by the prophet Malachi God uttereth his displeasure against them, saying: "I have no pleasure in you, saith Mal. i. the Lord of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hands."

Therefore the apostle prayeth that they may receive such measure of God's grace as may quench in them the fiery darts of the wicked, and enable them to hold fast that worthy thing that is committed unto[10] them, and may keep them holy and undefiled against the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Ver. 3. *We ought to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the love of every one of you towards another aboundeth:*

4. *So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God, because of your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye suffer.*

God hath wrought this good work of faith, and love, and patience in your hearts: he will make it prosper and increase. It is he which hath put this fire in you, and he will make it burn. He hath laid his leaven in the dough or meal of your heart, and will make it heave[11] and work, until all be leavened. He will make you abound more and more, and will bring to a good end the thing he hath begun.

"Your faith groweth exceedingly." That is the will of God, that we wax and increase in all holiness. Hereby we know whether we be of God or no. We may not stand at a stay, but must be renewed. One saith: *In via virtutis qui non proficit*[12], *deficit:* "Whosoever mendeth not himself in the practice of virtue, he groweth worse." God hath placed us in a race to run: we must so run that we may attain the prize. We are grafts[13] of the Lord's planting: we must grow to the height and breadth of a tree, and bring forth fruit. We are pilgrims and strangers, and pass by the wilderness of this world into our heavenly resting-place: we may not stay by the way, but must remove our tents, and continually march on forward, until that day come when we shall enter into the land of promise.

"So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God," &c. Your faith is not only true and pure, but settled and constant. For you continued stedfast in the midst of persecution: you have been tormented and suffered afflictions in your body by the hands of tyrants; yet could they never remove you from the[14] faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, nor from your obedience to the will of God. You know that "all which will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." 2 Tim. iii. Yet are you comforted, and say as the prophet David: "The Lord is with me; Psal. cxviii. therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me." You cannot forget who it is that said: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also Matt. x. before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me, I will also deny him before my Father which is in heaven." "He that loseth his life for my

[7 Peace which the apostle, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[8 Into, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[9 He do open, 1594.]
[10 To, 1594.]
[11 Heavie, 1584.]
[12 Proficis, 1594.]
[13 Graffs, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[14 Your, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

sake shall find it." "He that endureth unto[1] the end, he shall be saved." And
Matt. v. again: "Blessed shall ye be, when men revile you[2], and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you, for my sake, falsely. Rejoice, and be glad; for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."

Ver. 5. *Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which ye also suffer.*
6. *For it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you,*
7. *And to you which are troubled rest with us; when the Lord Jesus[3] shall shew himself from heaven with his mighty angels,*
8. *In flaming fire, rendering vengeance unto them that do not know, and which obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ;*
9. *Which shall be punished with everlasting perdition from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power;*
10. *When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be made marvellous in all them that believe, because our testimony towards you was believed, in that day.*

Many are the troubles which the righteous men do suffer; but the Lord will deliver them. After Paul and Barnabas had preached the glad tidings of the gospel, they confirmed the disciples' hearts, and exhorted them to continue in the
Acts xiv. faith, and said, "that we must through many afflictions enter into the kingdom of God." We must not therefore be afraid for any terror of them which trouble us for righteousness' sake; but rather, looking over and beyond them, we must rejoice and give thanks to God, who hath made us worthy not only to believe in
2 Cor. v. him, but also to suffer for his sake. "For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, we have a building given of God, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens." These persecutions and tribulations which you suffer are a manifest token (saith the apostle) of God's love towards[4]
Heb. xii. you: for "whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth; and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth." The prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, which were not only reviled and scourged, but beheaded, cut in pieces, drowned in the waters, consumed in the[5] fire, or by any other devices of tyrants cruelly put to death, did by this way receive[6] the manifest token of their happy and blessed estate, and by this way did enter[7] into the kingdom of God. Athanasius, an ancient father, reckoneth the suffering of persecution to be a special note of a christian
Athanas. ad Solit. Vit. Agent. man, saying: *Cædi Christianorum proprium est; cædere autem Christianos Pilati et Caiaphæ officia sunt*[8]: "It is the part of Christians to be persecuted; but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas."

The Lord is not unjust; but all his works are righteousness and truth. Their little and short tribulation in this life prepareth an eternal and exceeding weight of glory unto his servants. Though they sow in tears, they shall reap in joy. They shall be taken up into heaven, and shall see God face to face, and shall be crowned with glory and honour. As for the ungodly, it is not so with them: they may flourish for a time, and have great power and authority in this world; but the Lamb shall overcome them; and their end shall be according to their works.
Psal. xi. David saith: "Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone, storm and tempest: this shall be their portion to drink."

"When the Lord Jesus shall shew himself from heaven." There are many which are ashamed of Christ and of his word in the presence of such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, and have countenance and authority in this world. But a time shall come when Christ will shew himself from heaven, accompanied

---

[1] To, 1594.]
[2] Ye, 1583.]
[3] 1594 omits *Jesus*.]
[4] Toward, 1583, 1609.]
[5] 1584 repeats *the*.]
[6] By this way received, 1594.]
[7] And by this way entered, 1594.]
[8] Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 41. Tom. I. Pars 1. p. 368.]

with his holy angels: then will he also be ashamed of them, and put them from his presence: then will he render vengeance to them that have hated his truth: they shall then know whose members they have killed, and whose word and gospel it was which they so despitefully reproached. Then the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night. In this manner shall God triumph in victory over the wicked, by judging them to everlasting destruction; and will shew himself wonderful in giving rest, and joy, and glory, and everlasting blessedness to all those which love his truth and believe in him.

Ver. 11. *Wherefore we also pray always for you, that our God may make you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power;*
12. *That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

God bless that good thing which he hath begun in you, and keep you stedfast in the truth, that you look not back now after you have put your hand to the plough, and that you give no place to their dangerous and subtile persuasions who persecute you: take heed to yourselves, and beware that you put not the word of God from you. He hath shewed you his goodness and mercy in that he hath delivered you from the power of darkness, and hath translated you into the kingdom of his dear Son. I make my prayer to God without ceasing for you always, that he will make you worthy of this heavenly calling, and that he will ever more and more fill you with the riches and abundance of his goodness and mercy, that through him you may be made perfect in all good works.

CHAPTER II.

Ver. 1. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our assembling unto him,*
2. *That ye be not suddenly moved from your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand.*

You are the children of those fathers which have fallen from their stedfastness, and have been led into error: beware lest you also be carried away with every blast of false doctrine. The devil is subtile, his baits are pleasant: you are weak and simple: he will soon deceive you. Here let us consider how easily man may be deceived, that so we may know the corruption and weakness of our nature, and therefore what cause we have ever to walk warily, to take heed to our steps, and to pray unto God that he will incline our hearts unto his testimonies. When I say man may be deceived, I mean not boys, or children, or fools, or the simpler sort of men; but the learned, the wise, the politic; the kings and princes of the world; the teachers and rulers also[9] of the people. When Adam was yet in paradise, and made the ruler over all the beasts of the field, and was full of the graces and blessings of God, he soon departed from the counsel of God, and gave ear to the serpent; so easily was he deceived. Israel was as the apple of the Lord's eye, a people whom the Lord loved, and to whom he gave their hearts' desire. He delivered them from Pharao, and with an outstretched arm led them through the Red Sea. Who would think so great mercies would ever be forgotten? or that such a people, so well instructed in the knowledge of God, and so often put in mind of their duty, should either the[10] most part, or all of them, turn from God? Moses was absent but a while; he went aside to receive the tables of covenant: in the mean time they made unto themselves a molten calf, and worshipped it; they offered unto it, and said: "These be thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt." So easily were the wisest of them, and Aaron, and the whole multitude, deceived. Exod. xxxii.

[9] 1584, 1594 omit *also*.] [10] 1584, 1594 omit *the*.]

Judg. ii. Their children after them "forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Astaroth."
Jer. ii. "They said to a tree, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast begotten me. They have turned their back to me, and not their face;" saith God by the prophet Jeremy. And was this the offence but of some small number of them? were they but few, or of the baser and simpler sort, whom the wicked spirit had thus seduced, to make them forsake the true and living God, and to give the glory due unto him to dumb creatures, and to the works of their own hands? No, they departed from God in great multitudes, with full consent and unity; they warranted their doings by antiquity, and by the custom
Jer. xi. of their fathers before them. The prophet saith: "According to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and to the number of the streets of Jerusalem have ye set up altars of confusion, even altars to burn incense unto
Jer. xliv. Baal." And in another place he saith: "A great multitude, even all the people that dwell[1] in the land of Egypt in Phathros, answered Jeremy, saying, The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee. But we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour our[2] drink offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, &c." Thus, even among that nation which God hath chosen unto himself the apostasy was so great, the departure from true holiness was so universal, that not only every city, but every street was defiled with their idolatry. And, besides the women which burnt incense to other gods, a great multitude, yea, all the people with one consent cried out against their preacher, refused to hear the word of God, and maintained their superstition.

The like may be said of the scribes and Pharisees. They were wise, they were learned, and carried great shew of holiness: yet they loved darkness better than light: they were blind leaders of the blind, they despised the commandments of God for their own traditions; and not only they, but Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles and people of Israel, gathered themselves together against the Lord and against his Christ. What should I speak of those churches which the apostles of Christ planted, and watered, and confirmed in the truth? At Corinth Paul preached the gospel: they received it gladly: he thanketh God on their behalf, "that in all things they were made rich in him, in all kind of speech, and in all knowledge." Yet soon after they abused the holy mysteries, they denied the resurrection of the dead, they became carnal, and had envying, and strife, and contention among themselves. The Galathians
Gal. iv. rejoiced so much in him, that he writeth thus of them: "I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, you would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me." Yet they did not abide in the truth, but gave ear to false apostles, and were deceived. Therefore he reproveth them, saying:
Gal. iii. "O foolish Galathians, who have[3] bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth?" "Are ye so foolish, that, after ye have begun in the Spirit, ye
Gal. v. would now be made perfect in the flesh?" "Ye did run well: who did let
Gal. iv. you, that ye did not obey the truth?" "I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain."

This frailty and weakness of our corrupt nature hath shewed itself forth and hath appeared in all ages. We and our fathers have gone astray, and
Psal. xiv. have followed after lies. "The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand, and seek God. All are gone out of the way: they are all corrupt: there is none that doth[4] good, no not one," saith the prophet David. Therefore the apostle beseecheth the church at Thessalonica, that they settle themselves upon a sure foundation, and that they be not removed from the truth. He putteth them in mind what they have heard, and of whom they have heard it, and exhorteth them to continue stedfast therein.

"Neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as it were from us." Let no man entice you from the love of the truth, nor withdraw you, or remove

[1 Dwelt, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[2 Out, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[3 Hath, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[4 Doeth, 1594.]

you from that blessed hope unto which you be called, neither by pretence of revelation, which any would seem to receive of the Spirit of God; nor by pretence of any word of mine, as if I had so spoken; nor by any letter given unto you in my name, as if I had so written. In these words he doth not only strengthen them against such practices of crafty and false teachers, but giveth them therewithal a testimony of their constant abiding in the truth of the gospel.

Otherwise, if the seducers had prevailed, and if the Thessalonians had yielded unto them and received their error, he would then have framed his speech unto them after this manner: O suffer yourselves to be advised. You do not run well, you have lost the high-way. Give place to the Spirit of God, submit yourselves under his mighty hand, refuse not the calling whereby he hath called you. I could speak such things wherewith you would be better pleased; but your case is such, it requireth rather free and plain and sharp reprehension, whereby you may be brought to consider and amend your errors, than fair and smoothed speech, which might hold you still in your folly. Seek therefore the kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, and seek not yourselves. Weigh truth and falsehood in an indifferent balance; so shall the heavier weight of the one soon bewray the lightness of the other. What thing in the world so massy and so weighty as is the truth? Harden not your hearts, as did your fathers in the wilderness. It is no sin to yield unto God: it is no shame to lay apart all affection, and to change your mind to the denial of all ungodliness, and embracing of true holiness. The wise man saith: "There is a shame that bringeth sin, and a shame that bringeth worship and favour." Eccius. iv. In this sort it is likely the apostle would have spoken, if need had so required. But now, seeing them forcibly assaulted, and that yet they strived with such good courage against the persuasions of the wicked, he commendeth their stedfastness, and exhorteth them by these words not to yield unto their persecutors, nor to go from their faith in Christ Jesus.

"Neither by spirit," that is, by revelation of the Spirit. The Spirit of God wrought mightily, and bestowed sundry and great gifts upon men. Christ said to his disciples: "When they deliver you up, take ye no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." Matt. x. And again saith he: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may bide with you for ever, the Spirit of truth; whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." John xiv. The Holy Ghost shall be with you, to assist you, to teach you all things, to direct your counsels, to lead you into all truth, and to preserve you from all error.

Now, as the Spirit of God was among the faithful, and distributed to every man several gifts, as it seemed best to profit withal; so did the spirit of Satan wait upon the wicked, and possessed their hearts and bodies, and caused them to imagine and to do those things which were unseemly. He used them as instruments to disquiet the church of God, and to cast into it the seed of error, of untruth, and dissension. Of such spirits St John giveth warning, saying: "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone into the world." 1 John iv. At what time Achab would not believe the answer which the prophet Micheas made him, there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said: "I will go out and be a false spirit in the mouth of all his prophets." 1 Kings xxii. This spirit ever walketh up and down, seeking whom he may devour, and blindeth the minds of many, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ may not shine unto them. Take heed that you be not deceived by any such, which shall seek to abuse you by pretence of revelation. Though they shall take upon them to tell you of the day or hour of the coming of our Lord, believe them not; for the false spirit is in the mouth of such prophets.

"Nor by word:" or, if any shall report and go about to persuade you that I have so spoken or taught in the congregations, or will boldly coun-

tenance out such matters[1], and tell you, saying, I was present, I heard his words and remember them, this was the doctrine which Paul preached; refuse him that is such a one, for he bringeth not the truth unto you, but deceiveth you with lying and vain fables. "Nor by letter as it were from us." Again, it may be they which lie in wait to destroy you, for their better way, will counterfeit letters, and send them unto you in my name. This is a token in them that they be past shame: be not you carried away by any such pretence from that which we have preached unto you. We have not taught you that the day of Christ is at hand. O then be not so soon removed away unto another gospel by them which trouble you and intend to pervert the gospel of Christ.

Many such sleights and false devices have been used by deceiving spirits to blind the eyes of the simple. There have been some which have set abroad their own fantasies under the names of Adam, the first man that God created upon the face of the earth, and of Cain, and Seth. Others have called their own dreams the gospel of Thomas, and of Bartholomew, and of Barnabee, and of the apostles of Christ. St Augustine saith of the Manichees: *Manichæi legunt scripturas apocryphas, nescio a quibus sutoribus fabularum sub nomine apostolorum scriptas*[2]: "The Manichees read secret hidden scriptures, written I know not by what cobblers of fables under the name of the apostles." Such writings were never written by them whose name they bear, but were wickedly and falsely counterfeited under their names by sundry heretics.

August. contr. Faust. Lib. xxii. cap. lxxx.

This is that whereof our Saviour gave us warning: "Take heed that no man deceive you; for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall deceive many." Again he saith: "If any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets." Into what shape cannot he transform himself? In whose name will not he craftily set forth his errors, which dareth falsely set himself in the place of the Son of God? This hath evermore been the practice of that old serpent, to change himself into the likeness of an angel of light; and, under the credit of holy men, to deceive the world with unholy and unwholesome things. Since the time that the church of God hath departed from her first faith, and would no longer be guided by the voice of the gospel, what and how great forgeries have there been wrought! What epistles and canons and decretals have been devised to maintain several parts of false religion, and published under the name of Clemens, Cletus, Anacletus, and of others, whereof these holy fathers never thought! Thus have they cloked themselves under the covert of the apostles, and of the fathers of the primitive church, and have sought[3] to win credit in the world by false shew of antiquity.

Matt. xxiv.

It is certain that the Son of man shall come with his holy angels, and shall reward every man according to that he hath done in this life. Then will he give sentence against the wicked, and will place the faithful at his right hand. In that day "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and the works that are therein shall be utterly burned." In that day "we which live and remain shall be caught up together with them (that are dead in Christ) in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." "But of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only," saith our Saviour Christ.

2 Pet. iii.

1 Thess. iv.

Matt. xxiv.[4]

Now, it remaineth that we see by occasion of this practice of the false prophets or false apostles, of whom St Paul here warneth the Thessalonians, how the wicked abuse the holy scriptures, and understand them contrary to their meaning. St Peter said: "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night," even as Paul had written unto this people; as also it is spoken in the words of Christ: "They shall see the Son of man come in the clouds with power and great glory." The false apostles use the same words, and wrest them to evil purpose, and take upon them to judge of the end of the world, and at what time the coming of Christ should be.

2 Pet. iii.

Matt. xxiv.

---

[1] Matter, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[2] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Cont. Faust. Lib. XXII. cap. lxxix. Tom. VIII. col. 409. See before, page 113, note 8.]

[3] Thought, 1584, 1594.]

[4] 1594 omits this reference.]

Christ said: "Destroy this temple; and in three days I will raise it up again." John ii. There arose certain that did bear false witness against him, saying: "We heard him say he would destroy this temple made with hands." They remembered that[5] temple was forty and six years a building, and thought it impossible that he could rear it in three days. They took his words otherwise than he meant. They thought of the material temple of stone in Hierusalem; and "he spake of the temple of his body."

Again Christ saith: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church." Matt. xvi. These are the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, after he had witnessed of him that he is Christ the Son of the living God. Hereof they say, Peter is the rock, and the bishop of Rome is Peter's successor: he is the rock upon which the church is builded, and shall stand stedfast for ever. But they understand the words contrary to the meaning. For, alas! who would conceive that God would build his church upon a man, or upon any creature? Christ only is that rock whereupon his church is settled. "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. iii. Therefore Chrysostom expoundeth those words: *Super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam; id est, super fidem atque confessionem*[6]: "I will build my church upon this rock; that is, upon this faith and confession." Chrysost. Hom. 55. in Matt. Likewise St Augustine: *Super hanc petram, quam confessus es, &c.*[7]: "Upon this rock which thou hast confessed, upon this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, will I build my church. That is, I will build my church upon myself, which am the Son of the living God. I will not build myself upon thee, but I will thee upon me." Hom. 13. de Verb. Dom. sec. Matt.

Christ saith: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." John iii. These words are most true. For by our own nature we be the vessels of God's wrath, and the children of damnation: unless we be regenerate, and born anew of water and of the Holy Ghost, we cannot be saved. Yet Nicodemus, a wise man, a Pharisee, and a ruler of the Jews, mistook this speech: it seemed strange unto him how a man might be born when he is old. "Can he enter," saith he, "the second time into his mother's womb, and be born? how can these things be? Jesus answered and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" This new birth must be from above, even by the working of the Holy Ghost.

Again Christ saith: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you." John vi. The Jews heard him, but mistook his words. They did not understand his meaning. Therefore they said: "This is an hard saying: who can abide the hearing of it?" They reasoned among themselves how it might be, that either he could give them his flesh to eat, or that they could take his flesh and eat it, or take his blood to drink it. "But when Jesus knew that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, Doth this offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing." Hereof Augustine saith: *Acceperunt illud stulte, &c.*[9]: "They took the saying of Christ foolishly, they thought of it carnally, and imagined that the Lord would cut off small pieces from his body and give it to them. Therefore they said, This saying is hard. They were hard, and not the saying. For, if they had been meek, and not hard, they would have said to themselves: This is not spoken without some cause: there is some mystery hidden under his words." And again he saith: *Spiritualiter intelligite quæ locutus sum. Non hoc corpus, &c.*[11]: "Understand those things spiritually which I have spoken unto you[12]. You shall not eat (with the August. in Psalm. xcviii.[8] Ibid.[10]

[5 Remembered that that, 1594.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. liv. Tom. VII. p. 548. See before, page 340, note 5.]

[7 ...super hanc petram quam confessus es, super hanc petram quam cognovisti, dicens, Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi, ædificabo ecclesiam meam: id est, super me ipsum, Filium Dei vivi, ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Super me ædificabo te, non me super te.—August. Op. De Verb. Evang. Matt. xiv. Serm. lxxvi. 1. Tom. V. col. 415.]

[8 1594 omits this reference.]

[9 ...acceperunt illud stulte, carnaliter illud cogitaverunt, et putaverunt quod præcisurus esset Dominus particulas quasdam de corpore suo, et daturus illis, et dixerunt, Durus est hic sermo. Ipsi erant duri, non sermo. Etenim si duri non essent, sed mites essent; dicerent sibi, Non sine causa dicit hoc, nisi quia est ibi aliquod sacramentum latens.—Id. In Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1065.]

[10 1594 omits this reference.]

[11 Id. ibid. col. 1066. See before, p. 451, note 8.]

[12 1583, 1584 omit *you*; 1594 omits *unto you*.]

mouth of your body) this body that you see, nor shall you drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commended unto you some sacrament: understand it spiritually; and it shall quicken you."

Thus we see the true meaning of Christ's[1] words, and after what gross manner the Capernaites understood them. Let us beware we fall not into like error. Christ spake truly of his body, when he called it a temple. The Jews destroyed it; and in three days he did raise it up again. Mistake not his words, be not deceived. It is true that he said: "Upon this rock will I build my church." Mistake him not: Christ himself is the rock, and not Peter. It is true that a man must be born anew, or else he cannot be saved. Mistake not this: hereby is meant not a bodily birth, but a renewing of the soul of man. It is truly said that Christ's flesh is that bread that came from heaven, and giveth life to the world; but mistake it not; for this bread filleth not the body, but the mind: it requireth the hunger of the inner man. Even so is it true that the apostle saith of the day of the Lord. Take heed you mistake him not, and fall into the error of the false apostles, which take upon them to appoint the time and hour when the Son of man shall come unto judgment.

Ver. 3. *Let no man deceive you by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition.*

The church of God hath ever been under persecution and afflictions, as may appear by the stories of all ages; but God hath not failed to comfort them, and work their deliverance. Israel was in great bondage under Pharao. They were put to great slavery, to chop straw, and to bake brick, &c. Their male children were slain before their faces. This was done unto them that so they might be rooted out, and their name quite put out from the earth. It was high time for the Lord to put to his hand. They called upon him in their troubles; and he heard them. Then sent he Moses and Aaron, and delivered them: he opened the Red Sea, and gave them passage.

When the Philistines oppressed them, God sent them Gedeon, Barac, Jehu[2], Debora, and Samson, whom he endued with wisdom, and courage, and power to overcome their enemies, and to set them at liberty. What should I speak of Nabuchodonosor, Antiochus, Nero, Julian, and other tyrants? They oppressed the servants of God, and kept them in great misery. But God looked down from heaven, and was their helper in the time of need: he brake the cords asunder, and delivered them. The more cruelty was intended[3] or practised against them, the more glorious did God shew himself in the overthrow of their enemies. Great oppressions and cruel persecutions were done upon the saints of God by these[4] and other wicked princes. But the most cruel of any that ever were, or are, or shall be, is the cruelty of antichrist. By him the church of God shall suffer great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world. And then shall his fury increase, and his tyranny be the greater, when his kingdom shall decay, and the days of his desolation shall be at hand. Primasius saith: *Tunc cadet Babylon, quando novissime potestatem persequendi sanctos acceperit*[5]: "Then shall Babylon come to the ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the saints of God." For then will God arise, and will judge his own cause; he will deliver the afflicted, and will slay antichrist with the breath of his mouth. Hereof St Gregory saith thus: "The church, after these days of her affliction, shall afterward notwithstanding be strengthened with great power and might of preaching[6]."

Primas. in Apoc. cap. xvi.

Gregor. in Job. cap. xxix. Lib. xix. cap. ix.

"Except there come a departing first." There must first be a departing from faith in the church of God; and then shall be the coming of the Lord. There was one general departing in the days of Noah. All flesh had corrupt their ways: there was not any that did seek after righteousness. Then came the day of the

[1 Christ, 1611.]
[2 Probably, Ehud.]
[3 Extended, 1584, 1594.]
[4 Those, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[5 Tunc autem Babylonia cadit, quando, &c.— Primas. Comm. in Apoc. Lib. IV. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. VI. Pars II. p. 185.]
[6 Quamvis post eosdem dies quibus deprimitur, jam tamen circa ipsum finem temporum grandi prædicationis virtute roboretur. — Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. XIX. in cap. xxix. B. Job, cap. xii. 19. Tom. I. col. 613.]

Lord upon them: he poured out the waters, and they prevailed upon the earth; so that both man, and cattle, and worm, and the fowl of the heaven were destroyed. There was a general departiug of the Jews and people of God at Hierusalem. They made the house of God a den of thieves: they saved a thief, and crucified the Lord of glory. God had no delight in them, neither regarded their sacrifices. Christ said unto them: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which have been sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her[8] chickens under her wings; and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." "They shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." Such a departing it shall be whereof the apostle speaketh, and so general, that the Son of man when he cometh shall hardly find faith upon the earth. Matt. xxiii.[7] Luke xix.[7]

But this departing is diversly taken. Some understand it of the empire, that the kingdoms[9] and countries, which were before in subjection to that estate, shall depart from it, and that then antichrist shall spring up. Others think that this is spoken of that departing, wherein the godly have carried themselves from the obedience of the church of Rome. But others more truly say, it is the departure from the doctrine, and religion, and love, and obedience of the gospel of Christ; whereof in another place he saith: "In the latter[10] times some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks of them which believe and know the truth." These men shall have a form of godliness, but shall deny the power thereof. They shall turn their ears away from the truth, and will incline their hearts to hear fables. 1 Tim. iv.[7]

The words of the apostle are plain, to shew that there shall be a departing. But, as we see, it is not agreed upon, what manner of departing this shall be, nor by whom it shall be wrought. Our adversaries lay it unto us, saying: You have wrought this departing: you have departed from the church of Rome: you are they of whom St Paul hath spoken: you are the founders of antichrist: so say they. But would to God they and their fathers and the church of Rome had not wrought this departure! Bernard beheld the state, and pride, and disorders of the church of Rome in his time; therefore said: *Superest... ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis, non modo dæmonium diurnum, sed et meridianum; quod non solum transfiguratur in angelum lucis, sed extollitur supra omne quod dicitur Deus, aut quod colitur*[11]: "It remaineth that the man of sin, that is, the son of perdition, be revealed; even the devil which flieth not only in the day, but destroyeth in the noon-day; which is not only changed into an angel of light, but is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." And Gregory did see who they were that should work this departing, and make way for antichrist; therefore said: *Ego fidenter dico, &c.*[12]: "I speak it boldly, Whosoever calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called (as doth the pope) in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of antichrist." Bernard. Serm. 6 in Psal. xci. Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 30.

Now that we may yet better know what manner of departure that shall be, let us consider what St Paul speaketh of the church of God which was in his time. Unto the Corinthians he saith: "If all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, he is judged of all men; and so are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so will he fall down on his face and worship God, and say plainly that God is in you indeed. How is it then, brethren? when you come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation: let all things be done unto edifying, &c. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as we see in all the churches." Blessed were they of God. All things 1 Cor. xiv.

[7 These references are not in 1594.]
[8 His, 1611.]
[9 Kingdom, 1594.]
[10 Later, 1594.]
[11 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Psalm. Qui hab. Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838; where *dæmonium non modo diurnum.*]
[12 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. VII. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881. See before, page 344.]

among them were done to edifying. The holy scriptures were read openly in the presence of the people: the people reverently kept silence, and gave[1] ear, and understood the will of God, and submitted themselves unto it. The prayers were in a known tongue, so that the unlearned might understand them, and say Amen. The holy mysteries were duly ministered. The people received the sacrament of the Lord's supper under both kinds, as Christ had instituted; and did all communicate together. Chrysostom, writing upon that chapter, saith: *Vere tum ecclesia cœlum fuit, &c.*[2]: "Verily the church then was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church."

Chrysost. Hom. 36. in 1 ad Cor.

In the time of Tertullian the Christians still kept this manner. Therefore he saith: *Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem, fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus*[3]: "We meet together at the reading of the holy scriptures: we nourish our faith with those heavenly words; by them we raise up our hope, and settle our affiance and trust." Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen[4], and other ancient and godly fathers commended the reading of the scriptures unto[5] the people, called upon[6] them to read them themselves, or to get others to read unto them; and that they would hear them not only in the church, but also at home in their houses. They taught them the hurt and danger of ignorance; that ignorance of the scriptures hath been the cause of heresies, and that it hath brought in corruption of life and of manners. This was the order and usage of the church in the time of the holy apostles and of our first fathers. The people were guided by the word of God: they were made partakers of the holy mysteries; and all things were done in the church to edifying. And the same order is this day restored and practised in our churches.

Tertull. in Apolog.

Let us look into the church of Rome, and behold the usage and behaviour thereof. Where shall we find that heavenly comeliness which St Paul requireth? Where is the comfortable reading of scriptures? Where is the people taught their salvation in Christ Jesus? Where is the brotherly meeting of all the congregation at the communion of the Lord's supper? May we say of Rome that it holdeth fast the form and fashion of that church which Christ and his apostles left unto us, and which the holy ancient fathers continued? nay, rather, we may say of them with Chrysostom: They may have the chests and coffers wherein the treasure was sometimes kept, but the treasures they have not[7]. We may say: It is not now a house of prayer, but a den of thieves. We may say: It shall no more be called Bethel, the house of God, but Bethaven, the house of vanity, or of lying.

Jupiter and Bacchus and the idols of the heathen were not so dishonoured of their worshippers as the almighty and everlasting and only true God is dishonoured in that synagogue. I speak of it as it is now, and as it hath been these many years. For in the time of our elder fathers it had great testimony of true holiness. Ignatius called it *castissimam*[8], "most chaste." Tertullian said it was a happy church; because the apostles of Christ suffered martyrdom in it, and left their whole doctrine unto it[9]. And in like sort did others give unto Rome, as it was in those times, reverend and worthy commendation. But now, saith he,

> O Roma, a Roma quantum mutata vetusta es[10]!
> Nunc caput es scelerum, quæ caput orbis eras:

"O Rome, how much art thou changed from the old Rome! Thou which hast been the chief in all the world art now the chief in all naughtiness." They have forsaken the trade of life and the love of the gospel, which they of old time had in Rome; and therefore cannot be inheritors of their commendation.

---

[1] Give, 1611.]

[2] Καὶ γὰρ οὐρανὸς ἡ ἐκκλησία τότε, τοῦ Πνεύματος πάντα δημαγωγοῦντος καὶ τῶν προεστώτων ἕκαστον κινοῦντος, καὶ ἔνθουν ποιοῦντος.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[3] Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem...certe fidem, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 39. p. 34.]

[4] See before, pages 670, 85, &c.]

[5] To, 1594.]

[6] On, 1594.]

[7] See below, note 14.]

[8] ...ἀξίαγνος.—Ignat. ad Rom. Epist. Procem. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 344.]

[9] Ista quam felix ecclesia! cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt.—Tertull. Op. De Præscr. Hæret. 36. p. 245. Conf. Adv. Marcion. Lib. IV. 5. p. 505.]

[10] Est, 1611.]

When Chrysostom considered the state of the church as the apostle speaketh of it unto the Corinthians, and did see how far the church in his time swerved from that, he said: *Nunc vero vestigia tantum rerum illarum tenemus*[11]: "We have now only the[12] bare signs of those things." Again: *Videtur ecclesia*[13] *hodie mulieri quæ mansuetudine veteri exciderit similis, quæque symbola tantum, &c.*[14]: "The church which is now may be likened to a woman which hath forsaken her wonted modesty, and hath only certain outward shews of that first felicity, and keepeth still the hutches and boxes of precious things, but lacketh the treasure which was in them. To such a woman may the church this day be likened. I speak not this of the gifts (for the matter were not so great if we wanted them only), but of life and of virtue." And again he saith: *Scrinium aliud paterni thesauri exinanitum hodie dicam, &c.*[15]: "I will tell you of one other box of that treasure which our father left unto[16] us, which is empty, and hath nothing left in it at this day. In times past they did sing all together; so do we also: but then they were all of one mind and of one heart; at this day you shall not find one man that agreeth with himself; there is such war and discord in all things every where. The name of peace is common in all places; but peace itself is no where to be found. Then men did use their houses like churches: now men do use the church as they use their house, nay, more profanely than any house." Thus Chrysostom blamed the church in his time, and layeth out their departing from the faith. He lived about four hundred and eleven years after Christ. Chrysost. in xiv. 1 Cor.

What may we think he would say of the church that hath been of latter[17] years, if he had lived to see the deformity and abuses thereof? where, besides that they are not of one mind and of[18] one heart, they suffer not the people all together to sing the praises of God; where they have not only emptied such boxes or hutches wherein Christ left great treasures unto his church, but have made light account of them, and have cast away the very patterns and images of true godliness. They drive away the people from reading the scriptures, and reckon that as unlawful as to cast the bread of the children unto dogs, or pearls before swine. They lead men from trust in the blood of Christ, and teach them to believe such things, and to put confidence in those creatures, which cannot profit or help them at all. You may remember what prayers they used. But bless your ears; for they are words[19] full of horrible blasphemy. They said to the holy and blessed virgin Mary, the mother of our Redeemer and Saviour: *In te, virgo Maria, confidimus, in te...speramus, nos defendas in æternum*[20]: "Our trust and hope we put in thee, O virgin Mary, defend us everlastingly." They say: *O felix puerpera nostra pians scelera*: "O happy mother, which dost purge us from our sins." And: *Sanctæ Mariæ merita ducant nos ad regna cœlestia*: "The merits of holy Mary bring us to the heavenly kingdom." Again: *Tu mediatrix Dei et hominum, advocata pauperum, refugium peccatorum*[21]: "Thou art the mediator between God and man, the advocate for the poor, the refuge of all sinners." O merciful Christ! what is become of thy passion? where is the price of thy blood? how are we led away from thee to seek redemption in a creature! Again they say unto her: "Thou art the lady of angels: thou

[11] Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. X. p. 339.]

[12] The only, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[13] Ecclesiæ, 1611.]

[14] Ἀλλ' ἔοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν γυναικὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς εὐημερίας ἐκπεσούσῃ, καὶ τὰ σύμβολα κατεχούσῃ πολλαχοῦ μόνον τῆς ἀρχαίας εὐπραγίας ἐκείνης, καὶ τὰς μὲν θήκας τῶν χρυσίων ἐπιδεικνυμένῃ καὶ τὰ κιβώτια, τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον ἀφῃρημένῃ· ταύτῃ προσέοικεν ἡ ἐκκλησία νῦν. καὶ οὐ χαρισμάτων ἕνεκεν τοῦτο λέγω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ βίου καὶ ἀρετῆς.—Id. ibid.]

[15] Εἶπω καὶ ἄλλην θήκην κεκενωμένην τοῦ πατρῴου κόσμου; συνήεσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὑπέψαλον κοινῇ. τοῦτο ποιοῦμεν καὶ νῦν· ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἐν ἅπασι μία ψυχὴ ἦν καὶ καρδία μία· νυνὶ δὲ οὐδὲ ἐν μιᾷ ψυχῇ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἐκείνην ἴδοι τις ἂν, ἀλλὰ πολὺς ὁ πόλεμος πανταχοῦ...ἀλλὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ταύτης τὸ μὲν ὄνομα πολὺ, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα οὐδαμοῦ. τότε καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι ἐκκλησίαι ἦσαν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκία, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ οἰκίας πάσης χείρων.—Id. ibid. p. 340.]

[16] To, 1594.]

[17] Later, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[18] 1594 omits *of*.]

[19] Swords, 1609, 1611.]

[20] Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. Psalt. B. Mariæ Virg. Tom. VI. p. 491.]

[21] ... ipsa nobis est ad Deum mediatrix, ad angelos pacificatrix, ad dæmones defensatrix, ad nos ipsos illuminatrix.—Id. Specul. B. Mariæ Virg. Lect. xi. p. 447. See a variety of expressions similar to those in the text in Missal. ad Us. Eccles. Sarum, 1527. Offic. B. Mariæ, fol. 26; Visit. B. Mariæ, fol. 32; Per Octav. Assumpt. fol. 48. &c.]

art the queen of heaven. Command thy Son: shew thyself to be a mother[1]." He is thy son; thou art his mother: the mother may command; the child must obey. Again, they turn all that is spoken in the whole book of the psalms of the prophet David either of God or of Christ, and apply it to the virgin Mary, and call that psalter *psalterium beatæ Mariæ*, "the psalter of blessed Mary." Who will take the pains to peruse it shall find that comfortable speech of our Saviour, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you," thus blasphemously abused in the second psalm: *Venite ad eam, omnes qui laboratis et tribulati estis; et refrigerium et solatium dabit animabus vestris*[2]: "Come unto her, all ye that travail and be heavily loaden[3]; and she will give rest and comfort to your souls." Another saith, the kingdom of God is of two parts, of justice and of mercy. He reserveth justice to himself; and the other part, that is, mercy, he hath yielded unto his mother. Therefore one of them playeth the proctor, and taketh upon him to shew the difference of those two courts, saying: *A foro justitiæ Dei appellandum est ad forum misericordiæ matris ejus:* "You must appeal from the court of God's justice to the court of his mother's mercy." And is there not good cause he should give us this counsel, if it be true that he hath written? *Nulla gratia venit de cœlo ad terram, nisi transeat per manus Mariæ. Est enim mediatrix salvationis, justificationis, reconciliationis, communicationis*[4]: "No mercy cometh from heaven to the earth, but it must pass by the hands of Mary: for she is the mediator of our salvation, of our justification, of our reconciliation, and of our participation." What is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy? They which will seem somewhat to blush at these things will perhaps excuse this, and call it spiritual dalliance. Unhappy are they, and heavy judgment shall abide them, that in such sort dally and scorn the price of our redemption. O let us open our eyes: we are the sons of God: God hath given us eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand. Let us judge uprightly. It is God's cause. Whosoever considereth these and such other great errors, must needs confess that the church of Rome hath wrought that departing whereof the apostle speaketh. In the late council of Trident Cornelius, the bishop of Bitonto, did something plainly acknowledge the great apostasy and departing of the church of Rome, both in matters of faith and in conversation and life. These be his words: *Utinam a religione ad superstitionem, &c.*[5]: "Would God they were not gone wholly with general consent from religion to superstition, from faith to infidelity, from Christ to antichrist, from God to Epicure; saying with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God! Neither hath there been this[6] great while any pastor or pope that regarded these things. For they all," both pope and cardinals and other, "sought their own; and not so much as one of them sought for the things that pertain to Jesus Christ." Yet say they, There can be no departing from faith in the church of Rome; the faith thereof cannot fail; for Christ hath said: "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." And again: "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Therefore in that place there can be no decay. This is the saying of some who humble not themselves to know their error; who "love the praise of men more than the praise of God;" "whose glory is their shame, which mind earthly things."

Matt. xi.

Psalt. Beat. Mariæ, Psal. ii.

Bernardin. in Mariał.

Luke xxii.

Matt. xvi.

The apostle saith there shall be a departing; that it shall be not among the Jews and infidels, but among those which were reckoned to be of the

[1 O igitur imperatrix et Domina nostra benignissima, jure matris impera tuo dilectissimo Filio Domino nostro Jesu Christo.—Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. Coron. B. Mariæ Virg. Tom. VI. p 466.]

[2 Venite ad eam, qui laboratis et tribulati estis: et dabit refrigerium animabus vestris.—Id. Psalt. B. Mariæ Virg. Psalm. ii. p. 478.]

[3 Laden, 1594.]

[4 The former part of the passage in the text appears to be cited by Bernardinus from Bernard.—Bernardin. de Senis Sermon. Lugd. 1501. Tractat. de B. Virg. Serm. iii. fol. 43. 2. See also Serm. xi. fol. 64. Conf. Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Vigil. Nat. Dom. Serm. iii. 10. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 765.]

[5 Utinam non a religione ad superstitionem, a fide ad infidelitatem, a Christo ad antichristum, quin a Deo ad Epicurum, vel ad Pythagoram, velut prorsus unanimes declinassent, dicentes in corde impio et in ore impudico, Non est Deus! Neque jamdiu fuit pastor qui requireret, patres: non fuit inquam qui requireret: quia omnes quæ sua sunt quærebant, quæ Jesu Christi, ne unus quidem.—Cornel. Episc. Bitont. Orat. in Concil. Trident. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 993.]

[6 A, 1594.]

household of faith, and the children of God. What is it from which they shall depart, or wherein the decay shall be? Doth he mean their riches, their gold, and silver, and bread, &c.? No, but the doctrine of the gospel, and faith in Christ. The pure words, which as silver from the earth are tried, and purified seven times in the fire; the well of water, which springeth up into everlasting life, shall decay in the house of God. The people shall shut their ears, that they may not hear the truth, and shall give heed unto spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, which speak lies through hypocrisy. And let them not say the church of Rome cannot err: for where did Christ ever give, or where have the apostles ever made mention of any such privilege granted to that church? St Peter saith: "There were false prophets also among the people; even as there shall be false teachers among you, which privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath bought them, and bring upon themselves swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." Paul warned the church of God at Ephesus, not only that after his departing grievous wolves should enter in among them; but also that of themselves should men arise speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them. When Christ said, "When the Son of man shall come, shall he find faith upon the earth?" and when he told his disciples that the abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place; when he warned them in this sort, "Then, if any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived;" it is most evident he spake of that departing which should come, and should appear in the church of God: which departing our forefathers did behold and mark in their times; and which hath of late years appeared so manifestly, that no man who is not wilfully blind can doubt thereof.

2 Pet. ii. Acts xx. Luke xviii. Matt. xxiv.

St Paul knew not any such state of the church of Rome, or any especial grant made unto it, in such sort that it should never err. For unto the church of Rome he writeth: "Boast not thyself." "Be not high-minded, but fear. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. Through unbelief they are broken off; and thou standest by faith. Behold therefore the bountifulness and severity of God; towards them which have fallen, severity; but towards thee bountifulness, if thou continue in his bountifulness; or else thou shalt also be cut off." That is, if he spared not the Jews, his own people, how will he spare thee, that art but a stranger? If thou continue not, thou shalt be cut off. It may be thou shalt also depart from the faith, as the Jews have done: then shalt thou be as a withered branch, and shalt not draw any moisture from the root: then will God also forsake thee; and thy end shall be worse than the beginning. I trow, in saying thus he said not, "Thou shalt not err." If the church of Rome cannot err, what need have they of that church either of the scriptures, or of the fathers, or of[7] councils? Perhaps through this pride they grew first to despise the holy scriptures, and would not direct their ways by them. They are high-minded, and boast themselves that they are as mount Sion, which shall not be moved. Yet our Saviour likeneth the church sometimes to sheep; as in the fifteenth of St Matthew: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of Israel;" sometimes to children, which are simple and soon beguiled; sometimes to a vine, which is weak and easily thrown down; sometimes to the moon, which waxeth, and is also in wane, and many times giveth no light. The ancient fathers compare the church of God to no one thing so usually as to a ship. And who knoweth[8] not how a ship is tossed hither and thither? how it is in danger of sands, and of rocks, and of pirates, and in danger of drowning by leaking? If the sheep were not a straying kind of cattle, what should they need a shepherd? If little children could guide themselves, what need had they of a guider? If the vine did not hang down and lie on the ground,

Rom. xi.

[7 1584, 1594, omit *of*.] [8 Knows, 1594.]

what need were there of props, or of one to set it up? If there were no fear for the passage of a ship, if it could not miscarry, what should it need a pilot? Let no man therefore say, the church is safe for ever, it cannot err, it cannot decay. Such words are deceivable and lying words. For false prophets shall come. There shall be a desolation: there shall be a departing, even in the house of God; and that day of Christ "shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition."

Ver. 4. *Which is an adversary, and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he doth sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.*

This the apostle speaketh of antichrist. He is the man of sin, and the son of perdition. It will be somewhat hard to treat of this matter, and to open the words of this scripture. Whatsoever I shall speak, it will be ill taken of many, and many will doubt of the truth of my speeches; such affection they bear to him whom the apostle deciphereth to be antichrist. Albeit, whatsoever I will utter in opening the apostle's words, shall be such as the holy scriptures and learned writings of the holy fathers have left unto us, and the church of God hath proved, and at this day doth prove to be true. God promised that Christ should come into the world, even the Shiloh, unto whom all the people should be gathered; and that he should be the hope of Israel, and deliver his people from their sins. God made promise of him to Adam, and to Abraham, David, &c. The[1] scriptures are full, and the prophets make often mention of this promise. Old men, and young men, and all the people
Exod. iv. waited for the fulfilling thereof, and said: "Send him whom thou wilt send."
Isai. xlv. And again: "Ye heavens, send the dew from above, and let the clouds drop down righteousness: let the earth open, and let salvation and justice grow
Isai. xxxv. forth." And again: "God will come and save you." Thus was every eye bent
Gal. iv. upon him, and every heart waited for his coming. But "when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son made of a woman, that we might
John i. receive the adoption of the sons." "He was in the world,... and the world
John iii. knew him not. He came unto his own; and his own received him not." "Light came into the world; and men loved darkness better than light." They to whom the promise was made, and which wished for him, and made all their common talk of the hope of his coming, when he came knew him not; they
Matt. xi. reviled him, and said: "Behold a glutton and drinker of wine, a friend unto publicans and sinners." They called him Beelzebub, and a false prophet, and a seducer of the people. Him they did take by the hands of the wicked: they betrayed him, they denied the holy One and just: they hanged on a tree and killed the Lord of life. Such was the receiving of Christ. This did they to him through ignorance. It was not given them to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven. They have not known the Father, nor whom he hath sent,
Luke x. Jesus Christ. Therefore saith he: "I confess unto thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and learned, and hast revealed them to babes; even so, Father, because it so pleased thee."

Now, as the coming of Christ was, such is the coming of antichrist. God
Dan. ix.[2] hath foretold of his coming. Daniel hath foretold. Christ and his apostles Paul and John have foretold it: the scriptures and old fathers make often mention hereof. There is none, neither old nor young, neither learned nor unlearned, but he hath heard of antichrist. They hate his name, and detest him, before they know him. But here you may mark the wonderful sleight and subtilty of Satan. The world shall look after the coming of antichrist. He shall not fail but come. All men shall carry hatred against him, and reckon him abominable; and yet their eyes shall be blinded and their hearts deceived, so that they shall not know him. They shall hate his name, and embrace his doctrine: he shall cover himself with a cloke of holiness. They shall think they do good service unto Christ, but shall therein do service unto antichrist.

[1] 1594 omits *the*.] [2] 1584, 1594 omit this reference.]

The divers fantasies of men have devised many sundry fond tales of the person of antichrist. Some say he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan: some, that he should be born in Babylon; some, that he should be bred up in Bethsaida and Corazin; some, that he should rise up in Syria; some, that Mahomet is antichrist; some, that he should overthrow Rome; some, that he should build up the city of Hierusalem; some, that Nero was antichrist; some, that he should be born of a friar and a nun; some, that he should continue but three years and a half; some, that he should turn trees upside down, with the tops in the ground, and should force the roots to grow upward, and then should flee up into heaven, and fall down and break his neck. These tales have been craftily devised to beguile our eyes, that, whilst we think upon these guesses, and so occupy ourselves in beholding a shadow or probable conjecture of antichrist, he which is antichrist indeed may unawares deceive us.

"Except that man of sin be disclosed." The apostle seemeth to teach us of antichrist as if he should be one man, because he calleth him "the man of sin." But we may not so take him. The manner of the scripture is oftentimes, and in divers places it speaketh that of many which seemeth to be spoken but of one. So doth Daniel set forth the kingdom and all the kings of Persia in the name and likeness of a bear, and so describeth the state of other whole kingdoms in such particular names. And so doth the Spirit of God in the Revelation set down under the name of the beast the succession and continuance of many. He meaneth not, therefore, that antichrist shall be any one only man, but one estate or kingdom of men, and a continuance of some one power and tyranny in the church. Dan. vii. Rev. xiii.

We read of Pharao, a cruel tyrant, that he did persecute the people of God in Egypt; and of Nabuchadonosor, that he oppressed them, and brought them captives into Babylon: and of Antiochus, that he likewise fought against them, and did overcome them, and led them captives into Macedonia. They all were mighty and cruel tyrants: yet one other shall come, whose cruelty shall be heavier and whose continuance shall be longer than was the cruelty or continuance of any of these; who shall work his purpose, not in Egypt, nor in Babylon, nor in Macedonia, but "in the holy place, even in the church of Christ, and in the house of God." And this state and continuance of persecution in the church is the state of antichrist.

But what shall he do whereby he may be known? Paul saith: "Which is an adversary." This shall be the mark whereby you may know him: he shall set himself against God and against Christ; for he is an enemy of the cross of Christ. Why then (say you) are not the Jews, and Mahomet, and the Turk, either all or the most wicked of them so called, seeing they utterly refuse all christian religion? Because none of these sit in the temple of God, which is the place where antichrist shall advance himself; and because antichrist shall not in open shew set himself against Christ, as doth Mahomet and the Turks, but subtlely and craftily, like an evil and ungracious servant. He will not openly speak his blasphemies, or spit at the gospel of God, or defy the name of Christ; but he will call himself "the servant of God," perhaps "the vicar of Christ," and perhaps "the servant of God's servants," or perhaps "the head or the chief member of the church." He shall say he is led with the zeal of God's house, and shall do nothing less; for he shall seek himself. He shall say he seeketh the glory of God, when all that he doth[3] is for the enriching and ambitious enlarging of his own worldly pomp and vanity.

In matters of princes, if any man take upon him the name of an embassador or deputy to a prince, having no commission thereto, and in this boldness presume to levy and raise a power, and force the subjects to follow him; although he work all this under the name and by the colour of the prince's authority (as is the manner of rebels to do), yet he is a traitor, and his doings are not well thought of, because he dealeth in the prince's matters without warrant from the prince. Even so antichrist, he shall come in the name of Christ, yet will he do all things against Christ, and, under pretence and colour of serving Christ, he shall devour

[3] Doeth, 1583.]

the sheep and people of Christ; he shall deface whatsoever Christ hath taught; he shall quench that fire which Christ hath kindled; he shall root up those plants which Christ hath planted; he shall undermine that house, which Christ hath built.

He shall be contrary to Christ, his faith contrary to the faith of Christ, and his life contrary to the life of Christ. Is any man desirous to know antichrist? His coming shall be notable, it shall astonne the world. By this mark you may know him: he shall be contrary to Christ. To shew you at large this contrariety, by comparison of things contrary in Christ and antichrist, would ask long time. It shall be sufficient we consider only some few wherein they are manifestly contrary, that by them judgment may be made of the residue.

Heb. x. Ibid. St Paul saith: "With one offering hath he consecrated for ever them that are sanctified." And again: "We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made." What is he then that saith, I make priests to offer a daily sacrifice for the sins of the people, by whom the offering up of the body of Christ is made every day? He is contrary to Christ, he is antichrist. St Paul

Eph. i. saith: "God hath appointed Christ over all things to be the head of the church." What is he then which saith, I am the head of the church? which saith, All the churches of God are knit in me: you must understand as I understand; you must hear with mine ears, and see with mine eyes; I will govern and direct you? He is contrary to Christ: this is antichrist. Christ ordained

Matt. xxvi. that the communion should be ministered under[1] both kinds. What is he then that delivereth it to the people but under one kind? He is contrary to Christ: he breaketh the first institution of the Lord's supper: he is antichrist.

John xviii. Christ saith: "My kingdom is not of this world." What is he then which saith, I am Lord of lords, and King of kings, I have right to both swords; my power and authority reacheth over all the kingdoms of the world? He

John xiii. is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ washed his disciples' feet. What is he then that giveth his feet to be kissed of kings and emperors?

Matt. xvii. He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ paid tribute to[2] Cæsar. What is he then that exempteth himself and his clergy from the temporal

Mark x. sword and authority? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ allowed marriage, and reproved fornication. What is he then that alloweth fornication, and forbiddeth marriage? He is contrary to Christ; he is anti-

John v. christ. Christ saith: "Search the scriptures." What is he then which saith, Give not that which is holy to[3] dogs, neither cast pearls before swine: ye may not search the scriptures? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. These be the certain and undoubted marks of antichrist.

"So that he doth sit in the temple of God." That is, he is bold and without force of any danger. He is not driven to hide himself in a corner; he is exalted in the eye and in the heart of the world. He beareth rule in the conscience of men. He hath the keys to open and shut at his pleasure. He maketh kings and princes become his subjects. He ruleth them; not by sword or spear only, but by pretence of religion: he telleth them all things are put in subjection under his feet; that he is the vicar of Christ; that his word must be taken as the word of God. So he sitteth in the temple of God as if he were God.

The godly preachers sit also in the temple of God; they are the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God. There they expound the scriptures, and shew the good and acceptable will of God. There they exhort, and teach, and reprove, and correct, and instruct the people in righteousness. Antichrist sitteth not in the church after this sort. He teacheth not, nor exhorteth the people. He maketh that no part of his office. How sitteth he then? What shall he say? What shall he do? The apostle telleth us: "He exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped." He shall be honoured with the honour that is due unto God. He shall shine and glitter in gold and precious stones. He shall be carried upon the shoulders of men, and waited upon by kings and princes and great estates. So shall he be contrary to Christ.

[1 Unto, 1583.] [2 Unto, 1594.] [3 Unto, 1584, 1594.]

Christ was humble and lowly. The prophet in his own person speaketh of him: "I am a worm, and not a man; a shame of men, and the contempt of the people." And the apostle saith: "He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." Behold his parents, his birth, his cradle; behold his life, his disciples, his doctrine, and his death: all were witnesses unto his humility. He saith of himself: "The Son of man hath not whereon to rest his head." And to his disciples he saith: "The kings of the gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords; but you shall not be so." And again: "Learn of me, that I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls." Psal. xxii. Phil. ii. Matt. viii. Luke xxii. Matt. xi.

Now on the other part take view of antichrist. Behold his birth, his place, his chair, his estate, his doctrine, his disciples, and all his life: you shall see nothing but pomp and glory. Gregory calleth him the king of pride[4]. He is proud in life, proud in doctrine, proud in word, and proud in deeds. He is like unto Lucifer, and setteth himself before his brethren, and over nations and kingdoms. He maketh every knee to bow down to him and worship him: he maketh kings to bring him water, to carry his train, to hold his cup, to bear his dish, to lead his bridle, and to hold his[5] stirrup: he claimeth power over heaven and earth: he saith he is lord over all the world, the lord of lords, and the king of kings; that his authority reacheth up into heaven and down into hell; that he can command the angels of God; that he condemneth whom he will condemn; that he maketh saints at his pleasure; that whatsoever he blesseth is blessed; and that it is cursed whatsoever he curseth.

He selleth merits, the forgiveness of sins, the sacrifice for the quick and the dead. He maketh merchandise of the souls of men. He layeth his filthy hands upon the Lord's anointed. He removeth kings, and deposeth the states and princes of the world. This is antichrist. This is his power. Thus shall he work and make himself manifest. So shall he sit in the temple of God. The people shall wonder at him, and shall have him in reverence: they shall say, "Who is like unto the beast?" Who is so wise, so mighty, so godly, so virtuous, so holy, so like unto God? So intolerable and monstrous shall be his pride.

It were much for him to sit in the seat and to occupy the room of an earthly king or emperor. But he shall take upon him the authority and the name of God, the name of the living Lord, the name of God which hath made heaven and earth, even the name of God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. And in this pride he shall exceed all others[6] that have been wicked. The Pharisees and the scribes were wicked; yet none of them did sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he was God. Arius, Nestorius, Montanus, Valentinus, were wicked heretics; yet they never took upon them the name of God. What should I say of this blasphemy? or in whom may we find the like? Mahomet was a Turk, and a false prophet, and a deceiver of the people; yet he took not upon him the name of God. This point and reach of ungodliness belongeth only to antichrist. He shall sit in the place of God in judgments: he shall shew himself out of that place as if he were God. Irenæus saith: *Quum sit servus, tamen adorari vult ut Deus*[7]: "Whereas he is but a servant, he will be worshipped as if he were God." Iren. Lib. v. cap. penult.

But some will say, Antichrist shall be mortal as other men, born of a mortal father and mother: he shall know that he shall die, and that he is but dust, and shall return again into dust; that he cannot make himself, no, that he cannot make the least and vilest of all creatures. How then will he proclaim himself to be an immortal God? How will he call himself God that made heaven and earth; or God which had no beginning, nor shall have any end? No, this is not the meaning of these words. He shall not so think of himself, nor so say. I will tell you after what sort he shall sit in the temple of God, and how the world shall receive him and reverence him as God. He shall take to himself that supreme

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 744. See before, page 345.]

[5 The, 1594.]

[6 Other, 1594.]

[7 ...exsistens apostata et latro, quasi Deus vult adorari; et cum sit servus, regem se vult præconari. —Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxv. p. 322.]

authority and prerogative which appertaineth only to God by nature. Although he be but a man, yet in office he will be accounted as God. He shall compare his laws with the laws of God. He shall say his word is the word of God. Whatsoever he saith, he shall say it is the voice of the Spirit of God, of the same authority that is the[1] gospel of Christ: no man may break it; no man may touch the credit thereof: if any man withstand it, he must think he doth[2] sacrilege, committeth blasphemy, and sinneth against the Holy Ghost. Again, he shall break the laws of God to uphold his own, and shall pull down God to set up himself. Such shall be the power and authority of antichrist; so shall he possess the consciences of the people; so shall he sit as an idol in their hearts; so shall he stand in the place of God, and "shew himself that he is God." The people shall receive his doctrine, and believe his word. They shall fall down before him and
Rev. xiii. worship him. They shall say, "Who is like unto the beast?" What creature is so beautiful as he? They shall honour him as God. But what is he which hath suffered himself to be so called? Who is he which hath been called by the name of God? Of all the creatures which have professed the faith of Christ, of all the kings, or bishops, or priests, or lay-people that ever were in the church of God, who ever required to be called by the holy name of God? or who ever liked well of them which so called him? who hath been so wicked? who hath ever so much forgotten himself? In what place hath he dwelt? Or what hath he been?

Here, methinketh, I see the secret motions of your heart. You look that I should name the bishop of Rome, that it is he which hath suffered himself to be called by the name of God. I will not tell you in mine own words. Unless the bishop himself so speak, I will not tell you. Mark then, and witness of my indifferency, whilst I speak hereof, that I follow not affection, but deal uprightly. Therefore, I say again, unless the bishop himself suffer himself to be called by the name of God, I will not say of him so[3]. Then let us see what he hath written of himself, and what he hath suffered others to write. Pope Nicholas
Dist. 96. Satis evidenter. saith: *Constat summum*[4] *pontificem a pio principe Constantino Deum appellari*[5]: "It is well known that the pope of the godly prince Constantine was called God."
Bulla Pii v. contr. Eliz. And therefore pope Pius in his bull saith: *Nemo audeat obedire*[6]: "No man dare obey her, or her will, or commandments, or laws, upon pain of our curse."

The pope was well content to suffer Christopher Marcellus, one of his para-
In Conc. Later. Sess. 4. sites in the council of Laterane, to say unto him: *Tu es alter Deus in terris*[7]: "Thou art another God in earth." The pope is content in such sort to have a division of tenures made between him and God; as the poet sometime flatteringly wrote: *Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet*[8]: "The emperor parteth his rule, and
Extr. Joh. XXII. Cum inter, in Gloss. holdeth half with Jupiter." In the extravagants it is set down: *Dominus Deus noster papa:* "Our Lord God the pope." Mark these words: "Our Lord God the pope." In them the pope is called "Lord," and is called "God." O merciful Lord God, which from the[9] heavens beholdest this vanity, how great is thy mercy in suffering this! I devise not this. His own books, his own doctors, his own
Ibid. decrees and decretals speak it and set it down. *Credere.... Dominum Deum nostrum papam... non potuisse statuere prout statuit, hereticum censeretur*[10]: "To believe that our Lord God the pope might not decree as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy:" it is so written there: he hath heard it, he hath seen it, he knoweth it is so; yet he suffereth it to go abroad, and thereby suffereth himself to be called God.

He hath burnt many saints of God and holy men for no other cause but for

---

[1] 1584 omits *the*.]

[2] Doeth, 1583.]

[3] Not so say of him, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[4] Secundum, 1611.]

[5] Nicol. Papa in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prima Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 7. col. 467. See before, page 96, note 5.]

[6] Præcipimusque, et interdicimus universis...ne illi ejusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire.—Pius Quintus, cii. in Cherubin. Bullar. Rom. 1586. p. 1072.]

[7] Christoph. Marcell. Orat. in Quart. Later. Concil. Sess. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 109; where *denique* for *es*.]

[8] Virgil.]

[9] Thy, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[10] Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1585. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See before, page 96, note 4.]

the profession of the gospel. He hath in many places burnt the holy bible, and such books as teach nothing but godliness. Where did he ever burn—what speak I of burning—where may it appear that ever he controlled any for so writing, or called in[11] such speeches?

One of them seemeth to take shame of this shameless and blasphemous style or title. He seeketh friendly to temper and qualify and take up the matter. *Nec Deus es, nec homo, quasi neuter es inter utrumque*[12]: "Thou art neither God nor man: in a manner thou art neither of both; but rather a mean between both." That is, Thou art not so high as God, nor yet so base as man. Whom then shall we imagine him to be? Is he an archangel, or angel, or a spirit of the air? God give him grace to see his own vanity, that he may know he is but a miserable and mortal man; that he may know that a time shall come when his hypocrisy and dissimulation shall be disclosed! God give him grace to become godly, as becometh the man of God; that he may indeed be the minister of Christ, and a disposer of the secrets of God; that he may serve God in truth, in holiness, and righteousness, all the days of his life! Clement. in Procem. in Gloss.

But you say, the pope at this day is not called God. He rather abaseth himself, and writeth himself by a title of humility, and is called so: *Servus servorum;* "The servant of servants." Be it so, that he is so called and so written. Yet he is king of kings and lord of lords. This servant saith: I do make holy the unholy: I do justify the wicked: I do forgive sins: I open; and no man shutteth. This servant can say: Whosoever obeyeth not me, he shall be rooted out. This servant may dispense for any commandment of the old and new testament. This servant hath Christ's lieutenantship, not only over things in heaven, over things in earth, and over things in hell; but also over the angels, both good and bad[13]. No man may judge this servant. For they say: *Papa solutus est omni lege humana*[14]: "The pope is exempted from all law of man." And again: *Nec totus clerus, . . nec totus mundus potest papam judicare aut deponere*[15]: "Neither all the clergy nor all the whole world may either judge or depose the pope." Such a power this servant of servants claimeth to himself. What greater power may be given unto God? What angel, what archangel ever had the like power? Extr. de Major. et Obed. Summa Ang. in Dict. Papa. Extr. de Constit. Stat. Canon. Felinus. ix. Quæst. 3. Cuneta. Pet. de Pal. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4.

And this power even at this day pope Pius challengeth as proper to his seat: that he hath the authority which is due to Christ over his church; that no man may judge him, nor say he doth err, nor ask why he doth so. He is invested in the privilege of his church, and loseth no one jot of his dignity. It is yet good at this day, which hath been set down: *Sacrilegii instar esset disputare de facto papæ*[16]: "It is sin as great as sacrilege or church-robbing to reason of any the pope's doings." These be their own words. God knoweth, before whom we stand this day, they be their own words, and not mine. Thus doth he "sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God." Dist. 40. Non nos, in Gloss.

And therefore may we say, as sometime said Eusebius: *Hoc est argumentum eos odisse Deum, quod velint seipsos appellari Deos*[17]: "This is an evident token that they hate God, because they will have themselves called by the name of God:" or as Gregory, who, speaking of antichrist, said: *Cum sit damnatus homo, et nequaquam spiritus, Deum se esse mentitur*[18]: "Whereas he is a cursed man, and not a spirit, he feigneth himself by lying to be a God." Euseb. de Præpar. Lib. vii. Greg. in Job. Lib. xxv cap. xiv.

---

[11] Or calling him in, 1594.]

[12] Corp. Jur. Canon. Clement. Lib. I. Gloss. in Procem. col. 4.]

[13] Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. cols. 202, &c.

Clavas. Summ. Angel. Argent. 1513. Papa, fol. 225.

Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. cols. 10, 1.]

[14] The words here quoted do not appear in the place referred to; but they express the sense of the passage.—Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 17. col. 878. See before, page 68, note 13.]

[15] P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. iv. fol. c. 6; *nec* for *aut*.]

[16] Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. Gloss. in can. 1. col. 194; where *esse* and *de facto suo*.]

[17] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. Par. 1628. Lib. VII. cap. xvi. p. 329.]

[18] Quid namque aliud excelsum brachium accipitur, nisi...Antichristi celsitudo, quæ...erigitur, ita ut homo peccator, et tamen æstimari homo despiciens, Deum se super homines mentiatur?—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. XXIX. in cap. xxxviii. B. Job. cap. viii. 18. Tom. I. col. 925.]

Ver. 5. *Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you, I told you*[1] *these things?*

Before I departed from you, to go farther to plant the gospel in other churches, I told you that antichrist should come, and that he should oppress and confound the church of Christ. Paul was chosen to be an apostle. The office of an apostle was not to rest in any one certain place, but to pass from country to country, from land to land, and to fill all the world with knowledge of the gospel; and therein appeareth the difference between an apostle and a bishop: a bishop had the charge of one certain church; an apostle had the charge over all the churches.

But Paul was not tied to any one city or island or country. He had authority to preach to all cities and countries; to all lands and islands, from the east to
Mark xvi. the west. So did Christ appoint his apostles: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature." They were not sent to Jerusalem, nor to Samaria, nor to Ephesus, nor to Rome only, but into all the world. The whole world was their diocese and their province. So speaketh the prophet
Psal. xix. David of them: "Their sound is gone forth through the earth, and their words into the ends of the world." This was the commission which our Saviour gave unto John, and to James, to Paul, and to Peter, and to the rest of the apostles, that they should go into all the world. Therefore if any of the apostles should have stayed in one only place, and have gone no further[2], he had offended and done otherwise than Christ commanded.

Here we see how foully they are deceived, which say Peter was bishop of Rome, and did sit there five and twenty years. They that say so know not what they say. It is an error. Christ made Peter an apostle, and not to sit as a bishop at Rome. He said unto Peter, "Go into all the world:" thou shalt be a witness unto me unto the utmost[3] coasts of the earth: I send thee unto all the churches, and not to one alone. The like charge received Paul: he travelled from Damascus to Arabia, from Arabia to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to Illyricum, from Illyricum to Rome, and so from country to country, and from coast to coast, to make a pleasant perfume of the gospel of God in all the world, that it might be unto them a savour of life unto life. Therefore saith he to the Thessalonians: "Ye remember that, when I was with you, I told you these things." The Spirit of God warned me to go farther[4]. Other churches required my presence: I was debtor unto them as unto you. Yet before I left you, I told you what dangers should ensue. It was mine office: I was bound so to do, lest you might be deceived. I told you antichrist should come, even that man of sin, the son of perdition, which should destroy himself and others also. I told you he should be an adversary of the gospel of Christ; that he should advance himself over all the kings and powers of the world; that he should sit as God in the holy place; that the people should give him place to sit in their hearts and in their consciences.

This warning the apostle gave to[5] the Thessalonians. The like warning he gave to other churches where he taught the gospel; and the same is also spoken unto us. They knew by his teaching that antichrist should come. We know, by the marks which he hath given to know antichrist, that he is already come; and that the very same is come which the apostle describeth; that he is grown unto his fulness, and hath stalled himself in the place of God.

Ver. 6. *And now ye know what withholdeth that he might be revealed in his time.*

Paul seemeth not in these words to say what letteth the coming of antichrist, but what shall stay the coming of Christ. For so he maketh entry into his matter: "I beseech you, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not troubled, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you

[1] Ye, 1583, 1584.]
[2] Farther, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[3] Outmost, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[4] Further, 1594.]
[5] Unto, 1594.]

by any means. For the day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first," and that antichrist be disclosed. Even so here he saith: "Ye know what withholdeth" Christ, and why he cometh not; even this, that antichrist might first be revealed in his time. His time is appointed. The spring cometh not until the winter have gone before: the night goeth before; and then the day cometh. And so shall not the glorious majesty of Christ's coming appear before the dreadful and dangerous days of antichrist shall come. There shall be no delivery unless bondage go before.

Antichrist shall bring the world into bondage: he shall do violence to the saints of God: he shall be as a continual storm and darkness in the church. The godly shall look up to heaven, and call for aid: they shall cry unto the Lord; and he will hear them. They shall say: "O come, Lord Jesus:" "thy kingdom come," confound thine enemies. Then will he not stay: he will appear and shew himself in glory. In the mean while this is the cause of his stay, this letteth his coming: antichrist must first come. This I take to be the apostle's meaning. It agreeth with the beginning: it is simple, clear, and plain, and without danger of error.

Antichrist shall appear, not when he will, but he shall be revealed in his time. His time is the time of darkness; when shepherds and the guides of the people shall be careless; when the word shall be loathed; when the light shall be put out; when superstition shall reign; when ignorance shall have the upper hand; when the creature shall not be known from the Creator; when there shall be no fear of God, no regard of godliness; when the people shall not know neither wherefore they pray, nor whom they worship, nor in whom they believe: then shall it appear that antichrist is come, then he shall shew himself: this is his time.

Ver. 7. *For the mystery of iniquity*[6] *doth already work: only he which now letteth shall let till he be taken out of the way.*

"The mystery of iniquity doth already work." Let us not be deceived. Antichrist shall certainly come, and shall draw many into error. As it was with Christ at his coming; he was in the world, he did the works of his Father, yet few knew him: so shall it be with antichrist; he shall be in the world, he shall work his iniquity, and few shall know him. Paul lived more than fifteen hundred years past; yet then he said the mystery of iniquity[7] doth already work. The devil is not idle, saith he: antichrist even now worketh; when as the blood of Christ was fresh; when as yet the apostles and many other witnesses of our redemption by Christ were living. And St John saith: "Even now are there many antichrists come already." So soon was his foundation cast, his plot laid, his way prepared, and his work begun. So long sithence did Paul see some which delighted in the works of darkness, which were the enemies of the cross of Christ, which served their belly, and not the Lord; even then did he see that grievous wolves, not sparing the flock, should enter in among them. All these were the forerunners and the harbingers of antichrist. 1 John ii.

We may not think that antichrist shall come as a robber by the high-ways, or like a murderer, or like a tyrant that burneth our houses, or sacketh our cities, or destroyeth our fields, or pulleth down all that is before him. We may not look that he should say, I am antichrist, I am that man of sin, I am the son of perdition, I am the adversary, and am contrary to Christ. He shall not shew forth himself in such a sort; he shall not so speak of himself. He is subtle and cunning: he shall deceive the learned and the wise: he shall cast himself into a colour of holiness: he shall fast, he shall pray, he shall give alms and shew mercy: he shall walk as if he were a disciple of Christ: he shall counterfeit an angel of light. He shall go before; and the world shall follow him. So shall the mystery of iniquity work. His life, his religion, his doctrine, shall be close and hid and secret. Antichrist worketh in mystery. Hierome saith: *Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est*[8]: "The whole world mourned and did marvel that they were possessed with the error of Arius;" that they denied the divinity of Christ before Hieron. Dial. cont. Lucif. cap. vii.

[6] Mystery of the iniquity, 1583, 1609.]
[7] Mystery of the iniquity, 1583, 1584, 1609.]
[8] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 300.]

they were ware. This was a mystery. So shall the learned and wise be deceived. They shall honour antichrist unwares. They shall say, We defy him and detest him; and yet shall fall down and worship him. This is a mystery. So secret shall his dealing be, it shall not be known to many.

He shall walk in craftiness and handle the word of God deceitfully: he shall mingle his lies with the truth of God: he shall mingle his poison with the wholesome food of our souls, so closely and subtilly that it shall hardly be espied: he shall go forward by little and little, and so win credit and convey himself into the hearts of the people. This is a mystery. Christ saith: "A man sowed good seed in his field; but, while men slept, there came his foe, and sowed tares among the wheat, and went his way." They grew together, and had both one like colour. The householder willed them to let both grow together till harvest come, lest with the tares they pluck up the wheat also. So shall be the coming of antichrist. He shall come whiles men sleep, in the night of blindness, and of negligence, and of ignorance; and shall sow his tares with the Lord's wheat. They shall both grow up together. The day of the Lord shall reveal them, and set each part by itself. This is a mystery; and as it is secret[1], so it is[2] long in working. This mystery began in the days of the apostles, and continueth on still unto our time. It is still in work.

Matt. xiii.

But who be they which follow his[3] lore, which yield themselves to him, and which shall be deceived? Are they poor men, or artificers, or labourers? or are they unlearned and ignorant men? No, no, he shall deceive priests, bishops, archbishops, princes, kings, emperors, the gravest, the best-learned, the wisest, the mightiest men in the world. He shall blind their eyes and amaze their hearts. They shall run to him out of all parts of the earth: they shall fall down before him: they shall ask counsel of him: they shall say, Thou art the doctor of doctors, thou art the father of fathers, thou art the comfort of the church, thou art the light of the world, thou art most holy: all law and all knowledge is hid in thy breast: we beseech thy holiness, shew us thy way, expound thou the law unto us, teach us how we may be saved: thou hast the key of knowledge: thy word is the word of truth. So shall they creep to antichrist, so shall they pour out their souls before him, so shall they seek counsel at his mouth, so shall they fetch light at the prince of darkness.

"This mystery," saith St Paul, "doth already work," it shall increase and go forward and grow to a perfection. A thorn when it is young is soft and gentle: ye may thrust at it with your finger; it will not hurt you; but after it waxeth and groweth hard and stubborn, it will pierce the flesh and draw blood. A bear when he is young is harmless and innocent: ye may dandle it, and dally with it as with a whelp; it hath no[4] chambers[5] to gripe, no teeth to bite, nor paws to tear; but after it will grow, and become fierce and cruel like the sire. A serpent when it is young is little and pretty: it hath no sting nor poison: you may take it in your hand and lay it in your lap; it will not hurt you: after it will increase in venom, and grow in mischief, and be like itself: then it will shake the sting, and cast poison, and prove dangerous.

Such a thorn, such a bear, such a serpent is antichrist. At the first he shall seem soft, and gentle, and pretty, and innocent: after he shall grow fierce, and arm himself with sting and poison. But a thorn, though it be soft, is a thorn: a bear, though he be little, is a bear: a serpent, though he[6] be pretty, is a serpent. Even so antichrist, though he seem gentle, mild, and simple, yet is he antichrist. He groweth by degrees, he will be like his sire: his paws will be dreadful: his mouth will be deadly.

Whosoever know the nature and working of an earthquake, how it groweth and how it worketh, know that at the first it is some little wind, gathered and kept in some hollow places of the earth: there it lieth closely sometimes

---

[1] Is a secret, 1594.]
[2] Is it, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[3] This, 1594.]
[4] Not, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[5] Chambers: large teeth. Perhaps the same word as *champers*.]
[6] It, 1584, 1594.]

for many years without giving forth any noise, without stirring or shaking: one may walk over it and perceive nothing. After it groweth strong and violent, it seeketh a way out, it forceth itself, it gathereth strength, and cometh abroad, it will stay no longer. Out it breaketh, and teareth the earth, and renteth rocks, overthroweth mountains, shaketh down towns and cities, swalloweth up whole rivers: it inflameth the air, raiseth thunder, roareth up into heaven, and astonieth the world. Such is the working of an earthquake; so great and mighty at the end, so little and simple at the first. Such shall be the mystery and coming of antichrist. At the beginning he shall be like a little wind, and shall enter into the hollowness and darkness of the church; but after he shall shake the whole world. He shall shew forth himself at the first with countenance of devotion and holiness, that he may closely and privily and secretly wreathe in himself. Few shall be able to understand the mystery of his dealing: after he shall be opened, and appear as he is.

Who would think there were any evil in forcing of virginity, chastity, or single life? "He that is unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord, that he may be holy both in body and also in spirit." Would God it were so with all that have taken the profession of single life! But the colour is fair. Hence hath it grown that bishops, and priests, and young men, and maidens have continued single. This seemed strange, and a miracle, and a matter of great holiness. But this is a mystery: this is a way to bring in antichrist. Mark what St Paul speaketh hereof: "They shall forbid to marry." 1 Tim. iv. Of whom speaketh he? Of antichrist and his disciples. They shall forbid lawful marriage, as unholy, and as a state of life unfit for their holiness. Yet Christ Jesus, the Son of God, did never forbid it. His apostles were married and had wives.

This, saith St Paul, is a mark of antichrist; by this shall he be known. Forbidding of marriage is a doctrine of devils; not of Christ or of God, but of devils. It is a gulph, it is a sea, it is a world, it is a hell of iniquity; and the vilest villany that ever crept into the church of God. Hierome, expounding[7] the words of Daniel, "He shall have no regard to the desires of women," saith: *Facilior interpretatio est de antichristo, quod ideo simulet castitatem ut plurimos decipiat*[8]: "The better exposition hereof is to apply these words to antichrist, for that he shall pretend chastity that he may deceive many." This is the mystery of iniquity. This is the practice of antichrist. He shall come with a cloke of counterfeited chastity, not with true chastity, both in body and also in spirit, but with counterfeit chastity, and so shall deceive the hearts of many. Hieron. in xi. Dan.

Who would think there were any evil in single communion? or why may not every body follow his own devotion, and receive the sacrament when he will? what harm is herein? It may seem to be done for the reverence unto the sacrament, lest it should grow in contempt if it were used often. These reasons are fair and fresh; but this is a mystery and a[9] practice of antichrist. For by this means have they shut out the faithful people of God, and made them negligent and careless for the receiving of the Lord's supper: they abused the church of the living God: they turned the remembrance of the death of Christ into a May-game: they made the people commit horrible and open idolatry, to worship the creature instead of the Creator, which is God blessed for ever.

Who would think there were any evil in the keys of the church? They are the expounding of the law, and the disclosing of the will of God. They are the chiefest comfort of our conscience. But antichrist shall take these keys unto himself, and shall build up his own kingdom with them. He shall shut that God hath opened; and shall open that God hath shut. This is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were any evil in godly prayers of the church?

[7 Hierome saith expounding, 1583.]

[8 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Daniel. Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1131; where *de Antichristo facilior interpretatio est.*]

[9 1594 omits *a.*]

Matt. xxiv. Christ saith: "Watch and pray, for you know not in what hour your Master
Matt. vi. will come." And again: "Pray thou to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth thee in secret shall reward thee openly." And again:
Matt. vii. "Ask, and ye shall receive: seek, and ye shall find: knock, and it shall be
1 Thess. v. opened unto you." St Paul saith: "Pray without ceasing." The prophet David
Psal. cxlv. saith: "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him faithfully." For the Lord will hear the prayers of his saints, and deliver them when they call upon him. These prayers shall antichrist take to work his iniquity; and under pretence of them shall devour widows' houses, and shall make a net of them to fish and drag for all the riches of the world. This is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were so great evil in the doctrine of purgatory? What if one thought that his father or friend died in some venial sin, and were chastised some while in purgatory fire, and that he might be relieved by prayers? for this jolly pretence and imagination have they thereof. What if one should so think? what hurt were it? Brethren, this is the mystery of all mysteries, and the secret of all secrets. In this standeth the countenance, and all the welfare of antichrist. He hath impropried the whole kingdom of purgatory to himself, and hath made it more gainful than heaven and earth. There he selleth prayers: there he maketh port-sale[1] of bulls and pardons: there he selleth forgiveness of sins, *a culpa et pœna*. He selleth the mercies of God, the blood of the martyrs, the works of supererogation, the merits of his fratries[2], the blood of Christ. There he selleth paradise, deliverance or assurance from hell, and entrance into heaven: he maketh merchandise of the souls of the people. This is the alonely mystery above all other mysteries.

Who would think there were any[3] evil in the name of the church? It is the witness-bearer unto the gospel. It is the pillar of truth. It is the spouse of Christ. Yet saith Christ, Antichrist shall come in my name. He shall seem holy, he shall talk of the gospel, he shall carry the face of the church, and deceive many. This is a mystery.

Who would think it a matter of so great inconvenience for a man to call the bishop of Rome the greatest bishop, or the chiefest patriarch, and the highest judge; and to say that all appeals lie unto him? What hurt may this be? It seemeth a small matter, a matter of nothing. But it is a practice, it is a secret and a mystery. Hence flowed all the streams of vanity and presumption wherein he advanceth himself. Hence it is that he saith, I am above kings and emperors. I am above general councils. I am above the whole church of Christ. I am above the angels of God. I have power to command and to countermand them at my pleasure. I am the successor of Peter. I am the vicar of Christ. No man may judge me, whatsoever I do. I cannot err. General councils might err: the apostles might err: the angels of God might err; but I cannot err. I have the fulness of power. The whole world is my diocese. Whosoever is saved is under me. Whosoever is not under me is cursed of God. I am the light of the world. I can in a manner do whatsoever God can do. All these speeches are written, are printed, are published, and proclaimed abroad[4]. This is a mystery of iniquity, this is a deep secret. These are the very ways and steps of antichrist. God give us eyes to see them, and hearts that we may discern them!

Paul did see the[5] mystery working even in that time he lived. John saith:
3 John. "Diotrephes loveth to have the pre-eminence," to lift up himself above his brethren, to be the head of the church, and to bear a mastery. So Paul espied
1 Cor. i. contentions in Corinth: "Every one of you saith, I am Paul's, and I am Apollos', and I am Cephas', and I am Christ's." These were the beginnings of antichrist.
2 Cor. iv. But Paul saith: "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake[6]." So the true disciples of Christ reckon

[1] Port-sale: public sale or auction, as of fish when fishermen return to port.]
[2] Fratries: fraternities.]
[3] An, 1611.]
[4] See before, pages 93, 4, 442, 3.]
[5] This, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[6] Sakes, 1594.]

not themselves any thing but the members one of another, but the ministers by whom the people believe, but witnesses chosen before of God, but such as are commanded to preach, but God's labourers.

Now let us consider these marks of antichrist. Was there ever any which hath forbidden lawful marriage, and accounted it a state of life which is unclean and not meet for his holiness, and deceived the world with counterfeit chastity? The same is antichrist. For Hierome telleth us, antichrist shall pretend chastity, that he may deceive many[7]; and Paul calleth "forbidding of marriage" the "doctrine of devils."

Was there ever any which hath shut forth the faithful from the holy communion, and hath made them careless for the receiving thereof; which hath defaced the sacrament, abused the church of God, and caused the people to give the honour of God unto a creature? This is the working of the mystery of iniquity: he is antichrist.

Was there ever any which took the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and wrought to himself therewith a principality or kingdom in earth? Was there ever any which hath shut them out from the kingdom of God, to whom God hath opened it, and hath set free the consciences of those sinners whom God hath not loosed? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which beguiled the people, which devoured widows' houses under colour of long prayers, and hath used them as a net to fish for the treasures and riches of all the world? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which sold bulls, and pardons, and forgiveness of sins, and the mercies of God, and the merits of men, and the blood of the martyrs, and the passion of Christ the Son of God? Was there ever any that sold paradise, and heaven, and made sale of the souls of the people, and all for money? The same is antichrist.

Was there ever any which came in the name of Christ, with the shew of holiness, with the countenance of the church, and hath shewed himself in all his life and doctrine contrary to[8] Christ? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which hath said, I am above kings and emperors and the states of the world; I am above councils; I am above the whole church of Christ, and above the angels of God; no man may judge me; I cannot err; whosoever shall be saved must be under me; if any shall not obey me, they are cursed before God; God and I have one judgment-seat, we sit together; I can do whatsoever God can do? He that thus saith is antichrist. "The mystery of iniquity doth work already," saith the apostle. He shall not open himself. Whatsoever he doth[9], he doth it in secret. So shall he advance[10] himself: so shall he speak great things and blasphemies against the Highest: so shall he prevail and prosper: so shall he darken the heavens, and draw the third part of the stars after him: so shall he sit in the holy place, even in the seat of God; and all this shall he work under pretence of humility, and shall call himself the servant of servants.

"Only he which now withholdeth shall let till he be taken out of the way."

Now the emperor holdeth the whole power and authority over the world; but it shall be taken away from him; and then shall antichrist come, when all stops and lets shall be removed. Who is he that doth stop him and let his coming? The emperor of Rome. So saith Tertullian[11], so Augustine[12], Ambrose[13], and Chrysostom[14]. Antichrist shall possess a great part of the Roman empire; yet, so long as the emperor shall stand and prosper, he will not suffer any part of his empire to be abated. So long as the emperor shall be able to bear himself, antichrist shall never be able to grow. But a time shall come when the empire

[7 See before, page 911, note 8.]

[8 Unto, 1594.]

[9 Doeth, 1583, 1584.]

[10 Avaunce, 1583, 1584.]

[11 Jam enim arcanum iniquitatis agitatur; tantum qui nunc tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat. quis, nisi Romanus status?—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resurr. Carn. 24. p. 397.]

[12 Illud tamen quod ait apostolus, Tantum qui modo tenet teneat, donec de medio fiat, non absurde de ipso Romano imperio creditur dictum.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix. 3. Tom. VII. col. 597.]

[13 ...quamdiu steterit regnum Romanum.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. In Epist. ad Thess. II. cap. ii. v. 7. Tom. II. Append. col. 286.]

[14 Οἱ μὲν τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χάριν φασίν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχήν· οἷς ἔγωγε μάλιστα τίθεμαι. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. iv. Tom. XI. p. 529.]

of Rome shall be rent asunder: then the authority of the emperor shall decay, then antichrist shall gather strength, and shall place himself where the emperor was. A traitor cannot usurp the crown so long as the right king is able to stand and maintain his state. Antichrist is a traitor; a traitor both to God and man. When the emperor shall fall and decay, then he shall rise up: when the emperor becometh weak, then he shall grow strong. Therefore Paul saith, antichrist shall not come yet; for the emperor letteth him: the emperor shall be removed; and then shall antichrist come.

But before I proceed to say more of this division of the empire, that we may come to the bottom of this matter, and so see the meaning of this prophecy evidently laid open before us, I will shew more plainly and particularly of antichrist, who he shall be. It is a hard and doubtful thing, as are all prophecies; but mark well that shall be spoken. I will speak nothing without good warrant and authority of the old writers and fathers. I will tell you the conditions of antichrist, and where he shall dwell: that known, it shall be no hard matter to know the rest.

Who shall he be then, or of what condition, that we may know him? Some have said he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan; some, that Nero the bloody tyrant should rise again and he should be antichrist; some, that he should be a mighty persecutor, which should rage and range over the whole world, rase towers and castles, set on fire the church and oratories, and kill whomsoever he meeteth. Hippolytus saith, he shall be begotten by the devil, and himself shall be a devil[1]. These devices were imagined and written many hundred years sithence, as every body were best able to devise. But these are fables, and have no ground. To say the truth, antichrist shall neither be a Jew, nor Nero, nor one begotten by the devil. He shall be a Christian, he shall be a bishop, and a holy father, and a bishop of great shew and countenance in the world. Mark, he shall not be a king, nor an emperor, nor a tyrant, nor a temporal prince, but a bishop.

But how may this be known, that we may be certain of it? For you will charge my sayings with partiality, as if what should be spoken by me might proceed of displeasure and malice. Who then hath so spoken or written, that we may believe him? Hear Gregory himself, a bishop of Rome, what he recorded of this matter well-nigh a thousand years ago: *Rex superbiæ prope est; et, quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus*[2]: "The king of pride (that is, antichrist) is even at hand; and an army of priests is prepared; which is a wicked or horrible thing to be spoken." Lo, both the king, which is antichrist; and his guard to wait upon him, a company of priests and clerks, of monks and friars to attend upon him. And upon whom shall an army of priests attend, but upon a bishop?

Greg. Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

If you say this is no plain proof, but forced and wrested, because he nameth not a bishop, but a king of pride, hear him again: *Fidenter dico, quod quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit*[3]: "I speak it boldly, whosoever either calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called (as doth the pope), in the pride of his heart he is the forerunner of antichrist." In this place he doth not only tell us antichrist shall be a bishop, but also what manner of bishop. He shall be a bishop, and that bishop which shall claim universal authority: such a bishop as shall say, "It is of the necessity of salvation that every soul be subject to me[4];" which shall say, It is plain that the church is one, because in the universal church there is one supreme head, that is, the pope[5].

Greg. Lib. vi. Epist. 30.

Sibylla saith this king shall be πολιόκρανος, that is, shall have a white head, and shall be called by a name much like to *pontus*[6]. In which two marks of his head and name whom can we find but a bishop? who weareth solemnly a white

Oracul. cap. viii.

[1 Hippol. De Consum. Mund. Par. 1556. pp. 24, 5, 30.]

[2 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 744. See before, page 345, note 7.]

[3 Id. Lib. VII. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. col. 881. See before, page 344, note 4.]

[4 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See before, page 95, note 11.]

[5 Joan. Roffens. Episc. Op. Wirceb. 1597. Conc. De Libr. Luth. Crem. col. 1389. See before, page 377, note 8.]

[6 Ἔσσετ' ἄναξ πολίκρανος, ἔχων πέλας οὔνομα πόντου.—Sibyll. Orac. Basil. 1555. Lib. VIII. p. 226.]

mitre of silver, and adorned with precious stones, and in Latin is named *pontifex*. Again, Joachimus Abbas saith, he shall exalt himself above all that is called God; for he only shall be called holy lord, and most holy pope[7]. So that, for our direction, we hear not only of a king of pride, and his guard of priests; but we are learned that this king shall have a white head, and a name much like *pontus*, that is, shall be *pontifex*, "a bishop." Gregory moreover hath said, he shall call himself, or desire to be called, an universal priest; and Joachimus an abbat hath told us antichrist shall be called holy lord, and most holy pope.

But where shall antichrist be resident? In what place shall we seek him? for, if we look for him in one place, and he be in another, we shall not find him. Where then is he stalled? in what city? in what church? Some say in Babylon, some in Syria, some in Chaldea, some in Jerusalem upon mount Sion, some in one place, some in another. These are but guesses, and bear no weight. Paul telleth us he shall creep into the empire of Rome. So saith the apostle, and so the fathers. The empire shall be made waste; and then antichrist shall come and invade the church. But the empire was great and wide, it reached over a great part of the world. It did contain England, France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thracia, Græcia, Asia, Armenia, Egypt, Mauritania, and the rest of Africa. All these were parts of the empire of Rome. In what part, or in what city, or in what church of all these shall he sit? St John saith: "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth." Rev. xvii. Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. Where shall we find such a city in the whole world? Is it Hierusalem, or Athens, or Constantinople, or Antioch? Where we find a city so built, that city is the place of antichrist. There is none but one. The Spirit of God cannot lie. But which is that one? All writers, as well old as new, call that city Rome. Rome is built upon seven hills. They be yet standing. The names of the hills are known to be these, Palatinus, Quirinalis, Aventinus, Cœlius, Viminalis, Exquilius, Janicularis. The poet, speaking of this city, saith: *Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces*[8]: "And this one city hath compassed into itself with a wall seven high places." Therefore Plutarch calleth it ἑπτάλοφος, "of seven hills." They have used in Rome, in their general processions in gang-week[9], to go to these seven hills, and to do some solemn piece of service at every of them. Rome is the city of seven heads: Rome is the city built upon seven hills; therefore the city which John describeth; and therefore it is the tabernacle and stall in which antichrist shall sit.

Sibylla wrote two thousand years sithence[10], that "the greatest terror and fury of his empire, and the greatest wo that he shall work, shall be by the banks of Tiber[11]." Syb. Oracul. cap. viii. And who is there that hath heard any thing of the situation of Rome, that doth not know it is built on the banks of Tiber? Irenæus, who lived well-near fifteen hundred years ago, saith, the name of antichrist, expressed by that number, shall be Latinus[12]; that is, he shall sit in a city called Latium, that is, Rome. Iren. Lib. v. cap. ult. Joachimus Abbas saith: *Antichristus jampridem natus est Romæ, et altius extolletur in sede apostolica*[13]: "Antichrist is long since born in Rome, and yet shall be advanced higher in the apostolic see." Bernard saith: *Bestia illa de apocalypsi, cui datum est os loquens blasphemias, et bellum gerere cum sanctis, Petri cathedram occupat, tanquam leo paratus ad prædam*[14]: "The beast that is spoken of in the book of Revelations, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the saints of God, is now gotten into Peter's chair, as a lion prepared to his prey." Bern. Epist. 125. These words are clear as the sun-beams.

[7 See below, note 13.]

[8 Virg. Georg. Lib. II. 535.]

[9 Gang-week: rogation-week, when processions were made.]

[10 Since, 1594.]

[11 Καὶ τότε πενθήσουσιν ὁμοῦ, τὴν σὴν προβλέποντες
Οἰκτροτάτην μοῖραν πατέρες, καὶ νήπια τέκνα.
Αἳ αἳ θρηνήσουσι λυγραῖς παρὰ Θύβριδος ὄχθαις.—Sibyll. Orac. Lib. VIII. p. 226.]

[12 Sed et ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ nomen habet sexcentorum sexaginta sex numerum; et valde verisimile est, quoniam novissimum regnum hoc habet vocabulum.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. xxx. 3. p. 329.]

[13 A conversation held with Richard I. is referred to: De isto antichristo dicit idem Joachim, quod jam natus est in civitate Romana, et in sede apostolica sublimabitur; et de isto antichristo dicit apostolus, Extollitur et adversatur super omne quod dicitur Deus.—Rog. Hoveden. Annal. in Rer. Anglic. Script. Lond. 1596. Pars Post. Rich. prim. fol. 388. 2.]

[14 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Ad Gaufrid. de Lorat. Epist. cxxv. 1. Vol. I. Tom. I. col. 130.]

St John saith, Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. That city is the city of Rome. Dame Sibylla saith, His greatest work shall be by the banks of Tiber. That city so built is the city of Rome. Irenæus saith, the name of antichrist shall be *Latinus:* this name belongeth to the bishop of Rome. Bernard saith, The beast that is spoken of in the Revelation is gotten into Peter's chair. John lived 1560 years since, Sibylla 2000, Irenæus about 1500, Joachimus Abbas 300, Bernard lived about four hundred years sithence; and by the testimony of all these antichrist shall be a bishop, and placed at Rome.

You marvel at this, how it should be possible that antichrist should sit in Peter's chair: you hear who hath said it; and no wonder at all; for he shall sit in the place of God, in the holy place, in the church of Christ. So doth Augustine gather upon the apostle's words: *Non enim templum alicujus idoli, aut dæmonis, templum Dei apostolus diceret*[1]: "For the temple of an idol, or of a devil, the apostle would never call the temple of God." And Hierome[2] saith: *Antichristus sedebit in templo Dei, vel Hierosolymis (ut quidam putant), vel in ecclesia (ut verius arbitramur), ostendens se tanquam ipse sit Christus et Filius Dei*[3]: "Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at Hierusalem (as some imagine), or in the church (as we more truly think), shewing himself as if he were Christ and the Son of God." Again he saith of him; "Antichrist shall tread under his feet all approved and true religion." And St Hilary saith: *Anne ambiguum est, antichristum in iis esse sessurum*[4]*?* "Is there any doubt but antichrist shall sit in the same houses?" He shall sit in those houses and buildings with which you are in love, and which you honour. And again he saith: *Sub specie evangelicæ prædicationis Christo contrarius erit; ut Dominus noster Jesus Christus denegetur, quum prædicari creditur*[5]: "He shall be contrary to Christ, under the colour of preaching the gospel; so that our Lord Jesus Christ shall then be denied, when a man would think he is preached." Thus we have seen who shall be antichrist, and in what church he shall be; that he shall be a bishop, and shall be stalled or placed in Rome.

De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix.

Ad Algas. Hieron. Quæst. 11.

Ibid.

Hilar. contr. Auxent.

Ibid.

Now to return again to the words of the apostle: "Only he which now letteth shall let till he be taken away."

Now the emperor hath the rule over the world. Let him keep it. There shall a time come when he shall lose his possessions: then antichrist shall appear. When the empire shall be dismembered, and the kingdoms belonging to him shall depart from him, then shall be the coming of antichrist. Who will look into the story of things and times past, shall perceive the meaning of the apostle; and how the empire of Rome, being so great, is consumed and brought to nothing; and in what sort antichrist, which was once so poor and simple, so little regarded and obscure, might grow to be so great, and advance[6] himself above kings and princes. The impoverishing of the one was the enriching of the other.

I told you that the empire of Rome contained sometimes a great part of the world, as England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. Where is England now? It is divided from, and is no part of the empire. Where is France, Spain, Italy, Illyricum? Where is Rome itself? They are taken away from it, and are now no part of the empire. Where is Macedonia, Thracia, Græcia, Asia, Armenia, &c.? We cannot think of them but with heaviness: they be now under the Turk: they are taken away, and are no part of the empire. What is become of the great countenance which the emperor had in all the world? He is now in comparison nobody. What part of all the empire is left unto him? Not one. He hath not left him one city or town. What is become of all which did belong to him? They are dissolved, taken from him; and his estate is brought to nothing.

In the mean while antichrist increased and grew to wealth by spoil of the

---

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix. 2. Tom. VII. col. 597.]

[2 And Saint Hierome, 1594.]

[3 ...extollitur...ut cunctarum gentium deos, sive probatam omnem et veram religionem suo calcet pede; et in templo Dei, vel Jerosolymis, &c. sederit, ostendens, &c.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Algas. Lib. Quæst. Quæst. xi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 208.]

[4 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 12. col. 1269; where *in his antichristum.*]

[5 Nominis antichristi proprietas est, Christo esse contrarium...hoc sub specie prædicationis evangelicæ laboratur, ut Dominus Jesus Christus, dum prædicari creditur, denegetur.—Id. ibid. 2. cols. 1263, 4.]

[6 Avaunce, 1583, 1584.]

empire. The bishop of Rome hath at this day many countries and lordships. Poor Peter had none. How then came he by them? By the spoil of the empire. He hath the title of Forum Julium. Where hath he it, but of the spoil of the empire? Where hath he so many countries, beginning at Luke and onward to the Alps, but by the spoil of the empire? He hath Ravenna, Forum Sempronii, Beneventum, and Spoletum. All these he hath by the spoil of the empire. He claimeth the kingdom of Naples, and of Sicily he is the lord paramount. King Philip is his vassal, and payeth him tribute. He hath Rome itself. It did belong unto the emperor. How grew it to the bishop? whence hath he it? by the spoil of the empire[7]. We see then that the emperor is abated; that the bishop is increased, and so increased that he hath made the emperor to be his man, to bear his train, to wait upon him, to kneel down and to kiss his foot. This could he never bring to pass, whiles the empire stood whole, and the emperor was able to make his part good. But these things were done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken: "The kings of the earth shall give their strength and power to the beast, &c.; that they may agree together, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God be fulfilled." Who that beast shall be, Augustine, writing upon the psalms, very well declareth: *Ita traditur de antichristo, quod omnes reges superaturus sit, et solus regnum obtenturus*[8]: "Thus it is written of antichrist, that he shall conquer all kings, and obtain the kingdom himself alone." And who it is unto whom the kings of the earth have given their kingdom, and which doth obtain the kingdom himself alone, if any man doubt, let him be advised by this saying[9] of them which knew it well, and were not enemies to the bishoprick of Rome. Johan. de Parisiis saith: "Some think that by reason of this donation (of Constantine) the pope is the emperor, and the lord of the world; and that hereby he hath power both to set up, and also to put down kings, as an emperor[10]." And if this be too little, to say thus upon hearsay, the same saith further plainly: *Omnis potestas secularis immediate data est papæ*[11]: "All manner temporal power was given immediately unto[12] the pope." What other thing is it that Innocentius saith? "The emperor holdeth his empire of the pope; and therefore he is bound to swear homage and fealty to the pope, as the vassal is bound to his lord[13]." In this right pope Adrian said: "Behold, it is in our hand to bestow the empire upon whom we list[14]." Were not the state of the empire now decayed; were not the prophecy of the apostle now fulfilled; were not the emperor (howsoever he have in a mystery a bare name left) taken away, as well in respect of the countries which he did hold as of the authority, the rule, and power which he had over the world; these proud speeches could never have been suffered.

Rev. xvii.

August. in Psal. ix.

Johan. de Paris. de Potest. Reg. cap. xxii.

Now then, seeing the empire is so decayed and abased, and the bishop of Rome so highly advanced into his seat and authority (so highly, I say) that some are bold to say, "The pope hath the princehood of all the whole world;" and, "The pope is king of kings and lord of lords;" let Gregory, who hath otherwhere given great light to this prophecy, shew us hereby also to know who is antichrist. He saith: *Antichristus veniens ipsas etiam summas hujus sæculi potestates obtinebit*[15]: "Antichrist, when he shall come, shall conquer the highest estates and powers of this world."

Greg. Lib. xxxiii. cap. xxii. in Job.

[7 For a list of the territories possessed or claimed by the Roman see, see Cluver. Introd. in Univ. Geogr. Amst. 1697. Lib. III. cap. xxxiv. cum Not. Bunon. pp. 276, &c.]

[8 Ita enim traditur, quod reges omnes superaturus, &c.—August. Op. In Psalm. ix. Enarr. 23. Tom. IV. col. 54.]

[9 These sayings, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[10 Et ideo volunt aliqui, quod ratione hujus doni summus pontifex imperator est, et dominus mundi; et quod potest reges constituere et destituere, sicut imperator.—Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxii. in Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 140.]

[11 Dicunt enim quod potestas secularis est penes papam immediate.—Id. ibid. cap. xi. p. 120. This author recites these as the opinions of others, which he himself combats.]

[12 To, 1594.]

[13 For similar pretensions see before, page 14, note 1; page 95, note 11.]

[14 The letter of Adrian IV. to the emperor Frederic is probably referred to. See Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. X. col. 1149.]

[15 Perhaps the following may be the passage meant.....ita tunc antichristus mundi gloriam temporaliter obtinens, mensuras hominum et honoris culmine et signorum potestate transcendet.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Par. 1705. Moral. Lib. XXXII. in cap. xl. B. Job. cap. xv. 22. Tom. I. col. 1059. Conf. ibid. 27. cols. 1061, 2.]

Dan. vii. This whole matter is also expressed in the seventh of Daniel: "The fourth beast was fearful and terrible and very strong: it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under his feet; and it was unlike to the beasts that were before it; for it had ten horns." "And, behold, there came up among them another little horn...which had eyes like a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things." This beast is the empire of Rome, the greatest empire that ever was. It was divided into ten, or into sundry kingdoms; as I shewed you, and as we see this day. The little horn is antichrist. The Dan. vii. empire shall be divided and weakened: then antichrist shall come. "He shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand." Daniel saith, "He shall speak words against the Most High, and shall think he may change times and laws; and they shall be given into his hand." Wherein he sheweth not only the pride and presumption of antichrist, but that he shall also prevail for a time. Such a one there hath been, and yet is. He blasphemeth God, murdereth the saints, hath changed times and laws, the laws of God and the laws of nature. He is antichrist.

To make an end of this part for[1] knowledge of antichrist, who he shall be, in what place he shall dwell, and of that which should let his coming; let us remember he shall be no Jew nor heathen, but a Christian, and no king or temporal wight, but a bishop, an universal priest, and most holy pope. As Hierome, Hieron. in xi. Zach. upon the words of the prophet, *O pastor et idolum, &c.*, "O idol shepherd, that," &c., saith: *Pastor stultus et imperitus haud dubitem quin sit antichristus, qui in consummatione mundi dicitur esse venturus*[2]: "I doubt nothing but that this foolish and unskilful shepherd is antichrist, which should come towards the end of the Ibid. world." And further[3] saith: *Tam sceleratus est pastor ut non idolorum cultor, sed ipse idolum nominetur; dum se appellat Deum et vult ab omnibus adorari*[4]: "This shepherd is so wicked that he is not called a worshipper of idols, but an idol itself; because he calleth himself God, and will be worshipped of all men."

Let us remember, we may not seek him in the streets, or in market-places, or in woods, or in the wilderness; but in the temple of God. There shall he sit, and hold the stern, and devise laws and canons, and shall rule the hearts and consciences of the people: there shall he shew his power, and put on him the cloke of simplicity, and of truth, and of holiness.

St Augustine saith, antichrist shall not only sit in the church of God, but also shall shew himself in outward appearance as if he himself were the church itself. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix. *Non in templo Dei, sed, in templum Dei sedeat*[5], *tanquam ipse sit templum Dei, quod est ecclesia*[6]: "Not that he sitteth in the temple of God, but he sitteth as the temple of God, as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the church." Let us remember what shall let his coming, even the safety of the emperor, and his continuance in that full power and estate wherein he then was. The decay of the empire shall make way for antichrist. If therefore it be weakened and hath been weakened any time sithence, if the kingdoms of the world be divided from it, that is an evident token that the coming of antichrist is not stopped; but he hath come and shewed himself, and by little and little ever since such decay of the empire hath enlarged himself and established his power over all Chrysost. Hom. 4. in 2 Thess. ii. countries and nations; as Chrysostom saith: *Donec illius imperii timor fuerit, &c.*[7]: "As long as the empire shall be had in awe, no man shall straightway submit himself to antichrist; but, after that the empire shall be dissolved, antichrist shall invade the state of the empire standing void, and shall labour to pull unto himself the empire both of man and God."

[1 Of, 1584, 1594.]

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Zach. Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1779; where *dubium quin antichristus sit.*]

[3 Farther, 1583, 1584, 1594.]

[4 Hieron. ubi supr.]

[5 Ut templum Dei sedet, 1594.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xx. cap. xix. 2. Tom. VII. col. 597.]

[7 "Εως γὰρ ἂν ὁ ταύτης ᾖ τῆς ἀρχῆς φόβος, οὐδεὶς ταχέως ὑποταγήσεται. ὅταν δὲ αὕτη καταλυθῇ, ἐπιθήσεται τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ, καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει ἁρπάσαι ἀρχήν. —Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In II. Epist. ad Thess. cap. ii. Hom. IV. Tom. XI. p. 530.]

Ver. 8. *And then shall that wicked man be uttered, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the appearance of his coming.*

Antichrist shall be opened by little and little. All his devices and practices shall be disclosed, that they may appear and be seen of the world. He is in this place called ὁ ἄνομος, "a man without order." This is another peculiar note of antichrist. He shall seek to be free and go at liberty; he shall be tied to no law, neither of God nor of man. Let us once again look into the state of the church of Rome to seek out this lawless man. There he sitteth that saith, "I cannot err." Why is it said, *Papa solutus est omni lege humana*[8]? "The pope is exempted from all law of man?" And again, why must we expound any fact of the holy father for the best? and if it be theft, or any other thing that of itself is evil (as adultery or fornication), we must think it is done by the secret inspiration of God. Again, why say they "the doings of the pope are excused, as Sampson's murders, as the Jews' robberies, and as the adulteries of Jacob[9]?" And again, why say they "neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world may either judge or depose the pope[10]," but because he is lawless? Extr. de Const. Licet. ix. Quæst. 3. Cunct. Joh. de Par. de Potest. Reg. et Papali. Dist. 40. Nonnos, in Gloss. Pet. de Pal. de Potest. Pap. Art. 4.

Why is it said, *In iis quæ vult, est ei pro ratione voluntas, nec est qui dicat illi, Domine, cur ita facis*[11]? "In such things as he willeth, his will standeth instead of reason; neither may any man say unto him, O sir, why do ye this?" but because he is lawless? Why is it said of him, although all the world would judge in any matter against the pope, yet it seemeth we ought to stand to the judgment of the pope[12]; for he seemeth to have all laws in the chest of his bosom; but because he is ὁ ἄνομος, "that lawless man?" Why is it, "notwithstanding the pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into hell, that yet no mortal man may once dare reprove him[13]," but because he is that lawless man? Extr. de Trans. Episc. Quanto, in Gloss. Dist. 40. Si Papa, in Gloss. Ibid.

Why is it said, *Papa etiam rerum naturam immutat, substantialia alicujus rei applicando alteri; et de nihilo potest facere aliquid, et sententiam quæ nulla est aliquam facere. Ille enim potest supra jus dispensare* [*et*] *... de injustitia ... facere justitiam, corrigendo jura et mutando*[14]? "The pope may also change the very nature of things, in applying the substantial parts of one thing to another; and of nothing can make something; and of no sentence may make a sentence; for he may dispense above the law, and of wrong may make right, by correcting and changing the laws?" One Zabarella saith, they persuaded the bishops that they might do all things, and therefore whatsoever they listed, yea, such things as are not lawful[15]. How could this have been wrought, but that the scriptures should be fulfilled? This is he whom Paul describeth, that wicked lawless man. Thus he reigneth and ruleth without law, without reason, without fear of God, without regard of man. He is exempted from all law; and his word is law to bind all the world. This is antichrist. This is he of whom Daniel prophesied: "He shall think he may change laws and times;" the times of nature and the laws which God himself hath ordained. This is he which hath carried himself so long time under the colour of holiness: this is he which hath beguiled and blinded the eyes of the world. De Trans. Episc. cap. Quanto. Gloss. Tit. 7. Dan. vii.

But, blessed be the name of our God, which is the God of truth and the God

---

[8 Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. I. Tit. ii. cap. 1. col. 11. See before, page 68, note 3.

Gelas. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. can. 17. col. 878. See before, page 68, note 13.

Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xii. in Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. pp. 121, &c. See before, page 917, note 10.]

[9 ...apostolici...semper præsumunt esse boni.., Vel dic, quod facta papæ accusantur, ut homicidia Sampsonis, et furta Hebræorum, et adulterium Jacob. —Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Gloss. in Dist. xl. cols. 193, 4.]

[10 P. de Palud. Tract. de Caus. Immed. Eccles. Potest. Par. 1506. De Potest. Pap. Art. iv. fol. c. 6. See before, page 907, note 15.]

[11 Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Greg. IX. Lib. I. De Transl. Episc. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See before, page 69, note 14.]

[12 Decret. Gratian. in eod. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. IX. Quæst. iii. Gloss. in can. 13. col. 877. See before, page 68, note 5.]

[13 Ex Dict. Bonifac. Mart. in eod. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xl. can. 6. cols. 194, 5. Conf. Gloss. ibid.]

[14 Decretal. Gregor. IX. in eod. Lib. I. De Transl. Episc. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See before, pages 68, 9, note 14.]

[15 Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imp. a Schard. Bas. 1566. p. 703. This passage will be more fully given hereafter.]

of lights, his tyranny and treachery is now revealed, and therefore not regarded. O what mountains of money made he sometimes of pardons! His pardons were reputed the only safety and comfort of men's souls. He was not reckoned a Christian, whosoever sought them not. No man might lack them, neither in his life nor after his death. But where are they now? what is become of them? who buyeth them? who regardeth the having of them? who reposeth his trust in them? Children make sport of them, and play with them in the streets. They see the filth of them, and the folly, and abhor them. How cometh this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed.

What a kingdom made he of purgatory! He shut out thence whom he listed; and released such as were there at his pleasure. He claimed power over the quick and dead: he sold the years, the days, and the months by round reckoning, a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, and thousand thousands years of pardon. Of which folly his own canonists were ashamed. One of them saith: *Nam quod dicitur Petro, Tibi dabo claves, &c.*[1]: "Touching that Christ said unto Peter, Unto thee will I give the keys, &c., we must understand this authority with a corn of salt (otherwise it may be unsavoury). Therefore certain of the pope's pardons, that promise twenty thousand years, are foolish and superstitious."

Joh. Maj. in iv. Sent. Dist. 20. Quæst. 2.

This was not given for nothing, but sold for money. Who had ought to give had speedy dispatch; but poor souls that had nothing, or no friends to pay for them, should lie still. This was a wealthy kingdom. But now where is purgatory? who regardeth it? who careth for it? Children scorn it in their[2] streets, and know it is a fable. How cometh[3] this so to pass? The wicked or lawless man is revealed.

He was able to rule the whole world with a beck. His word stood as the word of God: no prince nor emperor durst withstand it. It was thought impossible that he should err. But now the world seeth his word is deceivable and vain: he erreth, and hath lived in great error. Now few men will believe him: no prince will trust his word: howsoever they (whose eyes God hath not yet opened to see the truth) trust him in religion, in worldly matters they will not trust him. How cometh this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed.

What shall I say more? Behold round about the world all places, and even Rome itself. The poor massing priest standeth a-cold, and can get no hire: the pope's palls lie a rotting: his bulls go a begging: his wares stand upon his hand: no wise man will buy them. Why? how cometh this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed: all his deceit and treachery is revealed.

The pope stirreth and striveth at this day all that he can. He excommunicateth and curseth: he sendeth out his bulls: he bloweth up seditions: he breedeth treasons: he raiseth subjects against their princes: he[4] setteth princes upon their subjects: he imprisoneth and murdereth the saints of God: he shaketh and inflameth the whole world in his quarrels. But all in vain. Why so? how cometh this to pass? There is no counsel, no wisdom, no fire, no sword that shall prevail against the Lord. The man of sin and his errors are revealed. Men see and know and detest the blindness wherein they were led: the people forsake him over and over the world.

"Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall abolish with the brightness of his coming."

Ver. 9. *Even him, whose coming is by the effectual working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders,*

10. *And in all deceivableness of unrighteousness among them that perish; because that they received not the word of the*[5] *truth, that they may be saved.*

By the order of the apostle's words I should now speak of the overthrow of antichrist, how and by what power he shall be confounded. But because the two verses next following speak yet of the state of antichrist, by whose means he shall come, and of what countenance he shall be, and with whom he shall pre-

[1] These words do not appear in the place cited. But the author quoting Jerome on the text referred to says: Hunc locum dicit Iheronimus quidem, non intelligentes aliqui sumunt de supercilio Phariseorum, ut damnare innoxios vel solvere se putent noxios; cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæritur.—Joan. Major. sup. Lib. Sentent. Par. 1509—17. Lib. iv. Dist. xx. Quæst. 1. fol. 124.]

[2] The, 1594.] [3] Comes, 1594.]

[4] 1594 omits *he.*] [5] 1594 omits *the.*]

vail; it shall be good we consider these things first, and then shew how he shall be destroyed.

When Christ came into the world, he came in the name of his Father, to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to gather the flock that was scattered. Antichrist shall come in the name of the devil, to scatter and disperse and consume the flock of God's sheep: his coming shall be by the effectual working of Satan. And what or who is Satan? He hath been a murderer from the beginning: through his envy came death into the world: he is the prince of this world, the prince of darkness, the father of lies, the spirit of pride; which hath said, "I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the Most High." He shall work and inflame the heart of antichrist, and fill it with his spirit and wickedness, and shall make him the man of sin and the son of perdition, full of vanity, and of pride, and of ungodliness, that he may mock the world, and blind the hearts of the people.

His coming shall be by the working of Satan; yet he shall make shew as if he came in the name of Christ. He shall come with fatherly looks, with holy countenance, and shall set himself in the holy place; but his whole endeavour shall be to deface the kingdom of Christ; which he shall practise to do, not by the leading of any angel or archangel, or by the power of God, but "by the effectual working of Satan." He shall allege the doctors and fathers: he shall allege Peter and Paul, the holy apostles of Christ: he shall allege Christ, and God himself, as though his doings were warranted by them: he shall say, I am the buttress and pillar of the church, my word is the word of God: he shall set up masses and sacrifices of his own: he shall take away the word of God: he shall teach the people to give divine honour to a weak creature.

But St Paul in this place discloseth him and his doings, and layeth them open to the eyes of the faithful. He worketh not the work of an evangelist, as did Peter or other the apostles; he taketh not power and authority either of God or of Christ; but "his coming is by the operation of Satan." Therefore he foresheweth, antichrist shall "command to abstain from meats." He shall say, Touch not, taste not. He shall also "forbid to marry." He shall say marriage is unholy and unlawful, not convenient, not[6] meet for holy profession. Who would not think it a holy thing to abstain from meats, and to chastise the body? Who would not think it a holy thing to abstain from marriage, and to think of those things which belong to God; seeing holiness and devotion are a pleasant sacrifice to God? But yet it is not all so. Some shall speak lies through hypocrisy, "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." "They shall depart from the faith, and give heed to the spirits of error and doctrines of devils." He saith, it is the devil's gospel. They are canons and rules of antichrist. Satan shall instruct him, Satan shall be the author and founder of that religion. 1 Tim. iv.

"With all power and signs and lying wonders, and in all deceivableness of unrighteousness." He shall need to be of great power and force, that shall encounter with God. Therefore the apostle saith, he shall come with miracles and devices of Satan. Christ foretold that "false Christs shall rise, and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, the very elect." Again he saith: "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and by thy name cast out devils? and by thy name done many great works? And then will I profess to them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity." These things shall Satan bring to pass under my name. Mark xiii. Matt. vii.

The apostles wrought miracles, thereby to confirm the gospel which they preached: as the evangelist writeth, "The Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with signs that followed;" and as the apostle[7], "Salvation at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God bearing witness thereto with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his will." So shall antichrist work miracles to overthrow the gospel. "As Jannes and Mark xvi. Heb. ii. 2 Tim. iii.

[6 Nor, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

[7 The apostle saith, 1594.]

Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth; men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall prevail no longer; for their madness shall be known to all men, as theirs also was."

Exod. vii. Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharao and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent; and the charmers of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments. Aaron smote the water; and all the water that was in the river was turned into blood: and the enchanters of Egypt did likewise with their sorceries.

Exod. viii. And as Aaron caused frogs to come and cover the land, so the sorcerers did

Wisd. xvii. likewise with their sorceries. "But the illusions of the magical arts came to nought," saith Salomon; "and it was a most shameful reproach for boasting their knowledge." So shall antichrist come in working signs and lying wonders, as did Jannes and Jambres, to deface the gospel and glory of God.

It is not said, he shall work wonders, but false lying wonders. But how can his miracles be false? If false, how be they miracles? If miracles, how be they false? They shall be false after two sorts: some are called "false miracles," because they seem to be miracles, and are not: some are called false miracles, because they be[1] used falsely to maintain his falsehood.

Of the first sort of false miracles we have seen an infinite number in the days of our fathers in the kingdom of antichrist. Then was there appearance of spirits and visions of angels: our lady came swimming down from heaven, poor souls came creeping and crying out of purgatory, and jetted abroad[2], and kept stations, casting flakes of fire, and beset high-ways, and bemoaned their cases; the pains and torments were so bitter. They sought for help, and cried for good prayers, they cried for diriges, they cried for masses of *requiem*, for masses of *scala cœli*, for trentals of masses. Hereof grew port-sale of pardons; and hereof grew the province of purgatory, the most gainful country that ever was under the city of Rome.

But these miracles were no miracles at all. They were devised by subtile varlets and lazy lordanes[3] for a purpose to get money. Oftentimes the spirit hath been taken and laid in the stocks: the angel hath been stript: good lady hath been caught: the conveyance and the miracle hath appeared: the engines and sleights, and the cause and the manner of the working, hath been confessed. In those days idols could go on foot, roods[4] could speak, bells could ring alone, images could come down and light their own candles, dead stocks could sweat and bestir themselves, they could turn their eyes, they could move their hands, they could open their mouths, they could set bones and knit sinews, they could heal the sick and raise up the dead. These miracles were conveyances and subtilties, and indeed no miracles. The trunks by which they did speak, the strings and wires with which they moved their faces and hands, all the rest of their treachery hath been disclosed[5]. These be the miracles of which Paul speaketh; miracles in sight, but in deed no miracles.

The other sort of false miracles is, when such things as be indeed wrought and done are untruly applied by antichrist to maintain his falsehood. God giveth recovery to the diseased: the deaf receive their hearing: the blind receive their sight: he assuageth the tempests, and stayeth the rage of fire, that it continue not. These things are done by the finger of God. Antichrist draweth us from so thinking of the mercy of God, and telleth us we have other friends to whom we are beholding, which have done so and so for us. It was this saint, saith he: it was that saint that took pity of your case, and wrought the remedy for you. It was Apollonia, it was Genouefa, it was Sitha, it was our lady. Such a saint is able to do much: such a saint can work miracles.

Hereof grew invocation of saints. Hereof it came to pass that each saint was assigned and allotted to his sundry charge and several office apart; St Blase for the choking, St Roche for the pestilence, Anthony for the burning,

---

[1 Are, 1584, 1594.]
[2 Jetted abroad: stalked up and down.]
[3 Lazy lordanes: slothful clownish fellows.]
[4 Roods: images of Christ on the cross.]
[5 For an account of one of these impostures, as a specimen of the rest, see Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, Part III. Book III. and Collection of Records, No. lv.]

Valentine for the falling sickness, Romane for madness, Apollonia for the tooth-ache, Petronilla for agues, and others for other purposes[6]. Wherein it was wisely foreseen that they were so limited and ordered, lest perhaps else any one might be over saucy, and encroach upon and trouble his fellows. It was also foreseen that all saints should not have power to work in all places. Some wrought at Canterbury, some at Walsingham, some at York, some at Buxton, some in one place, some in another, some in the towns, some in the fields. Even as Hieremy said among the Jews: "According to the number of thy cities were thy gods." Hereof grew pilgrimages, and worshipping of images, and kissing of reliques. Hereof grew oblations and enriching of abbeys. Every man had his peculiar saint, on whom he called. Every country was full of chapels, every chapel full of miracles, and every miracle full of lies. Jer. xi.

These miracles are wrought by antichrist. They are his tools wherewith he worketh: they are his weapons wherewith he prevaileth. They are full of lying, full of deceitfulness, and full of wickedness. So shall antichrist prevail and rule over the world. By these miracles he shall possess the ears, the eyes, and the hearts of many, and shall draw them after him. He shall shadow the moon, and darken the sun, and make the third part of the stars of heaven to follow him. He shall change light into darkness, and darkness into light. He shall work in all things at his pleasure. If a man see well, he shall make him blind. This is a miracle. Such as are whole he shall make sick: he shall infect them with leprosy which before were clean. This is a miracle. He shall change the sense and feeling of nature: he shall make the son hate the father, and shall make the father hate the son, yea, to seek the death of his son. This is a miracle. He shall make the people mislike and doubt the word of God, and embrace his follies. This is a miracle.

These be the works of antichrist which he shall bring to pass. This shall he work in all "deceivableness of unrighteousness." He shall come with all kinds and shifts of deceit. He shall come with shew of praying, with visard of fasting, with companies of monks, friars, canons, and all kind and colour of holiness. He shall seek to prevail by threatening and by flattering, by fair means and by foul. He shall excommunicate and release from excommunication: he shall promise forgiveness of sins and life everlasting. He shall make boast of the fathers and ancient doctors: he shall make boast of the universal consent: he shall boast of general councils: he shall boast of Christ's apostles, and of the gospel of Christ, and of the word of God. So shall he falsely and deceitfully work himself credit, and beguile the world in abusing the holy name of God. No kind of deceitfulness or subtilty but he shall use it. So shall he make the people seek upon[7] him, and kings and emperors to fall down before him, and to say, "Who is like unto the beast?" Who is so wise, so learned, so holy, so wealthy, so mighty, and so catholic? Without him no man is to be reckoned holy or learned. Without him no man may traffic, buy, nor sell. Without him no man may read publicly in universities; no man may preach to the people; no man may be accounted a Christian: no man may hope to be saved without him, without his leave and liking. Such wonders, such miracles shall he work, so shall he conquer and subdue the world.

Now, who be they[8] which shall be deceived, in whom shall he prevail? "Among them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." They shall be deceived by him "which perish," whose hearts are not marked with the Spirit of God; whose names are not written in the book of life; in whom "the God of this world hath blinded the minds, that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ should not shine unto them:" they shall follow him, and shall be the children of damnation, and shall have their reward with him. Be he learned or unlearned; he be king or subject; albeit he be holy, albeit he be catholic; antichrist shall come unto him in all deceitfulness of unrighteousness, because he hath not received the love of the truth, that he might be saved.

[6 There is a notice of most of these saints in Becon's works, (Early Writings, Parker Society ed.) p. 139. See also Usuard. Martyrol. Lov. 1573. foll. 10, 91, 178.]

[7 Unto, 1594.]

[8 Who they be, 1611.]

Here mark, he doth not say, Because they received not the truth; but he saith, "Because they received not the love of the truth." Many in our days can
Rom. i. speak thus: "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of
2 Cor. ii. God unto salvation to every one that believeth;" "for it is the savour of life unto
Acts iv. life." They can say: "There is given none other name under heaven whereby we must be saved:" neither is there salvation in any other than by Jesus Christ, whom we have learned by the gospel: many will confess there was never more nor better teaching since the time of the apostles. They seem to receive the truth. But "they are like the horse and mule, in whom is no understanding." They receive it because the prince receiveth it, and because the politic laws of countries establish it. They are carried away with the sway of the world. They hear it with their ears (nay, I would God they would lend their ears to the hearing of it); but with their hearts they do not hear. They have no feeling of the word of God and of the truth. They weigh it not, they love it not. They consider not what it is, nor from whom it is sent. They know not that *it* is the water of life and the bread which is sent from heaven. They have no taste, no savour, nor pleasure in it.

Therefore it shall be taken from them, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. They shall be cast into utter darkness; and the
2 Pet. ii. last state of them is worse than the first. "It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them:" it should not be charged upon
John xv. them for their damnation; for our Saviour saith: "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now have they[1] no cloke for their sin." They find no sweetness in the word of God: they are not converted by it, that they may be saved: they have no pleasure in the ways of the Lord: they have no comfort to know his will. These be the bond-slaves of Satan: these be they upon whom shall come the abomination of desolation: these be they against whom Satan and antichrist shall prevail, because they have not received the love of the truth. They have not received it into their hearts, that they might be saved. They had no hearts to feel it, they had no eyes to see it.

Ver. 11. *And therefore God shall send them strong delusions*[2], *that they should believe lies;*

12. *That all they might be damned which believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.*

The Spirit of God is the Spirit of truth, and giveth light into our hearts, and maketh us behold that blessed hope, and rejoice in the knowledge of his will.
Psal. li. Therefore the prophet David maketh prayer: "O God, renew a right spirit[3]
Psal. xiii. within me;" and, "take not thy holy Spirit from me." And again: "O Lord my
Psal. xxxvi. God, lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death." And again he saith: "With thee is the well of life; and in thy light shall we see light." Without this Spirit
1 Cor. ii. we are but flesh and blood, even void of sense and understanding. "The natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him." "No man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God." And "those things which God hath prepared for them that love him, he hath revealed unto
John vi. us by his Spirit." Christ saith: "No man cometh to me, except the Father draw him." "Unless a man be born from above," unless God print and seal his heart with his finger, "he shall not be able to see the kingdom of God."

Now, if we have the word of God before our eyes, and regard it not, nor be thankful for it, nor set price by it, God in his justice will withdraw it from us. Then shall we delight in darkness, and have pleasure in error: our latter end shall be more dreadful than was our first beginning. This is it which Paul saith: "God shall send them strong delusion." That is, his holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, shall depart from their hearts; and the power of Satan shall dwell with
John iii. them and wholly possess them. This is the just judgment of God. "And this is

[1 They have, 1594.]
[2 Delusion, 1583, 1584, 1609.]
[3 Heart, 1594.]

the condemnation, that light is come into the world; and men[4] loved darkness rather than light." They forsake the light, and delight in darkness; and this is their condemnation. They will not understand nor seek after God, that they may be reformed. The prophet saith: "Because he loved cursing, it shall come unto him; and because he loved not blessing, so shall it be far from him." Psal. cix. God will strike them with blindness. They shall be astonied[5]. They shall fall into rebuke and the snares of the devil. They shall be drowned in perdition and destruction.

So great shall be the power of error. Men shall not only be deceived, but shall be deceived mightily and strongly. They shall desire to be deceived, and shall bear a deadly hatred against him whosoever shall seek to reform them. They shall harden their hearts against God and his holy word: they shall stop their ears, and not hearken to his counsel: they shall not open their eyes to behold the destruction which is to come upon them. So great and so mighty shall be the delusion. So deadly shall be the cloud and blindness of their hearts. They shall be given over into a reprobate mind. They shall be filthy, and increase in filthiness. Such shall be the power of Satan; such shall be the power of error and deceitfulness. They shall despise the glorious gospel of Christ; therefore God shall forsake them, and give them over to follow antichrist.

God hath this day sent the light and comfort of his holy word into the world. Many godly men have desired to see that we see, and to hear that we do hear. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath in mercy visited us. We beseech him to bless the work that he hath begun. St Paul saith: "The grace of God, that bringeth salvation to all men, hath appeared." Tit. ii. And to the Colossians he saith: "The gospel is come unto you, even as it is Col. i. unto all the world." And again: "Have they not heard? no doubt their sound Rom. x. went through all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world." The poor receive the glad tidings of the gospel. God hath visited and redeemed his people. But yet the apostle saith: "They have not all believed our gospel. Rom. x. For Esaias saith: Lord, who shall believe our report?" And again saith the prophet Esay: "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious Isai. lxv. people, which walked in a way that was not good." Wisdom crieth in the streets: "I have called; and ye refused: I have stretched out mine hand; and Prov. i. none would regard." Such is the power of Satan, so shall[6] he stop their ears, that they shall not hear nor understand[7] what is spoken in the name of the Lord.

Paul is[8] a true prophet, and foretold long before that which we may now behold with our eyes: "In the latter times some shall give heed unto spirits 1 Tim. iv. of error." They shall be as men without sense or feeling, they shall forsake the truth, and betake themselves to follow lies and fables. Even they shall do this, which shall sit in the church of God, who shall profess and carry the name of Christ. Christ ministered his last supper in both kinds. St Luke xxii. Paul telleth the Corinthians: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink 1 Cor. xi. this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come;" that this institution of Christ should be kept in the church until the end of the world. The apostles received this order: the holy fathers and martyrs used it. But now many, even too too many, will not so have it nor so use it. They will not follow the example of the fathers, nor of martyrs, nor of the apostles, nor keep the ordinance of Christ; so strong a delusion hath bewitched them.

The people of God were taught to pray in the vulgar tongue, that their hearts might give consent, and their mouth say Amen. This order did Peter and Paul and John and James and the godly fathers keep. There is not one of them that took order for the contrary: but now there are some risen up which, in despite[9] of Christ and his apostles, say prayers shall be made in a strange tongue, either

---

[4 And that men, 1594.]
[5 Astonned, 1583.]
[6 Will, 1594.]
[7 That they shall not understand, 1584; that they will not understand, 1594.]
[8 Was, 1594.]
[9 Spite, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

Latin or Greek. The people shall not understand what they hear[1]. They shall not know what it is which they themselves say: their hearts cannot give consent thereto, their mouths cannot say Amen. The example of the apostles, the commandment of Christ, the comfort of the people, the confusion of the church nothing moveth them; so great and mighty is the power of error.

The people worship a creature instead of the Creator, who is "God over all blessed for ever." They see they do amiss, yet continue in it, and find no fault. They see wherein their fathers were deceived, yet they say they could not be deceived. They see many and foul abuses, yet seek not to redress them. For they say, We will walk in the ways of our forefathers: we will believe as they believed, howsoever they believed. We will do as they did, whatsoever they did: we[2] will not hear the word of the Lord. Thus shall they delight in darkness, and loathe the light: they will be deceived, and will not see the truth. So mighty and so terrible is the power of error.

They be learned in philosophy and in the tongues: they be learned in the laws: they be learned in physic, learned in the doctors, and learned in stories. They are skilful to buy and sell, to purchase land, to enrich themselves, and to provide for their children. They have knowledge in all things else. But themselves, and the truth of God, and the way to salvation, they have not known. A thief when he is taken blusheth. A harlot is ashamed of her filthiness, and a drunkard of his beastliness. But they that are such have hardened their faces: they cannot blush. Whatsoever they have said or done, either openly or in secret, by hypocrisy or cruelty, by ravine or treachery, in offering pardons to sale, in deceiving the people of God, in accusing the righteous, and condemning the innocent; they cannot repent, they know no shame. So great is the power of error. Christ saith unto them: "The publicans and the harlots shall go before you into the kingdom of God." They consider that they have done amiss; but you are wilful in your blindness. O the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! Who is wise, and considereth this? They strive against the manifest truth, they strive against their own conscience, they strive against the Spirit of God. This is that sin which shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.

Matt. xxi.

Therefore saith Paul, "that all they might be damned which believed not the truth." All shall be damned which believed not. Then let no man say, I will follow the example of my fathers, I will do as the greater part doth[3]. So many and so many, for so many years, in so many places, have been on this side. The judgment of God standeth not in the multitude, but in the truth. Whosoever shall set themselves against his holy will, be they never so many, they shall be damned. Let such mark well what Ignatius, who lived in the time of the apostles, hath said: *Audivi quosdam dicentes, Si non invenero evangelium in antiquis, non credam. Talibus autem ego dico, ... quia mihi antiquitas Jesus Christus est, cui non obedire manifestus et irremissibilis interitus est*[4]. *Ignatii Epist. 5. ad Philadel.*: "I have heard some which say, Unless I find the gospel in them of old time, I will not believe it. But unto such I say, that Jesus Christ is unto me antiquity, whom to disobey is manifest and unpardonable destruction." Let no man say, I hope I do well: my meaning is good: I have a desire to please God: I believe well, I do my conscience; if I do amiss, God will regard my simplicity. Let no man so[5] say. St Augustine saith: "It is certain that a foolish faith not only doth[6] no good, but also hurteth[7]." If thou believe not the truth, thou dwellest in lying: thou art the child of the devil, which is a liar, and the father thereof. "The mouth which speaketh lies slayeth the soul." Thy faith is no faith, it is but a wilful opinion, it is but an error; for it is not according to the truth, it is not built upon the rock, it is not grounded on the word of God. Change thine

Aug. Quæst. 43. in Quæst. Veter. et Nov. Test.

Wisd. i.

---

[1] They do hear, 1594.]
[2] They, 1584, 1594.]
[3] Doeth, 1583.]
[4] Ignat. ad Philadelph. cap. viii. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. pp. 386-8. Conf. Interp. Epist. in Cotel. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. Vol. II. p. 80.]
[5] 1594 omits *so*.]
[6] Doeth, 1584.]
[7] ...cum constet fidem stultam non solum minime prodesse, sed obesse.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex Vet. Test. Quæst. xliii. Tom. III. Append. col. 56.]

error. "Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God:" receive the truth, Rom. x.
believe the truth, and love the truth. Otherwise, if thou refuse the bread of life, and feed on poison; if thou forsake the water of life, and dig unto thyself a cistern that will hold no water, thou shalt lead thy days in wilfulness, and shalt die in sin: thy blood shall be upon thine own head. Thou shalt not see the glory of God: death and damnation shall be thy meed, because thou hadst pleasure in wickedness, and didst not give thy heart to receive, and love, and believe the truth.

Now it remaineth that we hear how antichrist shall be overthrown. We have seen his pomp and pride, his might and power; that he overlooketh all the world, bindeth all kings, and princes, and nations, to keep his laws, and is himself exempted from all laws of God or man. So mighty and so marvellous is his power. Who can declare it? He is called of his own side *stupor mundi*, "the gaze-stock or wonder of the world;" something less than God, something more than man. But, being in all this estate, in the midst of his *pontificalibus*, so fast mortised, so high built up to the skies, so surely shored, so strongly beset on every side, he shall be suddenly shaken down, and become the shame of the world.

How may this be done? being so mortised, so built, so shored, and so beset, who shall shake him down? What power shall consume him? Shall it be the great power of kings or of emperors? They shall give their power and authority Rev. xvii.
to the beast, and fight with the Lamb, that is, against Christ. Shall it be the authority of bishops and cardinals and great clerks? All they are linked and joined to him. Shall it be by the wisdom and drift of counsellors and men of law? They be the feed men, and sworn to him. Shall it be the[8] violence and conspiracy of the people? They shall kneel down to him, and honour him, and reverence him as an angel of God. If neither the power of doctors, nor of bishops, nor archbishops; if not the power of counsellors and men at law; if not the power of the kings and princes of the world; if not the power and commotion of the people; if all these shall not abolish him, what power then is it wherewith he shall be consumed? It shall be the power of God, which shall be revealed from above: "the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth."

These words are diversly taken. Some expound them thus: God shall appoint the great angel Michael to set upon antichrist; and he shall destroy him. Others take these words to be spoken of the day of judgment; and then this shall be fulfilled, when Christ shall say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire;" that this is the spirit of the Lord's mouth wherewith he shall be consumed. But the apostle speaketh of the preaching of the gospel. That God by his word, which is mighty to do all that whereunto he appointeth it, shall make his doings manifest, and let all the world see that he was not sent of God; that he did never set forth the glory of God; that he hath not sought the salvation of the people; that in matters of faith and in all his life he is adversary to Christ—this is that breath that shall descry his errors and vanities, this[9] is that spirit which shall consume the kingdom of antichrist. This overthrow is already begun, as our eyes may behold this day.

In like sort speaketh Esay the prophet: "He shall smite the earth with the Isai. xi.
rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked." Princes make their conquests by power and strength, by fire and sword, and engines of war; but God shall beat down his adversary with the rod of his mouth, by the[10] true preaching of his word. His word is mighty: it is his sword: it is his mace: it is the rod of his mouth: it is the breath of his lips. It is of great force: no strength shall withstand it: it shall smite the earth, it shall slay the wicked. St Paul saith: "We do not war after the flesh; for the weapons of our 2 Cor. x.
warfare are mighty through God to cast down holds." This sword hath hewn down in many places the cruelty, tyranny, simony, insatiable greediness, the errors, ignorance, darkness, vanities, hypocrisy, superstition, and idolatry which have been brought into the church and used by antichrist. These were the pillars, and strength, and glory of his kingdom.

[8 Be by the, 1594.] [9 That, 1611.] [10 1594 omits *the*.]

And here mark the apostle's speech. He saith not, God shall convert antichrist, or change his heart that he may be saved; but he saith, "Whom the Lord shall consume." God's word is almighty. By his word he can do whatsoever pleaseth him. He can make the deaf to hear, and the blind to see. He was able to call the thief upon the cross unto repentance. He was able to raise up Lazarus out of his grave. He is able of stones to raise up children to Abraham. He can throw down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God, and will bring kings and princes and the rulers of the earth to the obedience of Christ. But of antichrist it is said: "The Lord shall consume him." Such is the hardness and blindness of his heart, he will not receive the love of the truth, he will not believe the truth of God, that he might be saved: therefore destruction shall come upon him.

Hereby we are taught what to think or hope of reformation of the abuses and errors of the church of Rome. They have been advertised of them not only by the professors of the gospel, but also many of themselves have spoken for reformation of sundry abuses. They have kept many councils and assemblies. They have promised redress. They have sit in consultation many years. What one thing have they reformed? See and look over their acts and sessions. They be abroad in print. Hitherto they have reformed nothing, no, not their pardons; no, not their stews: they have hardened their hearts, and set themselves against the Highest. Therefore shall the glory of the Lord shew itself in their destruction. With the breath of his lips they shall be consumed and brought to nothing.

"And shall abolish with the brightness of his coming." The Lord shall come, and shall make his enemies his footstool. Then the sun shall be black as a sackcloth, and the moon shall be like blood. There shall be an earthquake: kings, and great men, and rich men, and every bondman, and freeman shall hide themselves in dens: they shall say to the hills and mountains and rocks, "Fall upon us, and hide us from the presence of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb." Then shall antichrist be quite overthrown. Then his kingdom shall be utterly abolished and have an end. Then it shall appear who hath sought the glory of Christ, who hath followed the doctrine of the gospel, and who hath done the true endeavour of a faithful shepherd: then it shall appear who is the wolf, who scattereth and spoileth the flock. St Hierome saith: *Circumdabit eum calix dexteræ Domini, &c.*[1]: "The cup of the Lord's right hand (which is the Lord and Saviour) shall compass him about, when he shall slay him with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming. Then all the ignominy and shame, which he hath heaped up upon himself with thoughts, deeds, and words, shall fall upon his glory and pomp; insomuch that he shall be afterwards[2] as vile and contemned of all men as he was before reputed or highly esteemed of them."

Hieron. Lib. i. in ii. Abac.

This might suffice touching the ruin and fall of antichrist; yet I will add to that hath been spoken the manner of the fight, and of the victory, and of the triumph which shall follow. The fight is doubtful and dangerous: the victory shall be glorious: the triumph shall be joyful. Here let us call to remembrance the wars which tyrants and ungodly princes have made against the people of God, and what hath followed. Senacherib, the great king of the Assyrians, came up against Jerusalem with horses and chariots and infinite numbers of picked soldiers. The whole country of Jewry was in an agony: all the people were astonied with fear to see so many enemies, and themselves so few; to see the enemies so strong, and themselves so weak. They knew not neither where to seek aid, nor how to escape the present danger. Suddenly the Lord sent his angel from heaven to relieve his people. "In one night he smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand, which were all dead corses." The residue were scattered, and ran away straggling: they knew not where to hide

2 Kings xix.

[1 Circumdabit enim eum calix dexteræ Domini, qui est Dominus atque Salvator, quando interfecerit eum spiritu oris sui, et destruxerit illuminatione adventus sui. Tunc omnis ignominia quam sibi cogitationibus, factis, sermonibus congregavit, veniet super gloriam ejus: ut quantum ante putabatur inclytus, tantum postea ignominia plenus sit.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Abac. Proph. cap. ii. Tom. III. col. 1614.]

[2 Afterward, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

their head. King Senacherib went his way and returned; and, when he was in safety at home, and worshipping his god Nisroch in the temple, Adramelech and Sharezer his sons slew him.

Remember the cruel wars which Nabuchadonosor king of Babylon made against God's people. He took their city, spoiled their temple, sacked Jerusalem, and gave the prey to his soldiers. He took the nobles, and gentlemen, and merchants, and yeomen, and led them captives. Some of them he took with him to Babylon, and some he sold for money; so great and so terrible was his victory. In the midst of all his pomp God bereft him of his wit, and astonied him with deadly madness. "He was driven from men, and did eat grass as the oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown as eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws." He imagined that he was an ox, that he had hoof and horn and hair as oxen. He therefore forsook his palace, his princely apparel, and dainty fare, and lay abroad, and fed with beasts. So did God avenge the cause of his people. Dan. iv.

Who hath not heard of the war which Pharao had against the Israelites? the battle was strange, and the victory sudden. The people of God was beset with dangers on every side: the wilderness had shut them in. Before their faces they saw the raging sea, that they could not escape[3] it; behind their backs they did behold Pharao with his army march after them: if they went forward, they must needs be drowned; if they retired, they must needs be slain. Their enemies were mighty; and they were weak[4]. Suddenly God divided the waters, and made the sea dry land; so that the children of Israel went through the midst of the sea upon dry ground, safely as through a meadow. Pharao followed after with his sword and spear to work his fury. Then the sea returned to his course, and drowned the chariots and horsemen and all the host of Pharao: there remained not one of them alive. Their carcases lay afloat upon the water, and were cast in heaps upon the shore. Such shall be the end of those that hate the Lord. So shall he make his name triumph over all the world. Exod. xiv.

Let us imagine a battle of two mighty princes, both of great power and of great courage: they meet together in the field, they join battle, both sides encounter together, either part is bent to beat down the other: what an horror is it to hear the braying of horses, the sound of trumpets, the thunder of drums, the roaring of guns, the clashing of swords, the groaning and mournful voice of them which are slain, and the crying and trembling of the people! Now let us by this make some resemblance of the battle between Christ and antichrist; between Christ, the Son of God, and antichrist, the son of the devil. Either of them is well prepared. They are both mighty, and have both of them soldiers and knights to attend upon them.

Antichrist shall come from the earth; for all his glory is upon the earth, his power shall be the power of Satan. Christ shall come from the heavens above, even from the bosom of his Father. What cognisance shall they give? how and by what difference shall their soldiers be discerned? The ensign of Christ shall be "everlasting truth;" the ensign of antichrist shall be "falsehood and vanity and all deceitfulness." By these marks shall either be known. With what soldiers shall they make their field? They that shall follow Christ are poor and simple, who have forsaken themselves, their goods, and their lives, and tremble at the word of God. The men of war which fight with antichrist and follow him shall be mighty kings, and princes, and powers, and states of the world, as St John hath said. And Gregory hath said: "An army of priests is prepared to wait upon the king of pride[5]." And hereby may you know him. Rev. xvii.

What armour shall they have, and with what weapon shall they fight? Antichrist shall furnish his men with spear, and sword, and fire: he shall rejoice in killing, in burning, and in shedding of blood. Christ shall send his men into the field naked, and armed with patience. They shall take up their cross and follow him, ready to suffer whatsoever shall be laid upon them. Their weapons shall be

[3] Scape, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[4] Weaker, 1594.]
[5] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 744. See before, page 345, note 7.]

prayers and weeping. What shall be the pretence of this fight? Antichrist shall come in his own name, to maintain and exalt himself. Christ shall come in his Father's name, to maintain the glory of his Father. What shall they seek? wherefore fight they? what is it they shall desire to maintain? Antichrist shall desire to maintain his own traditions: Christ shall maintain the holy word of God. Christ shall procure the glory of his Father: antichrist shall maintain his own glory. In what place shall this battle be? upon what downs or plain, or in what country? Neither in hill nor in any plain, but in the hearts of the people. There shall the war be: there shall it be fought. If it were possible, the elect should be confounded. His assault shall be so terrible, that many shall be offended in Christ: many shall deny Christ: many shall be ashamed of him; and "the love of many shall wax cold. But blessed is he which continueth to the end."

We have heard briefly of Christ and antichrist, their estates, their several cognisance, what bands of men they shall have, what armour they shall bear, by what title they shall claim, what they shall seek, and where the fight shall be, that it shall be made in the consciences of the people. There shall antichrist sit, there shall he be worshipped as God: there they shall call him the holy and most holy father: there shall be given to him the power of heaven and earth: there he himself shall rouse himself, and be settled, and shall say, I sit as a prince, I shall never be removed, I cannot fall. But Christ shall blow him down with the breath of his mouth, and shall abolish him with the brightness of his coming. Christ shall have the upper hand, and destroy him; even that Christ whom they made the reproach and scorn of the people, whom they reviled, calling him drunkard, and companion unto publicans and harlots, which was so poor and simple, which was oppressed and afflicted, and yet[1] opened not his mouth, which was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and was killed.

St John had a revelation, and did see Jesus Christ the Son of God. And
Rev. i. "he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two-
Heb. iv. edged sword." It was sharp and mighty: "it entereth through even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." So we see the breath of the mouth of Christ is a sword. This sword shall overthrow antichrist. Remember
1 Sam. v. how Dagon fell on his face upon the ground before the ark of the Lord, how he could not stand, how at that presence the head and the two palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold with a fall. So shall antichrist fall at the presence of Christ. His arms and his head shall be broken off, and he shall not
Exod. vii. stand. Remember that Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharao and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent: so did the charmers of Egypt. They cast down every man his rod; and they were also turned into serpents. But Aaron's rod devoured their rods, and consumed them to nothing. Even so shall the truth of Christ consume and bring to nothing the falsehood of antichrist. All his glory shall be scattered as the chaff which the wind driveth away, as a thin foam is scattered away with a storm, and as the smoke which is dispersed with the wind, and as the darkness which cannot abide in the sight of the sun: it shall be consumed, it shall be defaced, it shall not stand. At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is mighty, to the glory of God the Father; that he is "worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power."

But who may better disclose this mystery and the fall of antichrist than John the evangelist, which leaned on Jesus' bosom, whom Jesus loved, and which
Rev. xiv. was endued with wisdom from above? Let us hear him. "I saw," saith he, "an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having an everlasting gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, give[2] glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come; and worship him that made heaven, and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters. And there followed another angel, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the[3] great city; for she made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. And the third angel, following them,

[1 1594 omits *yet*.]
[2 Fear God and give, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[3 That, 1594.]

said with a loud voice, If any man[4] worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before the Lamb[5]; . . . they shall have no rest day nor night."

Again: "The seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a loud voice out of the temple of heaven from the throne, saying, It is done." That is, it is concluded, judgment is given, it shall stand for ever. "And there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake;" "and the great city was rent into three parts; and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath." "Then one of the angels talked with me, saying, Come, I will shew thee the damnation of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters, with whom have committed fornication the kings of the earth; and the inhabitants of the earth are drunken with the wine of her fornication." And in the same chapter he saith: "These have all one mind, and shall give their power and authority to the beast," that is, to antichrist. Thus the kings and all princes (as squires to his body) shall fight against the Lamb. "But the Lamb shall overcome them; for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings." Rev. xvi. Rev. xvii.

"I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great power; so that the earth was lightened with his glory; and he cried out mightily with a loud voice, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great city (the harbour and palace of antichrist), and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits." "And I heard another voice from heaven say, Go out of her, my people (believe her not, do not as she commandeth you), that ye be not partakers in her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins are come up into heaven; and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her works; and in the cup that she hath filled unto you fill her the double. Inasmuch as she glorified herself, and lived in pleasure, so much give you to her torment and sorrow. For she saith in her heart, I sit being a queen: the world is mine: no ill shall touch me. Therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine; and she shall be burnt with fire; for strong is the Lord God which will condemn her. And the kings of the earth, which have committed fornication, and lived in pleasure with her, shall bewail her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning; and shall stand afar off for fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas, the great city Babylon, the mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and wail over her; for no man buyeth their ware any more: the ware of gold and silver, and of precious stone, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and of purple, and of silk, and of scarlet, of[6] all manner of thyine-wood, and of all vessels of ivory, and of all vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and of iron, and of marble, and of cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and servants, and souls of men:" no man any more shall buy her parchment, wax, and seals: no man shall buy her orders, her dispensations, pluralities, *totquot*, non-residence, *perinde valere*. No man shall buy her concubines, her oil, salt, holy water, holy bread: no man shall buy her palls, her *Agnos Dei*, her jubilees, masses, trentals, and pardons: no man shall any more buy of her forgiveness of their sins and life everlasting. No man shall regard her, no man shall buy or seek to get this merchandise of her any more. Rev. xviii.

"The merchants of these wares shall stand afar off for fear of her plagues, and say, Alas, that great city that was clothed in reins[7], and scarlet, and purple, and gold, and diamonds, and precious stones! in one hour is all thy glory stripped from thee." O what city under heaven was like unto thee? thou wast the great city, the noble, and the holy city. "Then a mighty angel took up a stone like a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea, saying, With such violence shall the great city Babylon be cast, and shall be found no more." She shall be out of remembrance: they shall seek the place where she stood, and not find it.

[4] May, 1583.]
[5] The holy Lamb, 1584, 1594.]
[6] Scarlet and of, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[7] Reins: fine cloth made at Rains or Rheims.]

"The voice of harpers and musicians shall be no more heard in her: the light of a candle shall shine no more in her:" her merchants, officers, and dataries were the great men of the earth; and by her enchantments were all nations deceived. "And in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth."

"Then I heard a great voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, Halleluiah, salvation, and glory, and honour, and power be to the Lord our God: for he hath condemned the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants shed by her hand. And again they said, Halleluiah. And the smoke rose up for evermore; and the four and twenty elders fell down, and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, Amen, halleluiah. Then a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God, all ye his servants, both small and great. And I heard like the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of strong thunderings, saying, Halleluiah; for our Lord God almighty hath reigned. Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to him;" for she is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon that great city; there she lieth, the mother of filth and fornication. There lieth antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, which hath sit in the temple of God, and exalted himself above all that is called God: that wicked and lawless man lieth there. The Lamb, the root of Jesse, the Lion of the tribe of Juda, hath overcome and gotten the victory. He is worthy to receive the[1] glory and honour. Then shall the apostles, and the prophets, and the angels say, Praise, and honour, and glory be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for evermore. We thank thee, we give thanks to thee, O God, which art, and was, and shall be. Thou hast avenged the blood of the prophets and martyrs, thou hast destroyed them that have defiled the earth. Thy name be blessed for ever. Amen, halleluiah. Such glee and triumph shall be in heaven for the overthrow of antichrist.

Thus have I by occasion of the apostle's words spoken of the coming and of the kingdom of antichrist. And, lest we might be deceived as touching his person, I have said what he should be, what things he shall do, of what estate he shall be, what countenance he shall carry, in what place he shall sit, at what time shall be his coming, by what means he shall prevail, who they be that shall believe in him, what power shall beat him down, what end he shall have, what triumph shall follow upon his fall.

I have told you that he shall be the overthrow of the world, the confusion of the church, the son of perdition; that he shall destroy himself, and be the destruction of others.

I have told you he shall be a reverend father, and wear a mitre, and be a bishop, and a bishop of bishops. So saith Gregory, so Jerome, so Augustine, and Bernard, and others. And cannot we tell who it is that calleth himself an universal bishop, the bishop of all churches? Do we not hear of such a one? Do we not know him? Whatsoever he be, wheresoever he dwell, what countenance soever he bear, he is antichrist. I have told you he shall sit in the temple of God, in the consciences of the people; that the people shall hear, credit, follow, and honour him as if he were God, and think it sin and damnation to break his lore.

I have told you where he shall be stalled, where his chief place shall be, whence he may be seen. St John saith, he shall sit in a city built upon seven hills: that city is the city of Rome. Rome is so built, Rome is set upon seven hills. Dame Sibylla saith, antichrist shall sit by the water of Tiber; and Tiber is a river that runneth by Rome. Joachimus Abbas saith, antichrist is long since born at Rome, and shall be advanced in the apostolic see. He is born, and sheweth himself, not at Babylon, not at Constantinople, but at Rome. These be plain speeches. If any man doubt this, let him read their books: they be extant abroad. Antichrist shall sit in Peter's chair; and Rome shall be the seat of his kingdom.

I have told you he shall come when the state and majesty of the empire

[1 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609, omit *the*.]

shall be weakened. Antichrist shall possess the emperor's lands, and bear the sword, and wear his crown, and shall make the emperor fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet. Hath there ever been any such bishop in the world? Hath there, I say, ever been any such? If ever there were any such, St Paul saith the same is antichrist.

I told you the world shall fall down and reverence him, and shall seek life and salvation at his hands. John saith, they shall cry: "O who is like the beast?" who is like our holy father? who is so wise, so learned, so holy? They shall follow him whithersoever he will lead them: they shall eat whatsoever he will give them. And they which shall do thus are such as have no feeling, no care, no love to the truth of God. Therefore God forsaketh them, and leaveth them to follow lies. I told you he shall prevail by falsehood and by feigned miracles, by bulls, by pardons, by purgatories, and by such other devices and shifts of Satan.

I told you he shall be contrary to Christ in sacraments, in sacrifice, in prayers, in life, in doctrine, in religion, in the whole form and order of the church. He shall shut that Christ hath opened. He shall open that Christ hath shut. He shall curse that Christ hath blessed, and bless that Christ hath cursed. No man shall be accounted faithful, no man catholic, no man the son of the church, no man may be saved without him. Such credit and countenance shall he bear.

I told you he shall be confounded and beaten down by the force and power of God's mighty word. His word is omnipotent. It shall disclose the works of darkness: it shall hew down idolatry, superstition, and the whole kingdom of antichrist; as our eyes do see this day. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: his mighty hand hath wrought these things. He hath triumphed[2] the name of his Christ: he will bless the things he hath begun. He will overthrow the whole power of antichrist by his presence and by the glory of his coming. Then shall it appear who is the successor of Peter, who is the true vicar of Christ, and who is antichrist.

Ver. 13. *But we ought to give thanks always to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because that God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and the faith of truth*[3]*;*

14. *Whereunto he called you by our gospel, to obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

God hath chosen you from the beginning: his election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtilty of antichrist, you shall not fall from grace, you shall not perish. This is the comfort which abideth with the faithful, when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth, and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and to wallow again in the mire. When we see these things in other, we must say: Alas, they are examples for me, and they are lamentable examples! Let him that standeth take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me. His mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing, I must needs come to ground. Although all the world should be drowned with the waves of ungodliness, yet will I hold by the boat of his mercy, which shall safely preserve me. If all the world be set on fire with the flame of wickedness, yet will I creep into the bosom of the protection of my Lord; so shall no flame hurt me. He hath loved me, he hath chosen me, he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor mine own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful. So shall they wash their hands in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore saith Paul: You are my children: "I have begotten you in Christ:"

[2 Triumphed: made to triumph.]

[3 Of the truth, 1594.]

God hath given you unto me, he hath made the gospel, which is come unto you by my ministry, fruitful in you; "I ought to give God thanks always for you." Whatsoever falleth upon others, although others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ and follow after antichrist, yet God hath loved you and given his Son for you; he hath chosen you and prepared you to salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life.

But how may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this election? or how may we feel it? The apostle saith: "Through sanctification and the faith of truth:" these are tokens of God's election. Have you received the gospel? it is the light of the world, it teacheth us to know that God is God, and that we are his people. The credit you give to the gospel is a witness of your election. We believe whatsoever God speaketh, because it is
John i. the word of God: for his word is truth. We believe that Christ is "the Lamb of God," that he hath "taken away the sins of the world;" because it is the word
1 John i. of God. We believe that "the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin;" be-
Matt. ix. cause it is the word of God: we believe Christ came to save sinners; because
Isai. xlviii. it is the word of God. We believe God will defer his wrath, and will shew mercy for himself, for his own name's sake; because it is the word of God.
Psal. xxii. We believe they that trust in the Lord shall not be confounded; because
Eph. ii. it is the word of God. We believe we are "saved by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man
Heb. xi. should boast;" because it is the word of God. We believe "without faith it is
Rom. x. impossible to please God;" and again, that "faith cometh by hearing;" and
Phil. [i.] again, that it is the gift of God; because it is the word of God: it is the
Rev. xviii. xix. truth. We believe that antichrist shall be confounded, and bereft of all his glory; because the word of the Lord hath spoken it: his word is righteousness and truth. We will always believe that is true; therefore we cannot but believe the word of God.

Faith knoweth no falsehood, it beholdeth the truth only; and not all truth, but the truth of God. It is not settled upon vanities, nor upon errors. Unless it be truth by the word of God, whatsoever thou holdest in opinion is not to be called faith. The Turk is settled in errors, he persuadeth himself he is rightly settled, he calleth his opinions faith and belief: yet this is not faith, because it is not the faith of truth, it hath not the word of God to assure it. Therefore when men will say, Believe our masses, believe our sacrifices: believe our transubstantiations, and our real presences: believe us, whatsoever we say: believe that we cannot err: believe that you are in a good belief, if you say you believe as the church believeth, though you know not how or what the church believeth; they abuse and mock the people of God. There is no truth in this doctrine. It never passed out of the mouth of God. God ordained not masses, nor that the priest should offer sacrifice for the quick and dead. Therefore it is no matter of faith; it is folly and vanity, it is ungodliness, it is error[1], it hath no substance. He that receiveth such doctrine maketh much of a shadow, he cannot hold it.

"Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." The word of God is truth. The gospel is the word of God, and the power of God to save them that believe. The belief of the gospel is laid up in our hearts by the Spirit of God. He bringeth us to the knowledge of the truth. "This Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit, that we are the sons of God."

This Spirit teacheth us to withdraw our minds from worldly cares, to call our doings to a reckoning, to think of the dreadful day of judgment, to repent for our former sins, and to serve God in holiness and righteousness. This Spirit sheweth us the mercy of God, helpeth us to pray, and prayeth for us, is our Comforter, helpeth our infirmities, and maketh us know the things that are given us of God. This did David see when he prayed: "Create a clean heart in me[2], O God, and renew a right spirit within me." My heart is sinful, my heart is foul. Renew it with thy Spirit: thy Spirit is right: he shall make my heart clean. Again: "Take not thy holy Spirit from me." "I am thy servant, and the son of thy hand-maiden:" turn thy face away from my sins: be-

[1 Is his error, 1594.] [2 Create in me a clean heart, 1594.]

hold me, and receive me in thy mercy. "Restore me to the light of thy countenance." "Open thou my lips; and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise:" "stablish me with thy free Spirit." This strength we gather in God by his Spirit. This comforteth us in all temptations, and beareth witness with our spirit, that we be the children of God; that God hath chosen us, and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory; that God will keep us as the apple of his eye; that he will defend us, and we shall not perish.

Ver. 15. *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and keep all the instructions which ye have been taught, either by word or by our epistle.*

God hath set you in a race: let no man hinder you, let no man keep you from the goal. Stand fast, and keep that doctrine which you have received. When I was present with you, I taught you by word of mouth: when I was away from you, I taught you by letters. I am careful for you. I bear you in my heart, and love you in Christ Jesus. He hath given me charge over you, he will require you at my hands: I have cleansed and garnished your hearts by the word of truth: take heed, take heed the wicked spirit come not, and bring seven spirits worse than himself, and enter in, and dwell with you, and the end of you be worse than the beginning.

"Remember Lot's wife:" she went not forth straight in[3] the way appointed her, but looked back behind her, and she became a pillar of salt; and so continueth until this day. A terrible example to those which have set their hand to the plough, and look back again, and have made themselves unworthy the kingdom of heaven. God will forsake such, and make their hearts hard as a stone. You are the corn of the Lord's field: God hath blessed you: grow then and be fruitful until the harvest, that you may be gathered into the Lord's barn. You are the light of God, which God himself hath kindled: let no puff of wind put you out. You are the house of God: God hath built you upon a rock: let no violence nor tempestuous weather beat you down.

I have spoken to you: I have written to you: I have shewed you the whole counsel of God. The word which I spake to you is the word[4] of God. I testify before the Lord, and call God to witness unto my soul, that it is the truth of God, and not any device of man. You did believe it, you received it not as the word of men, but, as it is indeed, the word of God. Become not now unfaithful, although you spy many infirmities in your teachers; although you see them fall into offences, and wax covetous, and give evil example in their life and conversation. Although you see the faith of many shaken, and that they have put away from them a good conscience, and turn back from the love of the gospel, which they once seemed to profess, and so are gone out from among you; yet stand you upright. Hold fast the doctrine which you have received; and continue in the things which you have learned, and be persuaded that they are able to make you wise unto salvation through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Christ saith: "Wo be to the world because of offences!" "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." And again he saith: "Blessed is he which is not offended in me." Therefore work your own salvation in trembling and in fear. Blessed is he that abideth with Christ in temptations, and continueth faithful unto the end.

Matt. xviii.

Matt. xi.

Ver. 16. *Now the same Jesus Christ our Lord, and our God, even the Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace,*

17. *Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every word and good work.*

After his exhortation that they would stand fast and continue faithful unto the end, he turneth himself to God, and prayeth him to look upon them merci-

[3] Into, 1584.] [4] The very word, 1584.]

fully down from heaven, and to fulfil the work begun, and to increase and multiply his grace in them. So ought all preachers and servants of God to do in their sermons. For, alas! what are we? What is our word? What is our labour without the assistance of God? We are only the voice of a crier in the wilderness: we call upon the people to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make his paths straight: we give warning that the Lord is even at hand. He that teacheth is nothing: he that planteth is nothing: he that watereth is nothing: our tongue is nothing: our word is nothing: our wit is nothing: Peter is nothing: Paul is nothing. It is God which openeth the hearts of the people, and maketh them tremble at his words. It is God which giveth the increase, and maketh his word to be of force.

Psal. lxviii. The prophet saith: "The Lord gave the word: great was the company of preachers." It is the work of God both to make his word mighty, and to make the people to receive it and yield unto it. He giveth us hearts to feel the comfort of his word, and to yield our obedience in doing as the word requireth. For he is "the Father of lights," from whom all gifts are poured down upon us. We are the children of Adam: we are flesh and blood, and nothing but vile clay and ashes. Our eyes are dim, our senses dull, and our hearts heavy. Christ John xv. telleth us truly: "Without me ye can do nothing;" neither hear the word nor believe it.

I mark your presence, that you are many gathered together this day in this place. Every man seemeth to stand with bent countenance, and earnest looks, and desirous to learn. And, albeit I which speak am but a worm, unworthy to creep upon the earth, yet the word which we have heard is the word of God, the word of comfort, and the word of life. But God knoweth in all this company how many have ears to hear. In the Acts of the apostles, when God opened their hearts, they understood the scriptures. Before, they heard, and knew not Acts xvi. what they heard. Paul preached: Lydia, a woman which sold purple, heard him: "the Lord opened her heart, that she hearkened unto Paul." Then she understood his words, and believed. This comfort is of God, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation: he will give you understanding hearts, and will stablish you in every word and good work.

CHAPTER III.

Ver. 1. *Furthermore, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free passage, and be glorified, even as it is with you.*

Pray for me, that I may be a faithful servant, doing the will of God from my heart, that he will open my mouth boldly to publish the secret of the gospel, and to declare the riches and glory of his kingdom. For of myself I am nothing. I have not the key of David, I cannot give light unto the world, and am not able to open the hearts of the people. "That the word of God may have free passage." He saith not, Pray for us, that my word may have passage; or that my name may be spoken of and glorified; or that the people may behold 2 Cor. iv.[1] my doings, and talk of me. "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Christ's sake." I am but an unprofitable servant. I am the poor ox that treadeth out the wheat: I am a poor crier, to proclaim the will of the Lord.

Pray you that the word of the Lord may have free passage; that the gospel of Christ may be glorified; that the hearts of the people may be ready and greedy to receive it; that the kingdom of heaven suffer violence, and the violent take it by force; that the word may so possess the hearts of the people as fire hath passage through stubble; that it may shine as the sun-beams over all the world; that it may be known from east to west, and from north to south. In this sort pray, that the word may have a glorious entrance into you, and also among other. Herein shall appear the love you have to the saints, and the zeal

[1] 1594 omits this reference.]

you bear to the house of God, when you wish others to be partakers of this[2] blessedness with you; when you seek not your own glory, but the building of the church of Christ; when you pray that God will be merciful unto others as unto you, that a light may be given to them that[3] sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, that they may know the time of their visitation.

Such a prayer made David: "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine among us; that they may know thy way upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee." Thus did Hieremy pray: "Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord; and we shall be turned." Give us a new heart and a new spirit, incline our hearts unto thy testimonies, that we may know and fear thy name. So did Christ teach us to pray: "Hallowed be thy name" among the infidels which know thee not: let thy name be had in reverence among all people. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." There is no other God but only thou: let all the earth come and worship thee. Even so must we also pray, that the word of God may have free passage, and his name be glorified in all places.

Psal. lxvii.

Lam. v.

Matt. vi.

Ver. 2. *And that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil*[4] *men; for all men have not faith.*

3. *But the Lord is faithful, which will stablish you, and keep you from all evil.*

4. *And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do and will do the things which we command you.*

5. *And the Lord guide your hearts to the love of God, and the waiting for of Christ.*

"From unreasonable and evil men:" which conspire against the Lord and his Anointed; which blaspheme that good name that is called upon us[5]. Such were Jannes and Jambres, which resisted Moses in the time of the law. Such were they in the time of the prophets, which said, "The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee. But we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven as we have done, both we and our fathers, our kings and our princes." Such were in the time of the gospel the scribes and the Pharisees; "which made the commandment of God of no authority by their tradition;" which turned darkness into light, and light into darkness. Such was Alexander the copper-smith. Such were others. The whole scriptures are full of such. They were false prophets, false apostles, false brethren. They caused division in the church. They went out to preach in the name of Christ, but inwardly they were ravening wolves.

Jer. xliv.

Matt. xv.

Such were in the days of our fathers, and such there are in our days: such Jannes and Jambres, such idol-worshippers, such scorners[6] of God's word, such scribes and Pharisees, such Alexanders, such false prophets, false apostles, and false brethren, we have more than a good many in our days. They pretend the gospel; no man more. In company of protestants they will be protestants; in company of others they are quite become contrary. They come to the church, and receive the holy communion: they resort secretly to corners, where they hear mass. They like the one, and like the other. They like the light, and they love darkness, and make no difference between them. These are ready to serve Christ, and also ready to serve antichrist; faithful neither to God nor to Baal. And this is among many counted the highest point of wisdom, to be able so to colour and hide himself that you shall not know what profession he is of, to what church he joineth himself, what religion he holdeth, whose word or gospel he followeth, in what God he believeth. Such there are: and they only be the singular men, reckoned the fine wits and cunning fellows of the world. This is to be lamented, that in a christian estate there should be any such; that they, at whose hands God shall require a straiter account than of others, because he

[2] His, 1584.]
[3] Which, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[4] Ill, 1583, 1584, 1594.]
[5] Upon of us, 1594.]
[6] Scornes, 1611.]

hath given them the use of greater talents, either of wit, or of learning, or of preferment, or of riches, should so misspend the good gifts of God, or use his talents to such evil purpose, that they more than all other should devise means how to deny Christ among men, and, as much as in them lieth, to seek to crucify again the Lord of glory.

The Jews deal not so wickedly: the Turks deal not so traitorously. The Jew, although his case be miserable, and his heresies most dangerous, yet he is earnest in his folly; he will not dissemble his profession: the Turk is faithful unto Mahomet, and will not deny or forsake him.

These false brethren and dissembling Christians are worse than Jews and Turks. They are void of conscience, void of faith, void of fear, of shame, and of the grace of God. They are filthy swine, shameless dogs, and the enemies of the cross of Christ. These hinder the passage of the gospel, and blaspheme the holy word of their salvation, and do all that in them lieth to abolish the light of God's truth. St Paul telleth us, "All men have not faith:" many hearts be[1] naked and void of faith: many seem to live, and yet are dead.

Howsoever these men carry out their doings in this life, they cannot mock God. He knoweth who are his. Christ shall say unto these cunning-witted dissemblers: "Depart from me, ye hypocrites: I know you not. You shall receive your portion with the devil and his angels."

Pray that we may be delivered from such unreasonable and evil men; that they stop not the free passage of the gospel; that they may have no power against the glory of God. Then shall it appear that God is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works; that his truth and mercy shall last for ever. He will establish us in all goodness, and defend us from all evil: he will keep us from all the power of Satan: he will keep us from all temptation, that the wicked shall not prevail against us.

"And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do and will do the things which we warn you of." You know what commandments we gave you by the Lord. I spake unto you the will of God, and not mine own. I was unto you but a messenger, to deliver unto you such an errand as God sent unto you: I hope ye have received it in such duty as becometh, and that you both do and will hereafter obey it. I am your physician: the receipt which I have given you is sovereign, and shall work your health: I trust it tarrieth with you, and you brook it well. I have spoken unto you in the name of God: his name is holy. He will cause that my labour shall not be in vain, but will make it fruitful in you. Although all men have not faith, yet all men are not void of faith. Although there be many the children of this world, yet there be some the children of light: he that is of God heareth the word of God. They that be the sons of God are obedient to the wisdom of God their Father. God guide your hearts, that you may love him, that you may know what good God hath wrought unto your souls; that you may see the depth of his mercy; that in all your tribulation and adversity under the cross, and in your death, you may look for the day of Christ, when the trumpet shall be sounded, the graves shall be opened, the dead bodies shall come forth, and we shall be taken up into the clouds: then shall he change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body: then shall we be like the angels of God, we shall see God face to face, and rest with him for ever.

Ver. 6. *We warn you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the instruction which he received of us.*

Matt. xiii. The kingdom of God is like to a draw-net cast into the sea, that gathereth of all kind of things: it is like a field, wherein groweth both corn and weeds. Sundry virgins went out to wait upon the spouse: some were wise, some were foolish: some had oil in their lamps, some had none. Many came to the marriage: some had their wedding-garment, some lacked it. Many are called, but few are chosen. Some bear the name of Christians, yet live in usury, to the spoil and

[1] Lie, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

undoing of their brethren. Some bear the name of Christians, yet live in adultery and fornication, as the heathen which know not God. These be they through whom the name of God is evil spoken of.

Therefore saith Paul, "I warn you, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately." Forsake him, refuse his company, eat not with him, drink not with him, that so he may be ashamed of his filthiness. Receive him not to your house, nor bid him God speed: for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds. Have you no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but even reprove them rather. A little leaven doth leaven the whole lump. The wrath of God shall come, not only upon those which commit wickedness, but also upon all those which consent to the working thereof. Among the Corinthians one had committed incest, and taken his father's wife: St Paul saith, "Let such one[2] be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Deliver him up to Satan. 1 Cor. v.

Mark his words, and in what case he speaketh them. For they that delight in wickedness, and are sold over unto sin, which are filthy, and increase in filthiness, they are not of God, they have no part in the church of God. The devil and Satan hath power over them; therefore deliver them up unto Satan. The reward of sin is death: the soul which hath sinned shall die. For this cause hath the church of God ordained excommunication; that he which hath done wickedly may be ashamed; that others who are guiltless may be afraid; and that the heavy displeasure of God may be avoided.

"We warn you (saith he) in the name of our Lord." You know me, and my name, and that I am an apostle of Christ. But the commandment which I give you is in the name[3] of our Lord Jesus Christ. I warn you by the glorious day of his coming, that you withdraw yourselves from every one that liveth inordinately. Receive him not to your company, bid him not God speed, that you be not partakers of his evil, that he may know his filthiness, and be ashamed. Yet let us pray for such, that they may be sorry, that they may know whom they have offended, and turn again unto the Lord. For God would not the death of a sinner, but that he repent of his wickedness and live. The mercy of God is above all his works.

Ver. 7. *For ye yourselves know how ye ought to follow us; for we behaved not ourselves inordinately among you:*
8. *Neither took we bread of any man for nought; but we wrought with labour and travail night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you.*
9. *Not because we have not authority, but that we might make ourselves an example[4] unto you to follow us.*
10. *For even when we were with you, this we warned you of, that if there were any which would not work, that he should not eat.*
11. *For we hear that there are some which walk among you inordinately, and work not at all, but are busy-bodies.*
12. *Therefore them that are such we warn and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread.*
13. *And ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing.*

Here Paul maketh his speech against those who under the pretence of the gospel lived idly, and would not labour. Take an example of me: I lived not idly, I earned my bread, I was not chargeable to any. Do you as you have us for an example. So ought the servants of God to live, that their well-doing may be a pattern for the people to follow. St Paul telleth Timothy, "A bishop must be unreproveable." He saith not, without sin; for no man is without sin; but, "without rebuke." And again: "Let no man despise thy youth; but be unto them that believe an example[4] in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, and in pureness." And unto Titus the bishop of Candia he saith: "In all things 1 Tim. iii. 1 Tim. iv.

[2] Such a one, 1594.] [3] Give is the name, 1594.] [4] Ensample, 1583.]

shew thyself an example[1] of good works, with uncorrupt doctrine, with gravity, integrity, and with the wholesome word, which cannot be condemned; that he which withstandeth may be ashamed, having nothing concerning you to speak evil of." So, in this place to the Thessalonians, he saith, You behold my conversation, how I have lived among you. Be ye followers of me: let me be the pattern for you to follow. Such should be the speech of all those who are bishops and ministers in the church of God. They must walk so uprightly, that they may be unto all others the patterns of good life, of liberality, of mercy, and of love. They must carry the ark of the Lord, that the people may follow them.

"We behaved not ourselves inordinately," &c. Whereas I was an apostle of Christ, the first-fruits of the gospel, a chosen vessel, called from above and set apart from mine own business, to be the embassador of God into the world, and had so much to do; yet I used my hands and pained my body, to get my bread. I lived like one of Adam's children in travail of my body, and sought my bread in the sweat of my brows. Not that I might not lawfully have lived upon you, and have required my maintenance at your hands. It was lawful for me to have done so; for the workman is worthy of his hire. God hath appointed, that he which teacheth the gospel shall[2] live by the gospel.

1 Cor. ix. This matter St Paul reasoneth with the Corinthians: "Have we not power to eat and drink? or have we not power to lead about a wife, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?... Who goeth a warfare at any time at[3] his own cost? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" I might eat and drink at your charge, and require charges of you for me and mine. I am the soldier of God: Christ is my captain: I have planted the vine of the Lord of hosts among you: I have fed you: you are the sheep of the house of Israel. The hire due to the soldier, the fruit whereof he should eat which keepeth the vine, and the milk which Christ's sheep yield to their feeder, is nothing else but your charitable benevolence towards the servants of Christ. Again: "It is written in the law of Moses, Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn." He travaileth for thee, that thou mayest live: suffer him to lick a little for his pains. We are the Lord's oxen, we thresh forth his corn. "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things?" We are God's husbandmen, we travail and take pains, we plough, we sow, we harrow, we are abroad in wind and weather, in storm, in hail, in lightning and thunder. No man knoweth the care the poor husbandman taketh. Winter nor summer our work is never at an end. Now, if we by our labour minister to you the bread which cometh from heaven, is it much that you give us the bread of the earth? "Do you not know that they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?" It hath so seemed good unto God, it is his appointment: he hath established it by his law; and it is most agreeable to the law of reason and nature.

Yet this is also to be weighed in the consideration hereof, that whosoever asketh the pay of[4] a soldier must buckle his armour, and go a warfare. He that drinketh the wine must plant the grape: he that requireth milk must feed the flock: he that will not be muzzled must thresh the corn: he that reapeth carnal things must sow spiritual things: he that requireth the bread of the earth must minister to his hearers the bread of heaven: he that will live of the sacrifice, or of the altar, or of the gospel, must offer the sacrifice, wait upon the altar, and teach the gospel. He that teacheth not the gospel, nor careth for the teaching; he that serveth not the altar, nor careth for the serving; he that goeth not on warfare, that planteth not, that feedeth not, that thresheth not, that plougheth not, that travaileth not, that taketh no pains, that abideth not lightning, thunder, wind, weather, storm, and hail; he that careth not to do these things, I can make no account of him. He is not within Paul's reckoning. The workman is worthy of his hire: but what right hath he to the hire which is not a workman?

---

[1] Ensample, 1583.]
[2] Should, 1594.]
[3] Of, 1594.]
[4] 1611 omits *of*.]

I might, saith he, have received maintenance at your hands. But I took nothing, that I might be an example for you to follow, that none should live idly, but that they "work with quietness, and eat their own bread." Idleness is the mother of all mischief. An idle pack is as if he were already dead. His feet serve him not to travel: his hands help him not to work: his eyes serve him not to see his estate: his heart regardeth[5] not the time and misery of his age. Beggary falleth upon him, and gnaweth his bones; but he feeleth it not. For he is as it were already dead. Salomon saith: "He that followeth idleness hath no understanding." And again: "He that followeth idleness shall be filled with poverty." He is unprofitable to himself, and unto others. His children shall beg at every door. Again he saith: "The slothful will not plough because of winter: he shall beg in summer, but have nothing." That is, men, that have received increase of God's blessing by taking pains, shall deny bread unto such, and upbraid them for their idleness, and so drive them to labour. They will say, as it is devised that the ant said in like case to the grasshopper: "In the summer thou didst nothing but sing; therefore thou mayest starve in the winter." These extremities be great, if a man will weigh them advisedly. Yet Ecclesiasticus saith farther[7]: "Idleness bringeth much evil." It is an evil teacher. He that doth nothing is ill occupied. The mind of man is ever stirring and doing somewhat. If it be not doing well, it is doing ill. Water is clear and fair, fresh and comfortable; yet, if it stand still in a hole, or be kept long in a vessel whence it hath no issue, it will rot, and smell, and be unwholesome. Even so it fareth with the sons of Adam: if they have nothing to do, no way to bestow their wit, they will rot and prove unwholesome, and devise mischief all the day long.

Prov. xii. Prov. xxviii.[6] Prov. xx. Eccius. xxxiii.

What is it that filleth the prisons and bringeth so many to the gallows, and causeth so many parents to bewail the untimely death of their children, but idleness? When the poor wretches have received their judgment, and come to the place of execution, and stand on the ladder, what counsel give they to young men and to children, but to beware of idleness? What is cause of such and so many diseases in the body? Ask the physicians; and they will tell you, idleness. Whereof rise mutterings in cities against magistrates? Whereof rise rebellions in kingdoms against princes? You can give no greater cause thereof than idleness. "Behold," saith the Lord, "this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness." This was it that called for fire down from heaven, and wasted so many cities into ashes. Christ saith: "Of every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof at the day of judgment." If we shall make account[8] for our idle words, what shall we do for our idle hands, for our idle feet, for our idle body, for our idle soul? What account for all our idleness shall we make at the day of judgment?

Ezek. xvi. Matt. xii.

"We warned you," saith the apostle, "that, if any would not work, the same should not eat." This is a hard saying. Yet, saith Paul, I myself have kept it. I have fulfilled it in mine own body. He doth not say, if any be sick, or weak, or impotent, and cannot work, but, if any be idle and froward, and will not work; to such a one give not to eat; that so he may see the danger of idleness, "and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give him that needeth." It is not lawful to give them the bread of the church, and the alms ordained for relief of the poor. This bread they may not eat.

Eph. iv.

But you will say, kings, and counsellors, bishops, preachers, and all other sorts of learned men, neither plough nor sow, nor hedge nor ditch, nor use such painful labour of the body: they sit at rest and live idly. They that so think are deceived. The toil which princes take, and the great cares wherewith they are occupied, pass all other cares in the world. St Paul calleth the office of a bishop "a good work." If a bishop or minister study the scriptures, preach the gospel, catechize the children, and take a care of the souls of

1 Tim. iii.

[5] Regarded, 1611.]
[6] 1583, 1609, 1611 repeat this reference.]
[7] Further, 1594.]
[8] Make an account, 1594.]

2 Cor. xi. God's people; if he sow the Lord's field, feed the Lord's flock, thresh the Lord's corn, and walk before the people carefully; if he have the care of the
2 Cor. xi. churches, and can say with the apostle, "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burnt[1] not?" any offence that is given to my brother
2 Tim. iv. is to me as a fire, or as a torment; if he be instant in season, and out of season; if he do the work of an evangelist, and make his ministry fully known; he shall find himself occupied, and not be idle.

The master of the ship seemeth to be idle, to sit still, and to do nothing. He stirreth not the pump, he driveth not the oars, he soundeth not the deep, he rideth not the ropes, he scaleth not the shrouds, he runneth not hither and thither, forward or backward, under the hatches or above. He sitteth still, holdeth his peace, and looketh upon the load-star, and in appearance doth nothing. But his labour passeth all the rest. Without his labour, all the pains which the other mariners[2] take were lost. Were it not for his labour, the ship would soon strike upon rocks, and be stayed in the sands, and they all should perish. Even so fareth it in the state of princes, and of their counsellors: they seem to do nothing, yet they do all things, which is for the peace, and the wealth, and the safeguard of all the people.

"Be not weary in well-doing." Many occasions to discourage you to do well: the world is full of lets; but "be you stedfast, unmovable, and abundant always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord." Stand fast, and keep the instructions which you have been taught. Distribute to the necessity of the saints. "Do good unto all men, especially to them that be of the household of faith." Live not after the lusts of men in wantonness, drunkenness, and gluttony, and in abominable idolatry. Though they speak evil of you because you run not with them unto the[3] same excess of riot, though the devil cast you into prison, and there you have tribulation, be you faithful unto death. They that have afflicted you shall give an account to the righteous Judge: and the afflictions which you suffer in this present time are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed unto you.

Ver. 14. *If any man obey not this our saying, note him by a letter, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.*
15. *Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.*

You have been taught not only what you shall believe, but also how ye ought to live: "be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only." If any despise and will not follow our doctrine, forsake him, and let him have no fellowship with you; that so he may be ashamed, and repent, and turn again to the obedience of Christ. But lay apart all bitterness, and anger, and wrath. Reprove him, but hate him not. Kill the sin that is in him by all the means you can, for it is the work of the devil; but recover again the man that did offend, and restore him, if it be possible, by exhortation, and by your prayers made for him; for he is the creature of God.

Here I have good occasion to speak of excommunication, a principal part of the discipline of the church; a matter which many know not, which some do foully abuse, and over lightly give forth, and which many regard not as they ought. It cutteth us off from the body of Christ, and removeth us from the fellowship of the gospel. Let no man despise it: it is the sword of God, the power of the Holy Ghost, the discipline of Christ: it is an ordinance which the church hath received from above. By it the goats are divided from the lambs, the weed from the good corn, and the sons of God from the sons of Belial. It hath continued from the beginning, and hath been used in the church of Christ, in the synagogue of the Jews, in the law of Moses, and before Moses received the law; among the patriarchs, and the prophets, and the apostles of Christ. Christ saith: "If thy brother trespass against thee,"

[1 Burn, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.] [2 Marines, 1609, 1611.] [3 That, 1584, 1594.]

in doing any wickedness, "go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother. But, if he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two; and, if he will not vouchsafe to hear them, tell it unto the church:" publish it, and make it known; "and, if he refuse to hear the church" also; if he continue wilful, and stand in his wickedness, "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." This form of excommunication our Saviour hath set down, whereby the wicked and ungodly are removed from the church of Christ. Matt. xviii.

So St Paul speaketh of him that lived in filthiness with his father's wife, that they give him no comfort in wickedness, but take away the evil from among them. "Let such a[4] one," saith he, "be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our[5] Lord Jesus. Company not together with fornicators. If any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a[6] one eat not." Let him be put away from the company of the faithful. So did St Paul excommunicate Hymenæus, and Alexander, and "delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme." 1 Cor. v. 1 Tim. i.

In the law of Moses God commanded the children of Israel to put out of the host every leper; that they should neither eat, nor drink, nor walk abroad, nor come to church, nor offer sacrifice, nor make their prayers with the people. Such one, whithersoever he went, hid his face, rent his clothes, gave warning to avoid his company, and to fly from him, because he was foul and filthy. His hands were filthy and made the water unclean: his breath was corrupt, and infected the air. So miserable was his case. This was a kind of excommunication: in such sort were the filthy divided from the clean. Num. v.

God also set down this ordinance to Abraham, that every uncircumcised man-child should be cut off from his people, because he hath broken the covenant. This ordinance of excommunication God hath appointed against idolaters, against fornicators, and crafty deceivers, and other such-like offenders, in the seven and twentieth of Deuteronomy: "Cursed be the man that shall make any carved or molten image, an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen. Cursed be he that maketh the blind go out of the way. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen." This is excommunication. This is the use of the keys. This is that of which Christ spake: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." And, "Whosoever[7] sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosoever[7] sins ye retain, they are retained." "Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." That which you say shall be confirmed; it shall continue and stand for ever. Gen. xvii. Luke x. John xx. Matt. xviii.

If any therefore be excommunicate from the church, and removed from the fellowship of the gospel, and from the hope of the life to come; let him humble himself, and pray unto God that he will open his eyes, and that he may see in what case he standeth. Let him lay forth his heart in the sight of God, and consider his fault, and behold his misery, and think thus with himself: I was sometimes the child of God, and a member of his body: I was a branch of the vine which God hath planted, and a sheep of his pasture. But now, alas! I am divided from the pastures of life. I am fruitless and withered, and cut off from that blessed vine. I receive no moisture from that heavenly root: I am no more a member of the body of Christ. I am out of paradise, and have no joy or pleasure: I am out of the temple, and cannot offer any sacrifice: I am fallen from that heavenly Hierusalem, from the city of God, from the fellowship of the saints, and cannot kneel down, nor lift up my hands, nor make my prayers. God will not hear me: I am none of his: I am as a heathen and a publican, I cannot think of those things which are on high above.

---

[4] 1583 omits *a.*]
[5] The, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]
[6] 1583, 1584, 1594 omit *a.*]
[7] Whosoevers, 1583, 1584, 1594, 1609.]

But why art thou cut off from thy brethren, and banished out of the flock of Christ? Because of thine ungodliness and looseness of life. Because thou hast offended heaven and earth, and hast offended against the church of God, and lived in fornication and adultery; and both thy body and thy mind are defiled; thou art unworthy to dwell in the house of God: his house is holy.

By what authority is this done? Thou must not think that the judge or the officer doth it. It is not the judgment of any mortal man. It is the judgment of the almighty and everlasting God. It is his hand that bringeth this to pass against thee. It is his word: it is his key. His hand is mighty: his work shall stand: his word is forcible: his key is the key of David: it openeth, and no man shutteth; it shutteth, and no man openeth. God is departed from thy heart: his Spirit will not dwell in a filthy soul: there is no agreement between God and Belial. Thy soul is void of grace and of the fear of God.

What becometh of thee in this case? Whither dost thou go, into what misery dost thou fall? Into the gulf of death, into the seat of pestilence, and the power of Satan, and the snares of the devil, and into a reprobate mind. Thy heart followeth him: thy soul serveth him. He is the father of all the children of disobedience; and his children follow him. Thou art filthy and increasest in filthiness: the fear of God is not before thee: thou dost not acknowledge thy sin, because of the blindness of thy heart.

Wreak not thyself upon thy neighbour that accused thee, nor upon the judge that pronounced sentence against thee. The sentence is none of his: this is not his work: he hath not judged thee. The hand of God is stretched forth to thy punishment: it is thine own life and wickedness which forceth judgment upon thee. The judge sitteth in the place of God, in the seat of justice: he cannot bless that God hath[1] cursed: he must needs do right and equity. He seeth the abomination of thy life, he seeth the filthiness which thou hast done in the house of God, and therefore saith: *In nomine Dei, &c.*[2] "In the name of the living God and of Jesus Christ, before whom I stand, and before whom all flesh shall appear; by the authority of his word, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, I divide thee from the fellowship of the gospel, and declare that thou art no more a member of the body of Christ: thy name is put out of the book of life: thou hast no part in the life to come: thou art not in Christ; and Christ is departed from thee. I deliver thee to Satan, the prince of darkness. Thy reward shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. Thou shalt starve, and wither, and not abide. The grace of God is taken out of thy heart. The face of the Lord is against[3] all them that do evil: they shall not taste of his mercy."

As for the judge and minister which giveth sentence against thee, he mourneth and lamenteth for thee. When he striketh thee, he striketh himself. We are all one flesh and one blood, and all together make one body, and are one another's members. Therefore, when he doth excommunicate thee from the brethren, he cutteth off an arm from his own body. Jeremy dealt roughly with the people that offended God, and threatened them that the enemy should come upon them, the sword should devour them, and they should be utterly destroyed; yet he wished that he had a stream of tears, that his heart might have wherewith to mourn for their transgressions.

Psal. lix. David prayeth that God will stretch forth his hand upon the wicked: "Scatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord our shield." Again:
Psal. xxxv. "Let them be chaff before the wind; and let the angel of the Lord scatter them."
Psal. lxix. And again: "Let their table be a snare before them, and their prosperity their
Psal. cix. ruin." Again: "Let his prayer be turned into sin." Aid him not, hear him not when he calleth unto thee. Yet he saith: "I saw the transgressors, and was grieved, because they kept not thy word." I pined away and consumed to death; the grief was so deadly unto my soul.

Christ cried out wo upon Corazin and Bethsaida, upon the scribes and
Luke xix. Pharisees: yet when he came nigh to Hierusalem he wept over it, saying, "O

[1] Have, 1594.]

[2] There is a form of excommunication, but not in the precise words above cited, in Lib. Canon. 1571, in Wilkins, Concil. Lond. 1737. Vol. IV. p. 268. Conf. Pontifical. Rom. Ant. 1627. Ord. Excom. et Absolv. pp. 462, &c.]

[3] Upon, 1584, 1594.]

if thou hadst, even now at the least in this thy day, known those things which belong unto thy peace! but now are they hid from thee." Thine enemies "shall make thee even with the ground,... they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." Even such a sorrow also had St Paul for those that offended God: "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" My body is shaken, my heart is wounded for them; such a care have I for the church of God. 2 Cor. xi.

It is reported of John the evangelist, that he commended a young man to the education of a certain bishop nigh to Ephesus; and, when he heard that he was fled, and followed the company of such as were dissolute, riotous, and given over to all manner lewdness, he was careful for him, and sought him out, and came to the place where he and his[4] ill company were. When the young man knew him, he was astonied, and fled away from him. But the old man followed him, and cried, O my child! turn again, turn unto me: I am thy father, I have begotten thee in Christ Jesus. I come not to hurt thee: there is yet hope of salvation: I will make answer unto Christ for thee. Fall to the ground, hold up thy hands, ask mercy of God: he is merciful and will receive thee. At these words the young man cast down his weapons, and trembled, and wept bitterly, and was converted[5]. Euseb. Lib. iii. cap. xxiii.

When David heard of the destruction of that wicked wight Absalon, he wrung his hands and wept, saying: "O my son Absalon, my son, my son Absalon, would God I had died for thee, O Absalon, my son, my son!" Such a care, such a love and zeal hath a godly minister over his people, if he be a true pastor which hath taken his calling from God, and hath due consideration of his charge. 2 Sam. xviii.

He weepeth for the sins of the people, as did Jeremy: he gusheth[6] out into tears and consumeth away, as David, because of the ungodly: he is wounded at heart, and trembleth, as Paul, to see them perish. He seeketh for them, calleth after them, that they may return to him, as did John the evangelist; and is willing to die for their sake, if so be he might redeem them, as David was for Absalon. The people are his children: he is their father. Albeit they be wicked and filthy, yet he presenteth himself before God for them, and poureth forth his prayers, and saith, Sanctify them, O Lord, sanctify them with thy truth: thy word is truth. Let their hearts see the wrath to come, and thy heavy displeasure, which they have deserved, and hangeth over their heads. They are thine; save them, and let not Satan prevail against them. Turn them, O Lord; and they shall be turned. Give them a new heart and renew a clean spirit in them, that they may fear thee all the days of their life[7]. Turn away the captivity of their souls. Bring them to the fellowship of the gospel: make them lively stones meet for thy building: build up the walls of Hierusalem. So careful is a good minister for the people of his charge, be they never so ungodly. Yea, the more they lack the comfortable grace of God, the more must be his[8] care for them. This is that St Paul saith, Have no company with such to encourage him, "yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother."

Ver. 16. *Now the the Lord of peace give you peace always by all means. The Lord be with you all.*

17. *The salutation of me Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle: so I write.*

18. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.*

I need not commend peace unto you. It is the guard and[9] strength of mighty princes: it is the nurse and fosterer of the church of God: it is the wealth and prosperity of the world: it is the comfort and quietness of our conscience: it is truce taken with God and man, and our own selves. I need not to tell you who is the worker of peace. You know God is the God of peace. Worldly peace seemeth to be made by the will and liking of men; but God moveth

[4] 1584, 1594 omit *his*.]
[5] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. cap. xxiii. pp. 74, 5.]
[6] Gushed, 1611.]
[7] All their life, 1594.]
[8] The, 1584, 1594.]
[9] 1594 repeats *and*.]

their hearts and establisheth it. But the peace of the heart and quietness of mind passeth all understanding. The power, and wisdom, and strength, and riches of all the world are not able to make it. It is the glory of God, that he alone is the God of peace.

I pray for you that nothing may be done among you to the hindrance of peace, but that it abide with you always; not for a while, not in prosperity only, but in persecution, in your death, and for ever. If God be with you, you shall have peace. And if you love one another and keep his word, God will come to you, and love you, and abide with you, and give you the comfort of his peace.

"The salutation of me Paul." He gave them warning before of false apostles who came in his name, and pretended his word or his letter; therefore now telleth them, how they shall know certainly whether such epistles as they receive be his, written or sent by him. In every epistle that I send, saith he, to the churches, or to any the brethren, I write[1] mine[2] own name, and send this greeting written with mine own hand, which now I send to you all: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen."

FINIS.

[1 Writ, 1611.] [2 My, 1594.]

SERMONS

BY

BISHOP JEWEL.

A
SERMON
Made in Latine
in OXENFORD,

In the raigne of King *Edward* the sixt,
by the learned and godly Father
IOHN IEVVEL, late Bishop
of *Sarisburie*:

And translated into English
by *R. V.*

Dedicated vnto the Bishop of *London*, as appeareth
in the Comentary of Master CALVINE
upon the Galathians, in English[1].

1. Cor. 9. 16.
Wo is vnto me if I preach not the Gospell.

LONDON,
Printed by IOHN NORTON,
Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.
1611.

[1] In the dedication prefixed to the translation of Calvin's Commentary on Galatians, dated 1581, the translator says, that "for the briefness" he passed this sermon "undedicated for a season;" but that, inscribing the commentary to the bishop (John Aylmer), he thought it his duty, joining them together, "to dedicate both at once" to his lordship.]

MASTER DOCTOR HUMFREY IN HIS BOOK WHICH HE WRITETH OF THE LIFE AND DEATH OF JEWEL.

Pagina 49.

Quam autem in templo Divæ Mariæ concionem habuerit, quam Latine, quam compte, quam theologice, me silente ipsa loquetur Oratio, cujus exemplum mutilum, ut potui, aliquantulum recognitum et correctius exhibere malui, quam omnino supprimere, quæ et concionatores multa utiliter commonefacit; et pro gradu Baccalaureatus suscepto recitata videtur, verbis ex 1 Pet. iv. *desumptis, dominicâ intra Octav. Ascensionis.*

But what manner of sermon he made in St Mary's church, in how excellent Latin he made it, how finely and how like a divine he did it, his matter shall shew, notwithstanding I hold my peace; the unperfect example whereof being, as well as I could, somewhat perused and amended, I had rather set out, than altogether suppress it or keep it back; which profitably putteth in mind and warneth preachers of many things, and seemeth to have been preached when he took his degree of bachelor in divinity, the words being taken out of the first epistle of Peter, the fourth chapter, upon the Sunday within the Octavois of the Ascension.

A LEARNED AND GODLY SERMON,

MADE IN THE LATIN TONGUE,

IN ST MARY'S, IN OXENFORD,

UPON THE SUNDAY AFTER THE ASCENSION, IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH[1], BY THE FAMOUS AND EXCELLENT CLERK MASTER JEWEL, LATE BISHOP OF SARISBURY, AND DONE INTO ENGLISH BY R. V.[2]

I PETER IV. 11.

If any man speak, let him talk as the words of God.

BRETHREN beloved in Christ, I have chosen these words chiefly out of that epistle of St Peter, which are accustomed to be read unto the people this day, because that, whereas I must preach in Latin, according to the custom of this place and time, the same in mine opinion seemed to belong properly to this assembly. The which that they may be plainlier and better understood[3] of you all, I must repeat a few words from the beginning of this whole epistle. Wherefore we must call to mind, because in those first times christian religion was shut out every where, as pernicious to men's souls, and an infection of commonwealths, and that it seemed great godliness to root out the bringers in of new religion; lest, I say, that christian men and those that were godly should in that season utterly be discouraged, and cast away all hope, St Peter doth so instruct them with this epistle, that they should consider no new or unwonted thing to have happened; that Christ himself hath suffered far bitterer and unworthier things; that they should not be faint-hearted; lastly, that the way to glory is by afflictions and crosses.

And to that purpose he warneth the people by themselves and the bishops also, what belongeth to each of them to take heed of. Concerning that which belongeth unto the people, he saith that they have spent time enough before upon wickedness, and that now they ought to change their life with their religion; that godliness is placed, not in outward shew and titles, but in soundness of life and innocency of manners; that it is an ill thing with mouth and tongue only to worship God, and to give our mind and soul to worship the devil, and to

---

Si quis loquitur, tanquam sermones Dei, &c.[4]

Concio Juelli Latina in Templo D. Mariæ.

DILECTISS. in Christo fratres, ex ea epistola D. Petri, quæ hodierno die ad populum legi solet, hæc verba potissimum delegi, quod cum pro hujus loci ac temporis consuetudine Latine esset perorandum, ea mihi ad hunc cœtum proprie pertinere viderentur. Quæ ut a vobis omnibus propius et melius intelligantur, pauca mihi a principio totius epistolæ sunt repetenda. Quapropter meminisse debemus, cum primis illis temporibus Christiana religio ut pernicies animorum et rerumpub. pestis ubique gentium exploderetur, et pietas erga Deum summa esse videretur, religionis novatores extinguere; ne homines Christiani et pii ea tempestate frangerentur et spem omnem abjicerent, ita eos hac epistola D. Petrum instituere, ut meminerint nihil novum aut inusitatum accidisse, Christum ipsum longe acerbiora indignioraque pertulisse, ne quid animo conciderent, per afflictiones et cruces aditum postremo esse ad gloriam. Eoque et populum monet seorsim, et episcopos, docetque quid utrisque curæ esse debeat.

Quod ad populum attinet, ait, satis ante datum esse nequitiæ, nunc cum religione vitam quoque mutari oportere: pietatem autem non in fuco et titulis, sed in vitæ integritate ac morum innocentia, sitam esse: iniquum autem esse ore tantum et lingua Deum colere,

---

[1 There is some doubt as to the date of this sermon. Humfrey in his life of Jewel places his exercises and degree of B. D. "anno Edouardi sexti fere quinto," i. e. 1551. But Anthony A Wood sets down Jewel as graduating in 1550. See Wood, Athen. Oxon. Lond. 1813-20. Fast. Oxon. Vol. II. cols. 130, 1.]

[2 Probably Richard Vaux, or Vaulx. This person translated Hyperius' Common-places, and some ot her works. See Wood, Athen. Oxon. Fast. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 149.]

[3 Understand, Orig. ed.]

[4 Reprinted from Humfrey's Life of Jewel, Lond. 1 573.]

disagree from idolaters not in life and manners, but in words and profession (only). And, because they had departed from the most ancient ordinances and laws of their forefathers, and that they, being but a few, had stirred all kind of men against them, he warneth them that they yet would in all kind of duties practise charity among themselves, one toward another, lest they should be divided at any time by any dissension of minds or studies: that this is only the token of Jesus Christ, whereby the bond-slaves of the devil may be known from the children of God: that so it shall come to pass shortly, that all the whole world shall embrace the gospel and the heavenly doctrine, and that the enemies and the haters of the cross of Christ, whom godliness could not move, may through shame be overcome, and return to themselves. And the bishops he warneth that, in those most hard times, they see to their office with all diligence and care, and that they look about them diligently that the congregation take no harm: and that it is not a sporting matter, but a very great burden, that they have taken upon them: and therefore, if they preach at any time to the people, that they speak as the words of God, and that they so behave themselves, that others which hear them may think that they hear not men, but the messengers and interpreters of the word of God.

This is the portion of scripture that I judged most fit for this time and place. For, because therefore that partly we are entered into the holy ministry, and partly, as I hope, we have already directed the course of our studies to that point, we shall be taught in this place, how this heavenly office is to be garnished, that our labour may in time to come be very profitable to the church of God, and the holy gospel be most largely spread abroad.

But that this may be done the more orderly, and lest I should wander or go out of course in my speaking, I think it good to touch these three points in few words: first, that a preacher should speak; secondly, what he should speak; thirdly, how he should speak, that it may be understanded. First, that he is scantly a good preacher which never speaketh any thing to the congregation; secondly, that a preacher must set forth unto the people not old wives' fables, but the word of God; and, last of all, that that same word of God must be handled reverently, and worthily, according to the dignity of the matter. But that God almighty would lighten all your hearts and my voice with his Holy Spirit, and that some fruit may come hereof unto us all, I desire of you that you will help my weakness with your devout prayers.

First of all, I commend unto your devotion the universal church of Christ

---

mentem autem atque animum diabolo addicere, et ab idololatris non vita et moribus, sed verbis et professione discrepare. Quoniam autem a majorum suorum antiquissimis institutis et legibus decesserant, et pauci hominum omne genus in se commoverant, monet ut ipsi saltem omnibus officiis mutuam inter se caritatem colant, ne ulla unquam animorum aut studiorum dissensione distrahantur: hanc enim solam tesseram esse Jesu Christi, qua diaboli mancipia internosci possint a filiis Dei. Ita futurum brevi ut orbis universus evangelium et cœlestem doctrinam amplectatur, et hostes atque inimici crucis Christi, quos movere pietas non potuit, pudore ac verecundia vincantur et resipiscant. Episcopos autem monet, ut difficillimis temporibus munus suum omni industria studioque tueantur, et diligenter prospiciant ne quid ecclesia detrimenti capiat: non enim ludicram esse rem, sed onus gravissimum, quod susceperint. Proinde si quando ad populum verba faciant, loquantur ut sermones Dei, itaque se gerant, ut alii non homines sibi audire videantur, sed nuncios et interpretes divinæ vocis. Hanc ego sententiam huic tempori locoque accommodatissimam esse judicavi. Quoniam enim partim in sacrum ministerium ingressi jam sumus, partim, uti spero, studiorum nostrorum cursum jampridem eo direximus, docebimur hoc loco, quemadmodum cœleste munus ornandum sit, ut opera nostra ecclesiæ Dei aliquando utilissima esse possit, et sacrosanctum evangelium quam longissime promovere.

Verum ut agatur distributius, nec vagetur aut erret oratio, hæc mihi tria visum est paucis attingere: primum, concionatori dicendum esse: dein quid: tum quo pacto dicendum sit: ut intelligi possit primum, vix satis probum concionatorem esse, qui pro concione nihil unquam dicat; dein non fabulas aniles, sed verbum Domini populo esse proponendum; postremoque illud ipsum verbum reverenter et magnifice pro rei dignitate tractandum. Verum ut Deus opt. max. et vobis omnibus animos sacro afflatu, et mihi vocem accendat, fructusque aliquis ex hac re ad omnes redeat, peto a vobis ut imbecillitati meæ vestra pietate suffragemini. Partes concionis.

In primis autem commendo pietati vestræ universam Christi ecclesiam per omnem terra-

dispersed throughout the whole world, and, as now it falleth out, in many places miserably afflicted, and namely this our church of England and Ireland, and in the same for our noble king Edward his majesty, his most noble sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, the privy council, the rulers ecclesiastical and political, and all the people of England, both universities, and chiefly this university of Oxenford, the chancellor, the vice-chancellor, the proctors, Robert Norvent, president of Corpus Christi college, doctor Raynald, master of Merton college[1], and all the scholars in both these colleges. Ye shall give thanks unto God almighty for king Henry the seventh, and Henry the eighth, kings of noble memory, for Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, &c., that of his infinite goodness he hath kindled those lights to the nourishing of good letters, and spreading abroad of religion: and ye shall pray that it would please him to raise up others hereafter like unto these, and to gather us all to their society into the bosom of Abraham.

"Let him that speaketh speak as the words of God." To the end that the pith of these words may be the better understanded, because I must entreat both of pastors, and before pastors, I have used this division, to shew first that a pastor should speak often; next of all, that he should speak out of the holy scriptures; last of all, that he should speak gravely and modestly according to the worthiness of the matter. And surely concerning the office of pastors, as yet I see not sufficiently what I should speak, or not speak. For to speak that which hath been before so often spoken, were not only hateful, but out of season; and to speak nothing of so great sloth and dastardy of our times, I am much afraid might seem to shew a sluggard and a dastard. Truly, in this case if the voice of the immortal God might be heard, there were no need at this time of my voice. For, that I may say nothing beside, all the scriptures do sufficiently warn us of our duty, God himself hath commanded nothing at any time, either more often, or else with more weighty words, than that his people should be instructed to know him, themselves, and godliness. "Thou son of man," saith God, in Esay, "cry and cease not, cry out aloud, lift up thy voice as a trumpet, and shew unto my people their wickedness." How oft doth Christ cry, Go ye, teach ye, "preach

---

Preces usitatæ et solennes.

rum orbem dissipatam, et ut nunc quidem est, multis in locis misere habitam. Seorsim vero hanc nostram Anglicam et Hibernicam, in eaque clariss. Regis nostri Edouardi majestatem, Regis illustriss. sorores Mariam et Elizabetham, sacrosanctum senatum, magistratus ecclesiasticos et politicos, omnemque populum Britannicum, utramque Academiam, et hanc in primis Oxoniens., Cancellarium, Vice-cancellarium, Procuratores, Robertum Morventum, præsidem collegii Corporis Christi, Doct. Rainaldum, præfectum collegii Mertonensis, et omnem in utroque collegio studiosam juventutem. Agetis Deo opt. max. gratias de Henrico septimo octavoque, Regibus clariss. memoriæ, Humfredo duce Gloucestrensi, &c., quod ad alendas bonas literas et propagandam religionem, ea lumina pro sua infinita bonitate voluerit accendere: orabitisque ut et alios deinceps horum similes velit excitare, et nos omnes ad illorum societatem in Abrahami sinum aggregare.

1 *Qui loquitur, loquatur ut sermones Dei.* Ut horum verborum sententia melius intelligeretur, quoniam et de pastoribus et apud pastores agendum erat, hac usus sum distributione, ut dicerem, pastori primum sæpe, dein e sacris literis, postremo graviter et modeste pro rei dignitate dicendum esse. Et de officio quidem pastorum, equidem adhuc nec quid dicam satis video, nec quid taceam. Nam dicere quod jam ante toties dictum sit, et odiosum et importunum est: tacere autem tantam socordiam et ignaviam nostrorum temporum, non nihil vereor ne hominis et socordis videri possit et ignavi. Certe si in hac causa Dei vox immortalis audiri posset, hoc tempore voce opus non esset mea. Nam, ne quid dicam præterea, omnes nos scripturæ satis officii nostri commonent, Deus ipse nihil unquam vel sæpius vel gravioribus verbis imperavit, quam ut populus ad sui cognitionem et pietatem institueretur. "Fili hominis," inquit Dominus apud Esaiam, "clama, ne cesses, vociferare, excita tanquam tubam vocem tuam, et denuntia populo meo scelera sua." Quoties clamat Christus, Ite, docete, "prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ!" Væ mihi, ait Propheta, quia tacui! Væ

Officium pastoris docere.

[1 The chancellor of Oxford at this time was Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely. The vice-chancellor and proctors were probably W. Tresham, D.D., canon of King's College (Christ Church), who succeeded Walter Wright on his resignation as vice-chancellor; and Roger Elyott, All Souls', Thomas Frynd, New, proctors. Robert Morwent, S.T.B. was sworn president of Corpus, Nov. 26, 1537, and died Aug. 26, 1558. Thomas Raynolds, S.T.P. was admitted master of Merton, Dec. 30, 1545. He was afterwards appointed bishop of Hereford, but was set aside by queen Elizabeth, and died in prison soon after her accession. See Le Neve, Fast. Eccles. Angl. Lond. 1716. pp. 484, 495.]

ye the gospel to every creature." "Wo unto me," saith the prophet, "because I have kept silence." "Wo unto me," saith Paul, "if I preach not the gospel." But such is either our security or daintiness, beside that we have stopped our ear against wholesome counsel, that we account it as a reproach if a man warn us of our duty. Nevertheless, whatsoever it seemeth to us, this hath seemed to God a help both very firm and very great to the making up of his church. For so hath God brought us out of darkness into light, so hath he restored us being dead unto life, so hath he brought us being prisoners and captives out of hell into heaven, so hath he broken the powers of the devil, so hath he brought us back again into his own power and dominion, so hath he spread abroad the fame of his name into all lands. For if Christ, if the apostles, if the prophets, had held their peace, in what case had we now been in? what religion had there been any where? what worship of God had there been? That we behold the light, that we have escaped out of bondage, that we are accounted, and be, the sons of God, all that (I say) we owe unto the preaching of the word of God. Let us not deceive ourselves, brethren, let us not deceive ourselves. Our matters are not so firmly established, that they cannot fall. Except we take heed, except we look about, except we put to study and diligence, all things will easily slide and fall into their former estate. A lamp, except you put oil often[2] in it, will soon be out. The victory is kept even by such means as it is gotten.

For what engines doth not the devil now use, what crafts doth he not practise, what way doth he not take, to overthrow the church of God? He keepeth scout-watch always, he is[3] never wearied; he hath brought in so many vices, so much ignorance, so great blindness, that there is no place in which a preacher ought to be idle. And as, if the sun were taken away from the world, all things should be left dark, disparkled, and confounded; so, if the voice of the pastor be taken out of the church, religion is left at six and seven; it is left blind, troubled; all things are mingled with error, superstition, and idolatry: of so great weight is it to be a steward of the house of God. The gospel, religion, godliness, the health of the church dependeth of us alone. This is our office, this we take upon us, and this we profess; and, except we do this, we do nothing, we serve to no use. It is not enough to know I wot not what learning. The devils perhaps know more than any of us all. It belongeth unto a pastor, not so much to have learned many things, as to

---

mihi," ait Paulus, "si non docuero evangelium!" Verum tanta nostra est vel securitas vel mollities, et aures ad omne sanum consilium occlusimus, ut contumeliæ loco nunc ducamus, si quis nos officii nostri commonefaciat. Verum quicquid nobis videtur, hoc certe Deo semper visum est præsidium ad constituendam ecclesiam et firmissimum et maximum. Sic enim nos Deus e tenebris eduxit in lucem, sic mortuos vitæ reddidit, sic vinctos et captivos ex inferis in cœlum intulit, sic vires diaboli comminuit, sic mundum universum in potestatem et ditionem suam redegit, sic nominis sui famam in omnes terras propagavit. Nam si Christus, si apostoli, si prophetæ tacuissent, quæ nunc esset nostra conditio? quæ usquam esset religio? quis cultus Numinis? Quod lucem aspicimus, quod fugimus e vinculis, quod filii Dei numeramur et sumus, id omne debemus prædicationi verbi Dei. Ne ludamus, fratres, ne ludamus ipsi nos. Non sunt ita constabilitæ res nostræ, ut non possint ruere. Nisi cavemus, nisi circumspicimus, nisi studium et diligentiam adhibemus, facile omnia in pristinum locum labentur et ruent. Lucerna, nisi addatur oleum, facile extinguitur. Victoria eadem via retinetur qua paratur.

Nam quos nunc arietes non admovet diabolus, quas artes non experitur, qua via non grassatur ad evertendam ecclesiam Dei? Semper agit excubias, nunquam defatigatur; tantum vitiorum, ignorationis, cæcitatis importavit ut nihil usquam loci sit, ubi concionator otiosus esse debeat. Quemadmodum autem, si sol de mundo sublatus esset, omnia obscura, dissipata, confusa relinquerentur; ita, sublata ex ecclesia pastoris voce, religio temeraria, cæca, turbata relinquitur, omnia errore, superstitione, idololatria permiscentur: tanti est procuratorem esse domus Dei. Evangelium, religio, pietas, salus ecclesiæ a nobis pendet solis. Hoc nostrum est officium, hoc suscipimus et profitemur. Hoc nisi facimus, nihil facimus, nullus est nostri usus. Non enim satis est nescio quas novisse literas. Dæmones norunt plura

---

[2 Oft, o. E. 1609.] [3 His, 1611.]

have taught much. Let it shame us, that the basest kind of men, even cobblers and porters, do that which belongeth unto them; and we, which ought to give light to all other, are idle and do nothing. For God would not have us idle bellies, but he would have us both be interpreters of his mind, ministers of Jesus Christ, attornies of the people before the Lord of Sabaoth, the light of the world, salt, angels, and the sons of God, and so to be called; and we are appointed to govern, not dumb cattle, not wild beasts; but the flock of the Lord, but the sons of God, but the brethren of Christ. If any of these shall perish through our default, his blood shall be required at our hands. If these things alone were still set before us, in our eyes and minds, we would not so cast from us carelessly and unadvisedly the safeguard of our brethren and of ourselves; we would not so cast from us the blood of Christ.

There is no cause why any should say, We speak to them that are deaf: the people give no ear: we labour for them which are unthankful, we prevail not, we cast that which is holy unto dogs, we give pearls to swine. We know that otherwhile these things are truly spoken; and it grieveth me exceedingly that they may be so truly spoken against those that be christian men. Yet for all this, we may not therefore hold our peace, but speak so much the oftener, so much the sharper, so much the hotter. For look, how much the disease is more perilous, so much the more needeth there a physician.

Neither can we justly complain of the people's stubbornness, while we ourselves do all the while nothing. Let us do our endeavour, and leave the success unto the Lord. Then shall they, if they be of so froward a mind that they will not hear, die in their own sin. But there is no cause why we should be in despair of the people's salvation. God himself husbanded the vine which for grapes brought out wild grapes. God himself hath all the day long stretched out his hands to a rebellious and overthwart people. How oft hath Christ himself said, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen gathereth together her chickens;" whereas they turned away their ears and would not hear! This malady will easily be taken away, if the medicine therefore be used. Let us bring forth the light; and God will open their eyes: let us beat at their ears; and God will give them a heart of flesh: let us give the word; and God will give the Spirit: let us plant and water; and God in due time will give the increase. For, as it is our duty to instruct the people with words, so it belongeth to God to join unto his words

---

fortasse quam quisquam nostrum. Pastoris est non tam multa didicisse, quam multum docuisse. Pudeat autem vilissimum genus hominum, cerdones et bajulos, officium suum facere; nos autem, quos aliis omnibus prælucere oportuit, otiosos esse et nihil agere. Non enim nos Deus ventres otiosos, sed suæ mentis interpretes, ministros Jesu Christi, populi sequestros apud Dominum Sabaoth, lucem mundi, salem, angelos et filios Dei, et appellari et esse voluit: præficimur autem, non mutis pecudibus, non feris animantibus, sed gregi Domini, sed filiis Dei, sed fratribus Christi. Si quis horum nostro vitio perierit, sanguis ejus e nostris manibus repetetur. Hæc si nobis sola in oculis atque animis versarentur, non ita fratrum nostrorum, non ita nostram salutem, non ita sanguinem Christi secure et temere projiceremus.

Nihil enim est quod quisquam dicat: Surdis canimus, populus non audit, laboramus ingratis, nihil promovemus, rem sanctam objicimus canibus, margaritas damus porcis. Scimus ista interdum vere dici, et vehementer dolet tam vere in homines Christianos dici posse. Neque tamen nos idcirco reticere oportuit, sed tanto frequentius tantoque acrius et incensius dicere. Quanto enim periculosior est morbus, tanto magis opus est medico.

Nec satis juste de populi contumacia queri possumus, si nos interim ipsi nihil agimus. Præstemus nos operam nostram, successum Domino relinquamus. Tum illi, si animo ita erunt obfirmato ut audire nolint, in peccato suo morientur. Sed nihil est causæ quamobrem populi salutem desperemus. Deus ipse coluit vitem, quæ pro uvis peperit labruscas. Deus ipse totos dies protendit manus ad populum rebellem et contradicentem. Christus ipse quoties dixit, "Hierusalem, Hierusalem, quoties volui congregare filios tuos, quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos," cum illi aures avertissent et audire noluissent! Hic morbus facile tolletur, si adhibebitur medicina. Proferamus nos lucem, Dominus aperiet oculos: pulsemus aures, Dominus dabit cor carneum: demus nos verbum, Dominus dabit Spiritum: plantemus, rigemus, Dominus suo tempore dabit incrementum. Nam ut nostrum est populum verbis instituere, ita Dei est fidem dictis suis et robur adjungere. Ea autem est vis

faith and force. Such is the strength of the word of God, that to work nothing, or to profit none, it is not possible. Much will fall into the bushes, into the beaten way, and among stones; yet some will fall into good ground and bring forth fruit. "For look, as the rain cometh down from heaven, and returneth not thither again, but moisteneth and watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth, and giveth seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth[1]; so my word, saith the Lord, which goeth forth out of my mouth, shall not return empty unto me, but shall do whatsoever I will."

But, because it is not enough to speak, let us now consider that which in the second place I have promised, namely, what is to be spoken. For some otherwhile speak, who had been better have held their peace: other some, while they make a noise and cry out with great contention, speak to no purpose. Wherefore regard must be had that we neither speak unfruitfully ne yet hurtfully. For all things are not to be huddled out in a sermon before the multitude. We must take care what the religious silence of the people, what the reverence of the place, what the greatness of our office, do require. The truth must be spoken, not lies; the scriptures, not fables; the precepts of the highest God, and not the dreams of men. For religion is to be ordered, not by our judgment, but by the word of God. Wherein if we shall hearken to Moses, or to the prophets, or the apostles, or Christ, or the Father himself, we shall not much go out of the way. For Moses, whatsoever was to be said or done in so great a wilderness, when he led the people, being banished and wandering, by a savage and desert region, always asked counsel at the Lord: he never brought them any thing of his own head. The prophets always say, The word of the Lord, the vision of the Lord, the voice of the Lord: this saith the Lord: hear the Lord. "I," saith Paul, "have received my gospel not of man, neither by man;" and again: "I know nothing but Jesus Christ, and the same crucified." And again: "If an angel from heaven shall teach another gospel than that which you have learned, let him be cursed." Christ saith: "All things which I have heard of my Father, I have delivered unto you;" and: "Preach you," saith he, not whatsoever shall come in your head, but "the gospel to all creatures;" and, when as the Pharisees and Sadducees had moved the questions of divorcement, and the resurrection of the dead unto life, he never had recourse unto the rabbins, but always to the word of the

---

verbi Dei, ut nihil efficere et nulli prodesse non possit. Multa in vepres, in viam, in saxa cadent, et aliquid cadet in terram bonam et feret fructum. "Quemadmodum enim imber descendit de cœlo, et illuc non revertitur, sed irrigat et perfundit terram, et eam facit germinare, et dat semen serenti et panem comedenti; sic verbum meum, dicit Dominus, quod egreditur ex ore meo, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed conficiet quæcunque volui." Esai. lv.

II. Docendum Dei verbum.

Sed quoniam non satis est dicere, videamus nunc id, quod secundo loco polliciti sumus, quid sit dicendum. Alii enim interdum dicunt quos præstiterat tacuisse, alii cum magna contentione vociferantur et clamant, nihil dicunt. Quapropter videndum est, neve otiose neve perniciose dicatur. Non enim omnia promiscue pro concione ad populum dicenda sunt. Habenda est ratio, quid populi religiosum silentium, quid loci reverentia, quid muneris nostri magnitudo postulet. Vera dicenda sunt, non mendacia, scripturæ, non fabulæ, Dei opt. max. præcepta, non hominum somnia: non enim nostro judicio instituenda est religio, sed e verbo Dei. Qua quidem in re si vel Mosen, vel prophetas, vel apostolos, vel Christum, vel Patrem ipsum audiemus, haud sane multum aberrabimus. Moses enim cum per incultam et desertam regionem populum exulem et vagum traduceret, in tanta solitudine, quicquid vel dicendum vel agendum esset, semper consuluit Dominum, nihil unquam attulit de suo. Prophetæ semper aiunt, Verbum Domini, visio Domini, vox Domini, hæc dicit Dominus, audite Dominum. "Ego," inquit Paulus, "evangelium meum non accepi ab homine neque per hominem:" et, "nihil novi nisi Jesum Christum, et illum quidem crucifixum." Et, "si angelus e cœlo docuerit aliud evangelium quam quod didicistis, anathema sit." Christus, "Omnia," inquit, "quæ audivi a Patre meo, tradidi vobis:" et, "prædicate," inquit, non quicquid inciderit, sed "evangelium omni creaturæ:" et cum quæstiones Pharisæi et Sadducæi de divortio et mortuorum reditu ad vitam commovissent, nunquam ad Rabinos recurrit, semper ad

---

[1] Eareth, 1611.]

Lord. God the Father crying from heaven, "This," saith he, "is my dearly-beloved Son:" he saith not, Hear your fathers, your grandfathers, or your great grandfathers; but he saith, "Hear him," even him. For our heavenly Father would have his Son and his word to be taught, and to be beat into men's heads in all places.

And certainly it may not be doubted of by any man but that that, which the most excellent, most wise, and most loving[1] Father hath given unto us for our cause, is most excellent, most wise, and to our reasons most profitable. This is that river of water flowing abroad into life everlasting. This is that flesh, this is that blood of Jesus Christ, this is that only both most delicate and most wholesome food of our souls: with this only sword the devil is overcome, with this only stone Goliah is laid along, with this only maul the roughness and hardness of hearts is softened and overcome. And, were it not for this, neither could religion flourish, nor faith be confirmed, or the church kept within the limits of her duty.

Call to remembrance, I beseech you for the Lord's sake, that, as oft as the word of the Lord languished, how often and into how many grievous errors, and how great a break-neck evil did the whole people fall into; how oft despised they the mightiest and most loving God, their preserver and Father; how oft worshipped they Astaroth, Belial, the sun, the moon, calves, and beasts, and turned away themselves from all religion and godliness, and put their whole hope and confidence in things most vain and filthy. For, when as every one hatched out of his own mind a religion and holiness unto himself, superstition and such a multitude of new gods increased so suddenly, that the prophet was informed[2] to cry out, "Your gods are in number as many as your cities." For, when as they had forsaken the truth, life, and religion, what remained but that they should fall headlong into lies, into destruction, into ungodly worshippings?

I had rather make mention of these old things, than to bring in examples which are fresh and in memory. There is none of us that ever was so blind that he saw not, or so blockish that he understood not, the calamities[3] of former times. We have far gone beyond, not only the superstition and vanity of the Jews, but also of the Egyptians and Grecians. For when the authority of councils, and the conspiracy of a few bishops and monks, was placed above

---

verbum Domini. Deus Pater clamans e cœlo, "Hic," inquit, "est Filius meus dilectus: Ipsum," non patres, non avos aut proavos, sed "ipsum," inquit, "audite." Suum enim Filium cœlestis Pater et verbum suum omnibus locis doceri et inculcari voluit.

Neque certe cuiquam dubium esse potest, quin quod et optimus, et sapientissimus, et amantissimus Pater nostra causa nobis dedit, et optimum sit, et sapientissimum, et nostris rationibus utilissimum. Hoc illud est flumen aquæ scaturientis in vitam æternam. Hæc illa est caro, hic ille sanguis Jesu Christi, hic unicus est et suavissimus et saluberrimus pastus animorum. Hoc solo gladio diabolus superatur, hoc solo lapide Goliah sternitur, hoc solo malleo animorum rigor et durities emollitur et vincitur. Hoc nisi esset, neque religio vigere, neque fides confirmari, neque ecclesia in officio contineri posset. Revocate enim ad memoriam, per Deum immortalem, quoties verbum Domini elanguerit, quoties et quam graves in errores et quantum in præcipitium populus universus inciderit, quoties Deum opt. max. conservatorem et Patrem suum contempserit, quoties Astaroth, Belial, solem, lunam, vitulos, pecudes coluerit, seque ab omni religione et pietate averterit, et in rebus inanissimis et fœdissimis spem omnem et fiduciam collocarit. Cum enim suam sibi quisque religionem et sanctimoniam ex animo suo peperisset, ita repente increbuit superstitio, et tanta novorum Deorum multitudo, ut propheta coactus sit exclamare, "Pro numero civitatum sunt dii tui." Nam cum veritatem, cum vitam, cum religionem deseruissent, quid relinquebatur, nisi ut in mendacia, in exitium, in impios cultus præcipites ruerent?

Hæc enim vetera commemorare malo, quam exemplis uti vivis et recentibus. Nemo enim nostrum unquam fuit, vel tam cœcus ut non videret, vel tam stupidus ut non intelligeret, superiorum temporum calamitatem. Omnem enim non modo Judæorum, sed etiam Ægyptiorum et Græcorum, superstitionem et vanitatem multis partibus superavimus. Nam cum conciliorum auctoritas et aliquot episcoporum et monachorum conspiratio supra scripturas Dei locaretur;

[1 Living, O. E.] [2 Enforced, O. E.] [3 Calamity, O. E.]

the scriptures; when it was doubted whether the Romish bishop were a man or a god, and whether he could sin; when all things were referred to the constitutions of men, and nothing to the knowledge of Christ; when sales of pardons, vows, and masses, were made openly and without all shame; when the sacraments were miserably torn in pieces; when the word of God was condemned of fraud and heresy; when nothing was left sound and pure from superstition; when error possessed all things, and the truth could not be heard; where then, or what church of God was there? It was heresy in those days, not that disagreed from the scriptures, but from that which liked a few bishops. For the gospel was thrust into corners: nothing was left to the judgment of Christ. Our gods were not then according to the number of our cities, but they were as many as we had streets, yea, almost houses. So were all things utterly out of frame; for that religion depended not on the word of God, but on the will of man.

These horrible cases, brethren, may warn us, that we never unadvisedly depart from the word of God. And thereof it is that all the scriptures do move us so often and so diligently, that we neither add any thing to the word of God, nor take ought therefrom, nor that we bow to the right hand or the left. Neither would the Lord that we should be princes and judges, but messengers and ministers of his word. For look, what serveth to our salvation and unto godliness, all that hath God himself set down in his laws. "For the holy scripture (as Paul saith) inspired by God is profitable to doctrine, to reprove, to correction, to instruction, that the man of God may be perfect, instructed to every good work:" that the man of God, saith he, may be perfect and sound, and, as far as is requisite either to godliness or manners, that he should in every respect be perfectly furnished. And now, I pray you, what should God's embassador[4] bring forth unto God's people[5] rather than the word of God? He that is an embassador in civil affairs, if perhaps he say any thing beside that which is commanded him, he is accused that he hath not done his embassade rightly, he is called to his trial, he is arraigned upon life and death; and why do not we with like fidelity handle the word of God? But too too, good God, too too secure a mind, my brethren, too too secure a mind be we of. And, as though men alone could not be deceived, so do we hold, so do we defend that alonely

---

cum Romanus pontifex homone an deus esset, et peccarene posset ambigeretur; cum omnia ad hominum constitutiones, nihil autem ad Christi cognitionem rejiceretur; cum indulgentiarum, votorum, missarum auctiones publice et sine pudore ac fronte venderentur; cum sacramenta misere discerperentur, cum verbum Dei pro fraude et hæresi damnaretur, cum nihil a superstitione integrum et purum relinqueretur, cum error omnia possideret, veritas audiri non posset, ubi tum aut quæ usquam fuit ecclesia Dei? Hæresis tum erat, non quod a scripturis, sed quod ab aliquot episcoporum libidine discrepasset. Nam evangelium in angulos abstrudebatur, nihil Christi judicio relinquebatur. Non enim tum pro civitatum, sed pro vicorum atque etiam pene pro domorum numero dii numerabantur nostri. Ita omnia prorsus pervertebantur, cum religio non verbo Dei, sed hominum arbitrio niteretur.

Hi nos horrendi casus, fratres, monere possunt, ne unquam temere discedamus a verbo Dei. Eaque de causa omnes scripturæ nos toties et tam diligenter monent, ut neve addamus aliquid ad verbum Dei, neve minuamus, neve ad dextram vel sinistram deflectamus. Neque enim Dominus nos Aristarchos et criticos esse voluit, sed nuntios et ministros vocis suæ. Nam quicquid ad salutem nostram et ad pietatem facit, id omne jam olim Deus ipse suis legibus occupavit. "Sacra enim scriptura," ut ait Paulus, "divinitus inspirata utilis est ad doctrinam, ad redargutionem, ad correctionem, ad institutionem, ut integer sit homo Dei ad omne opus bonum instructus:" ut perfectus, inquit, et integer sit homo Dei, et quod vel ad pietatem vel ad mores faciat, omnibus numeris et partibus absolutus. Jam vero Dei legato apud populum Dei quid potius proferendum est, quam verbum Dei? In civili negotio legatus, si extra mandata quippiam forte dixerit, accusatur παραπρεσβείας et male obitæ legationis, vocatur in jus, jubetur capitis causam dicere. Cur non eadem fide tractamus verbum Dei? Sed nimis, O Deus bone, nimis animo securo, fratres mei, nimis animo securo sumus. Quasi falli homines soli non possint, ita id tenemus unum, id tuemur, id defendimus quod a ma-

---

[4] God his embassador, O. E.] [5] God his people, O. E.]

which is come from our forefathers. There were among the Jews many murderers, thieves, and adulterers; and yet did not Christ inveigh either more often or more bitterly against any than against the Pharisees and scribes: "You break," saith he, "the commandment of God for your own traditions. In vain do you worship me, teaching doctrines and the precepts of men." They are "blind guides of the blind." "Harlots and sinners shall go into the kingdom of God before you." How often, and with what words doth the Lord in the prophets complain of this! "Be astonished, ye heavens," saith he: "My people have done two evils: they have forsaken me the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves broken cisterns, which can hold no waters." "What is chaff compared with wheat?" What is the rashness of men compared with the eternal will of God? For Basil doth say that that man, which dareth put to, or take away any thing from the scriptures of God, is either a feeble Christian, or a notable arrogant fellow[1]. To put to the word of God the inventions of men, what other thing may it seem than to mingle new wine not with old wine, but with wine that is dead, and with lees or dregs? and to join light with darkness, a wild beast with a man, a man with God? "My thoughts are not your thoughts, nor my ways are not your ways, saith the Lord; for look how far the heaven is from the earth, so far are my ways from your ways, and my thoughts from your thoughts." Nay, rather look how far a man is distant from God, so far is the understanding of man distant from the word of God.

For, although very much by the judgment of all men is to be given to the fathers, yet were they men, and also might err. Truly, to speak nothing else of them, they did oftentimes very ill agree among themselves about very great and weighty matters. But the word of God is sure, and firm, and certain, and appointed for every time. Peter would have this kind of learning to be delivered unto the people in a sermon. And he, that will have doings (herein) with the people, must first be instructed himself with the word of God, that he may utter the word as inspired with a heavenly power. O if Peter were now alive, what would he say, or rather what would he not say, seeing that religion, godliness, the scriptures, are all passed into the inventions and dreams of men? That is only in question at these days, whether the customs of men are rather to be retained,

---

joribus nostris profectum sit. Multi erant apud Judæos sicarii, latrones, adulteri; in nullum tamen genus hominum Christus vel sæpius vel acerbius invehebatur, quam in Pharisæos et scribas. "Violatis enim," inquit, "præceptum Dei propter traditiones vestras. Frustra me colitis, docentes doctrinas et præcepta hominum." "Cœci sunt duces cœcorum." "Meretrices et peccatores antevertunt vos in regno Dei." Id quoties et quibus verbis conqueritur Dominus apud prophetas. "Obstupescite," inquit, "cœli; duo mala fecit populus meus, me reliquerunt fontem aquæ vivæ, et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas quæ aquas continere non possunt." "Quid enim paleæ ad triticum?" quid hominum temeritas ad æternam voluntatem Dei? Nam Basilius hominem vel parum Christianum ait esse, vel insigniter arrogantem, qui scripturis Dei vel addere aliquid audeat, vel detrahere. Hominum enim inventa ad verbum Dei ascribere, quid aliud videri potest, quam mustum, non veteri cum vino, sed cum vappa fæceque miscere? et lucem cum tenebris, feram cum homine, hominem cum Deo conjungere? "Non sunt cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ, dicit Dominus: quantum enim abest cœlum a terra, tantum absunt viæ meæ a viis vestris, et cogitationes meæ a cogitationibus vestris." Imo quantum abest homo a Deo, tantum abest sensus humanus a verbo Dei.

Nam quamvis patribus plurimum sit omnium judicio tribuendum, tamen et homines erant, et errare potuerunt. Certe, ne quid dicam præterea, maximis sæpe et gravissimis de rebus parum inter sese convenerunt. Dei autem verbum et fixum et firmum et certum est, et in omne tempus constitutum. Hoc doctrinæ genus Petrus populo pro concione tradi voluit. Oportet enim eum qui cum populo acturus sit, prius ipsum instructum esse verbo Dei, ut tanquam ab afflatu numinis cœlestis proferat oraculum. O si Petrus nunc viveret, quid ille diceret, vel quid potius non diceret, postquam religio, pietas, scripturæ, omnia in hominum inventa et somnia transierunt? Id enim solum hodie ambigitur, hominumne potius

---

[1 ...φανερὰ ἔκπτωσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερηφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. De Fid. 1. Tom. II. p. 224.]

or the laws of God: that alone hath moved these turmoils, that hath stirred the whole world, whether more credit is to be given unto a man or unto God.

I know that these things seem new to the most of you, and not to be believed: but put from you, I beseech you, your affections, and that opinion of things which you have already conceived, and you shall well perceive that I feign nothing for the time's sake, but that I speak the thing itself. Christ hath ordained the holy communion in remembrance of himself: men do neither retain any remembrance of Christ, nor yet communion, but have changed all the whole matter into a gay shew, and almost a stage-play. Christ saith: "Ye shall have the poor always with you, but me ye shall not have always:" "I leave the world and go to my Father:" "It is expedient for you that I go away:" and Christ spake this, not of his Godhead, wherewith he was equal to the Father, or of his heavenly nature, but of this[2] body. Men say that Christ neither hath with his body left the world, nor yet gone from hence to his Father. Paul saith that Christ is in heaven at the right hand of the Father; Peter saith in the Acts of the Apostles, "Heaven must hold him until the time that all things are restored:" men say that the body of Christ is in heaven and in earth both at once, and is dispersed into an infinite multitude of places at one time. Paul saith that "Christ hath once entered into the holy places," and "hath with one only sacrifice and one oblation made perfect all things:" men say that they can sacrifice Christ himself again every day, not only for remembrance sake, but in very deed, and that in infinite places. Christ saith: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve:" men worship the eucharist, alack the while! being neither Lord nor God, but a sacrament of the Lord, without authority of the scriptures, or example of the apostles, and that as God. For by the living God I beseech you, consider in your minds, brethren, who ever, I will not say of the apostles, but of the holy fathers, hath either worshipped the sacrament himself, or hath shewed it forth to be worshipped of others? I see that I speak these things, not before the common sort of men, but before them who are profoundly learned. I appeal to all your consciences, I will use in this matter your own testimony. Christ hath commanded the sacrament to be delivered whole: men have torn the same after a miserable manner. Christ willed that nothing should be added to his law: men do not only add many things, but the same they prefer before the word of God. But why should I reckon up more?

---

consuetudines retinendæ sint, an leges Dei. Id solum has turbas edidit, id omnem terrarum orbem commovit, hominine major fides habenda sit, an Deo.

Scio ego, ista plerisque vestrum nova videri et incredibilia. Sed ponite, quæso, affectiones, fratres mei, et præjudicatam de rebus opinionem; et me nihil temporis causa fingere, sed rem ipsam dicere sentietis. Christus sacram communionem in sui recordationem instituit: homines nec memoriam Christi ullam, nec communionem retinent, sed rem omnem in ludicrum apparatum et tragicum pene spectaculum commutaverunt. Christus ait: "Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem semper non habebitis." "Relinquo mundum et discedo ad Patrem:" "Expedit vobis ut ego abeam:" atque hoc Christus non de numine suo, quo Patrem æquabat, aut cœlesti natura, sed de corpore suo loquebatur: homines aiunt Christum nec mundum corpore reliquisse, nec abiisse ad Patrem. Paulus ait, Christum in cœlo esse ad dextram Patris: Petrus in Act. Apostol. ait, "eum oportet cœlum capere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium:" homines aiunt corpus Christi simul et in cœlo et in terris esse, et in infinitam multitudinem locorum eodem tempore dissipari. Paulus ait "Christum semel ingressum esse in sancta," et "omnia unico sacrificio et una victima perfecisse:" homines aiunt se posse Christum ipsum denuo in singulos dies, non memoriæ tantum causa sed re ipsa, infinitis in locis sacrificare. Christus ait, "Dominum Deum adorabis, et eum solum coles:" homines eucharistiam, nec Dominum nec Deum, sed sacramentum Domini, sine auctoritate scripturarum aut exemplo apostolorum, pro dolor! adorant pro Deo. Nam per Deum immortalem, cogitate cum animis vestris, fratres, quis unquam, non dico apostolorum, sed sanctorum, eucharistiam vel adoravit ipse, vel aliis proposuit adorandam? Video me ista non apud vulgus hominum, sed apud doctissimos viros dicere. Appello vestras omnium conscientias, utar in hac re vestro ipsorum testimonio. Christus eucharistiam integram tradi jussit: eam homines miserum in modum lacerarunt. Christus ad legem suam nihil ascribi voluit: homines non tantum ascribunt plurima, verum etiam ea præferunt verbo Dei. Sed quid plura commemoro? Longum esset omnia

---

[2 His, o. E. 1609.]

This only will I speak, and that in a word: they which brought in transubstantiations, masses, calling upon saints, sole life, purgatory, images, vows, trifles, follies, babbles, into the church of God, have delivered new things, and which the scriptures never heard of. Whatsoever they cry or crack, they bring not a jot out of the word of God.

And these, as I have said, are the things wherewith the church of God at these days are disquieted. Upon these lieth the watch and ward of the church. These they honour instead of the scriptures, and force them to the people instead of the word of God: upon these men suppose their salvation and the sum of religion to be grounded.

And that which is much more grievous, notwithstanding at this present, by the great goodness of God, religion is restored almost to her former dignity and light; yet poor and pitiful souls, they set great store by these things, they to them again, and teach them, as though without them the church could not be in safety. O if the word of the Lord might be heard among so many clamours, and in so great a hurly-burly; if we would suffer God himself to sit as judge in his own case, the matter would be passed over with less tumult a great deal, and more easily might we agree about the whole matter. Wherefore, if all the worship of God, all godliness, all religion, be to be sought out of the word of God; if the institutions of men have miserably perverted all things in all times, let us, my brethren, unto whom the office of teaching is allotted, consider how dangerous a thing it is to speak more; and let all who will be, and will have themselves accounted to be Christians, remember how dangerous a thing it is to believe more. And if there be any of this whole number which hath given himself to any other kind of life, yet let him consider that these things belong unto him, so that, if he neither can nor will teach, yet let him diligently and attentively hear him that speaketh, and give God thanks, that he hath happened on those times in which he may hear the word of God freely and purely. Let us not be wedded too much to our own wit; let us not be wedded too much to the fathers and forefathers. Let us not unadvisedly think that men are so luckily born, that, whatsoever they say, they cannot err. When we shall be placed before that dreadful judgment-seat, when all things shall burn, and the angels of God shall tremble; to what fathers, to what decrees of our forefathers, shall we wretches then appeal? We shall then have refuge to Christ alone, then shall we use the aid and word of Christ alone. Wherefore let us not be of so secure a mind in so great a matter. Our life, our soul, our salvation, is the thing in hand. The heavenly Father

---

inter se componere. Hoc tantum uno verbo dicam, Qui transubstantiationes, qui missas, qui divorum invocationes, qui cœlibatum, qui purgatorium, qui statuas, vota, nugas, ineptias, quisquilias in Dei ecclesiam invexerunt, nova tradiderunt et inaudita scripturis. Quicquid clamant aut crepant, ne apicem quidem proferunt e verbo Dei.

Atque hæc, ut dixi, ea sunt, quibus hodie ecclesia commovetur. Hic excubatur, hic prospicitur ecclesiæ. Hæc scripturarum colunt loco, et obtrudunt populo pro verbo Dei: hic homines salutem suam et religionis summam sitam esse arbitrantur. Quodque multo est gravius, postquam hodie, summo Dei beneficio, religio ad pristinam pene dignitatem et lucem rediit, miseri tamen homines et deplorati ista mirantur, ista repetunt, ista docent, quasi sine his ecclesia salva esse non possit. O si inter tot clamores et in tanto tumultu verbum Domini audiri posset; si Deum ipsum per nos liceret in sua causa sedere judicem, minus magno cum tumultu res transigeretur, faciliusque de toto negotio conveniret. Quapropter si e verbo Dei omnis cultus numinis, omnis pietas, omnis religio petenda sit, si hominum instituta omnia omnibus temporibus misere perverterint, cogitemus, fratres mei, quibus docendi provincia contigit, quam sit periculosum plura dicere: omnes autem, qui se Christianos numerari et esse volunt, meminerint quam sit periculosum plura credere. Si quis autem est ex hoc omni numero, qui se ad aliud vitæ genus contulit, meminerit tamen ad se ista pertinere, ut si docere aut non possit aut nolit, dicentem tamen diligenter et attente audiat, et Deo gratias agat in ea se tempora incidisse, cum verbum Domini libere pureque audire possit. Ne nimium prudentiæ nostræ, ne nimium patrum et majorum auctoritati tribuamus: ne temere putemus homines ea felicitate natos esse, ut quicquid dixerint, errare non possint. Cum ad horrendum illud tribunal sistemur, cum omnia deflagrabunt, et angeli Dei contremiscent, quos tum ad patres miseri, ad quæ majorum decreta provocabimus? Ad solum tum Christum refugiemus, Christi tum solius præsidio verboque utemur. Quapropter ne simus animo tam securo in re tanta. Agitur vita, agitur anima,

offereth himself unto us, and of his own accord meeteth us: Jesus Christ crieth out, and calleth every one of us, "Come unto me, all ye which are grieved; and I will refresh you." How blind be we if we see not, how blockish if we understand not, how miserable if we run from this! Where shall the word of Christ be heard, if it cannot be heard among Christians? If it cannot be heard among Christians, where shall it be heard? Let us once yet open, brethren, let us open our eyes, that it may not be spoken against our stubbornness, "Therefore you hear not, because you be not of God;" and that that saying of Esaias be not conveniently applied against us: "The heart of this people is waxen gross, and they have hardly heard with their ears, and they have closed their eyes; lest they should at any time see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and they should be converted, and I should heal them."—And what I should speak more before christian men and the children of God concerning the word of God, I see not.

Now remaineth that which was put in the last part, namely, how the scriptures are to be taught. For not only wisdom and fidelity, but also wisdom and foresight is to be used. Therefore saith Peter, let him not speak only, but, "let him speak as the words of God." Nor yet is it sufficient to profess only, and outwardly to shew, that it is the word of God which we teach, and with a fair face and earnest countenance sing, "The word of the Lord;" for the Jews and Turks and false prophets do so, they all cry out that Christ is theirs, and they all restrain true religion (as belonging) unto themselves. The Pharisees and scribes of these days, when they confirm their own inventions, and refer all things to the apostles as their authors, and do wrest the word of God, yet do they cry nothing either oftener or more importunately than, "The word of the Lord."

But Christ hath not taught dissimulation and hypocrisy. He rather teacheth this, that pastors may have in mind that they represent the person of Christ; that they, being induced through the greatness and worthiness of the thing itself, may so reverently do their office, that all men may perceive that it is a heavenly business which they have taken upon them. For the image of God himself must shine in him that is the minister of God. And, if the apostles had not so used themselves, they had never laid the foundations of religion: there would never any have left their altars, their sacrifices, their fires, and their gods themselves, to have been of the opinion of a few fishers. They counted all that they had as nothing in comparison of Christ

---

agitur salus nostra. Pater cœlestis offert se nobis et ultro occurrit: Jesus Christus inclamat, et appellat unumquemque nostrum, "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis, et ego reficiam vos." Quam cæci sumus si non videmus, stupidi si non intelligimus, miseri si fugimus! Ubi autem audietur Christi verbum, si a Christianis audiri non possit? Si a Christianis audiri non possit, ubi audietur? Aperiamus aliquando, fratres, aperiamus oculos, ne in contumaciam nostram dici possit, "Propterea vos non auditis, quia non estis ex Deo:" neve in nos conveniat dictum illud Esaiæ, "Incrassatum est cor populi hujus, et auribus graviter audierunt, et oculos suos compresserunt, ne quando videant oculis, et auribus audiant, et corde intelligant, et convertantur, et sanem eos."—Et de verbo Dei, apud homines Christianos et filios Dei, non equidem video quid plura dicam.

III. Quomodo docendum.

Nunc id superest quod ultimo loco erat positum, quemadmodum scripturæ docendæ sint. Non enim prudentia tantum et fides, sed etiam prudentia cautioque adhibenda est. Eoque Petrus non, "loquatur," inquit, tantum, sed "loquatur ut sermones Dei." Neque tamen satis est profiteri tantum et præ nobis ferre, Dei evangelium esse quod docemus, et vero vultu serioque occinere, "Verbum Domini:" id enim Judæi, Turcæ, pseudoprophetæ faciunt; omnes enim Christum suum esse clamitant, et veram religionem ad se retrahunt. Horum etiam temporum Pharisæi et scribæ, cum sua commenta statuunt, et omnia ad apostolos auctores referunt, et vim inferunt verbo Dei, tamen nihil vel sæpius vel importunius occlamant, quam "verbum Domini." Verum simulationem et hypocrisin Christus non docuit. Id potius agit, ut pastores meminerint Christi personam sustinere; ut rei ipsius magnitudine ac dignitate inducti, munus suum ita reverenter administrent, ut omnes intelligant cœleste negotium esse quod susceperint. Nam in ministro Dei Dei oportet ipsius imaginem relucere. Quod ni ita se apostoli gessissent, nunquam illi religionis initia constituissent: nunquam relictis quisquam et aris, et sacris, et focis, et diis ipsis, in aliquot piscatorum sententiam concessisset. Omnia illi sua pro nihilo ducebant præ

Jesus. When they were taunted, they taunted not again; when they were condemned to prisons and fires, they never ceased to give thanks, they always greatly rejoiced, for that they were afflicted with all manner of punishments for Christ his sake. There was in them such uprightness of heart, such modesty, such virtue, that, whatsoever they said, others were ashamed to speak against it.

Even so, brethren, our life ought to shine, that, as oft as we speak, we may seem to speak the words of God. For we are the salt of the earth, we are the light of the world, we are that city set upon the hill: all men's eyes are fastened on us: whatsoever we do, straightway example is taken to do the like. It is a burden of great difficulty and weight, that we have taken upon us: which if we would all well weigh, the course of the gospel would not be so hindered, the word of God would not be so much neglected. For, when as we profess God with our mouth, but deny him with our deeds, we fray away the unlearned multitude by our example from religion; and the thing that of all other is most divine we defile, not with unpure hands, but with unpure manners. So for our sakes is godliness despised, for our sake is the truth contemned, for our sake is the majesty of God impaired.

These things, brethren, are diligently to be considered, and earnestly to be regarded of us. For, if we live filthily and wickedly, and bring into the pulpit nothing but a rolling of the tongue and impudency, whatsoever we speak, we speak it not either as it should, or else as the words of God.

But, to the end the word of the Lord may be handled according to the worthiness thereof, two things principally are by us to be taken heed of: the one, that we be not weakened nor feebled by fear; the other, that out of the gospel we reap no jot or piece of praise unto ourselves. A preacher's mind must be prepared and diligently fenced against either of these. For the gospel and the word of God, except it be stiffly and manfully upholden and maintained, neither will seem[1] the gospel nor the word of God. For error is fearful, base, and quaking; it feareth all things, it dreadeth all things, it flieth sight and light: but the truth, and the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, never abaseth itself, never flattereth any, dissembleth nothing, feigneth nothing, is unfearful, free, bold to shew her face, and high. Wherefore, as long as we speak the truth, let not the force or authority of any man make

---

Christo Jesu. Cum maledictis jactarentur, non regerebant maledicta; cum carceribus et ignibus damnarentur, nunquam intermittebant gratias agere, semper efferebantur gaudio, quod propter Christum omni suppliciorum genere afficerentur. Ea erat in illis æquitas animorum, ea modestia, ea virtus, ut quicquid dixissent, alios puderet refragari. Sic, fratres, nostram vitam lucere oportuit, ut quoties loquimur, loqui videamur sermones Dei. Nos enim sumus sal terræ, nos sumus lux mundi, nos civitas illa sumus in monte posita, omnium in nobis oculi figuntur: quicquid a nobis geritur, id statim in exemplum trahitur. Onus longe difficillimum et maximum est quod suscepimus. Hoc si omnes diligenter expenderemus, non ita evangelii cursus impediretur, non ita negligeretur verbum Dei. Nam cum Deum ore quidem profitemur, factis autem negamus, multitudinem imperitam a religione nostro exemplo deterremus, et rem unam omnium divinissimam impuris, non manibus, sed moribus contaminamus. Ita nostra causa pietas despicitur, nostra causa veritas contemnitur, nostra causa Dei majestas imminuitur.

Hæc nobis, fratres, diligenter animadvertenda et serio curanda sunt. Nam si turpiter et flagitiose vivimus, et in suggestum nihil nisi linguæ volubilitatem adferimus et impudentiam, quicquid loquimur, non loquimur vel ut oportuit vel tanquam sermones Dei. Sed ut verbum Domini pro dignitate tractetur, duo nobis in primis cavenda sunt: alterum, ne timore debilitemur; alterum, ne laudis partem aliquam nobis ex evangelio decerpamus. Adversus utrumque concionatoris animum paratum et diligenter munitum esse oportet. Nam evangelium et verbum Dei, nisi fortiter magnoque animo asseratur, nec evangelium videbitur esse, nec Dei verbum. Error enim timidus, supplex, meticulosus est, omnia formidat, omnia extimescit, aspectum et lucem fugit: veritas autem, et veritas evangelii Jesu Christi, nunquam se demittit, nunquam cuiquam adulatur, nihil simulat, nihil fingit, intrepida, libera, erecta, excelsa est. Quapropter dum verum dicimus, nulla nos cujusquam vis et auctoritas perterrefaciat. Me-

---

[1 Serve, O. E.]

us afraid. Let us call to mind that we are the messengers and embassadors of God: let us call to mind that God hath given us power to speak. Of[2] what courage doth not Christ make us, when he promiseth that he will be the revenger of the injury done unto us? "He," saith he, "that despiseth you despiseth me:" "he which hurteth you hurteth the sight of mine eye." Wherefore let us speak, not dissemblingly, not darkly, as did the Pharisees, but freely and plainly, as having authority, as meet it is that the words of God should be uttered. But nevertheless moderation must be used, that we do not unseasonably touch or spot the good name and fame of others; for then[3] we shall seem to taunt or rail, and to handle our own cause, rather than to teach the word of the Lord. But it becometh the servant of the Lord to be modest and circumspect, not to blab out any thing rashly or cockishly, lest we may seem to speak not out of the holy pulpit, but out of the cart; neither yet to have cited the gospel, but to have brought up again the old manner of comedies.

The next thing is, that a preacher have not too great a conceit of himself, but that he think that that function and office happened unto him from above from God, that he should discharge his duty diligently, and with very great fear, and that he should think that he is occupied not in his own business but in God's business. So Paul saith he is nothing: John crieth that he is unworthy to pull off the shoes of Messias. And therefore, to abate arrogancy, they are in the holy scriptures called not princes, not magistrates, not rulers, not kings, but stewards, bailiffs, preachers or criers, ministers, servants; to the end that, forasmuch as we do this gear in the behalf of another, we should not grow proud for another body's praise. For the Lord hath not therefore committed his talent unto us, that we should convert it to our own commodity. For he would not have us preachers and criers of our own wit and skill, but of his will; neither do we for any other cause carry about this treasure in earthen vessels, than for that it should be the brightness and clear light of the power of God.

I will not stay you with any more words. Ye have heard that a preacher must speak both oft, and out of the word of God, and also gravely and modestly. We, brethren, either are preachers, or will be preachers. Let us bear in mind that these things belong to us, and that St Peter saith to

---

minerimus nos Dei legatos esse, meminerimus Deum nobis fecisse dicendi potestatem. Quos enim nobis animos non facit Christus, cum se injuriarum nostrarum ultorem et vindicem fore pollicetur? "Qui vos," inquit, "spernit, me spernit," "qui vos lædit, lædit aciem oculi mei." Quare loquamur, non dissimulanter, non obscure, ut Pharisæi, sed libere ac aperte ut auctoritate præditi, quemadmodum proferri par est sermones Dei.

Sed adhibenda tamen est moderatio, ne importune aliorum nomen et famam traducamus. Tum enim convitiari videbimur, et causam nostram facere potius, quam docere verbum Domini. Servum autem Dei modestum et consideratum esse decet, neque temere quicquam aut petulanter effutire: ne non e sacro suggestu, sed e plaustro loqui, neve evangelium, sed veterem comœdiam excitasse videamur.

Proximum est, ne quid concionator de se magnifice sentiat, sed cogitet illud munus a Deo sibi divinitus contigisse, ut diligenter summoque cum timore officio defungatur, cogitetque se in negotio non suo versari, sed Dei. Sic Paulus se nihil esse dicit: Joannes se indignum esse clamat, qui calceos Messiæ detrahat. Eoque ad minuendam arrogantiam, in sacris literis non principes, non magistratus, non præsules, non reges, sed dispensatores, villici, præcones, ministri, servi appellantur; ut quoniam alieno auspicio res gerimus, ne de aliena laude insolescamus. Non enim idcirco Dominus nobis talentum suum concredidit, ut illud in rem nostram converteremus. Non enim nos ingenii nostri præcones esse voluit, sed voluntatis suæ; neque aliam ob causam circumferimus hunc thesaurum in vasis fictilibus, quam ut splendor sit virtutis Dei.

Non morabor vos pluribus. Audistis concionatori et assidue, et e verbo Dei, et graviter modesteque dicendum esse. Nos, fratres, concionatores aut sumus, aut esse volumus: meminerimus ad nos ista pertinere, et D. Petrum nobis dicere, "Qui loquitur, loquatur tanquam sermones

---

[2] For, o. E. 1609.] [3] When, 1611.]

us, "He that speaketh, let him speak as the words of God." There is need not only of our diligence, but also of prudency and fidelity: wherefore whatsoever we are able by nature, whatsoever by counsel, whatsoever by wit and cunning, let us bestow it all to serve the church of God. We are the stewards of the house of God: let us not dissipate and scatter the household of God. If we be the apostles of God, let us shew apostolic minds. If we be the brethren of Christ, let us hear Christ, let us feed his lambs, let us feed his sheep, let us go, let us preach, let us teach. The universal world seemeth a good while since to travail of Christ: let us cast about our eyes, brethren. How great is the harvest every where, how few be the reapers! And this I speak unto them of whom there is some good hope. If there be any that laugh at these things, or mock them, why should I hope that they will hear me, who will not hear Christ himself? Let the calamity of our brethren move us, let the curse of God move us (namely), "Cursed is he that doth the work of the Lord negligently:" let that most grievous threatening move us (namely), "Their blood will I require at thy hand." Let us prepare ourselves to that most sweet voice and speech of Christ (namely), "Well done, servant: go in." Let us speak in season and out of season, let us speak the word of the Lord, let us speak as the words of the Lord, that God's praise may be set forth in all things by Jesus Christ, unto whom be glory and impery for ever and ever. Amen.

FINIS.

Dei." Opus est non tantum sedulitate nostra, sed etiam prudentia et fide. Quare quicquid a natura, quicquid a consilio, quicquid ab ingenio possumus, id omne ad Christi ecclesiam conferamus. Nos sumus dispensatores domus Dei: ne Domini familiam dissipemus. Si apostoli Dei sumus, præstemus animos apostolicos. Si fratres Christi sumus, Christum audiamus, pascamus agnos, pascamus oves, eamus, prædicemus, doceamus. Mundus universus Christum videtur jamdudum parturire. Circumferamus oculos, fratres. Quanta ubique messis est, messores quam pauci! Hæc autem ad eos dico, in quibus aliquid est bonæ spei. Si qui autem sunt qui ista rideant, quid eos me sperem audituros, qui Christum ipsum non audiunt? Moveat nos fratrum nostrorum calamitas, moveat nos Dei execratio: "Maledictus qui procurat opus Domini negligenter." Moveat nos gravissima interminatio: "Sanguinem illorum de manu tua requiram." Paremus nos ad suavissimam illam Christi vocem, "Euge, serve! ingredere." Loquamur opportune, importune, loquamur verbum Domini, loquamur tanquam sermones Dei, ut in omnibus celebretur Deus per Jesum Christum, cui sit gloria et imperium in secula seculorum.

CERTAINE

SERMONS

PREACHED

BEFORE THE QVEENS

Maiestie, at *Pauls* Crosse, and elsewhere[1]: By the Reuerend Father

IOHN IEVVEL late Bishop

of *Sarisburie.*

Whereunto is added a short Treatise of the Sacraments, gathered out of other his Sermons, made vpon that matter, in his Cathedrall Church at *Sarisbury.*

LONDON,

Printed by IOHN NORTON,

Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie.

1611.

[1 And at Paul's Cross, 1583; omitting *and elsewhere.*]

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR WILLIAM CECIL, KNIGHT,

LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND;

AND TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE L. ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER;

TWO OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, AND MOST WORTHY CHANCELLORS OF BOTH OF THE UNIVERSITIES OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE[1].

UNTRUE reports and slanders can neither give falsehood any credit among the wise, nor disgrace the due estimation of the truth. Howbeit, it seemeth there are some which hope it will turn them to no small advantage, if to other their secret and wicked practices they join a sleight of ill-speaking and of slandering the writings, the godly sayings, the life and the death of those whom it hath pleased God to use to the setting forth of his gospel, and thereby to the great comfort of his people.

Among others upon whom this hath been practised, they have made some especial choice of the late bishop of Salisbury, a man of famous memory; whose life and death is truly and sincerely written by M. Doctor Humfrey. Howsoever they dealt uncharitably with him in his life, christian and godly discretion would they should spare to reproach the dead. Or if not so, yet in wisdom they might foresee that, when matters are called to trial, such things cannot pass for current and lawful, whereof some due proof hath not been yielded.

Yet, as though the discredit of that one man (who in great humility did acknowledge himself inferior to many godly fathers then living in this church of England) were enough for them to overthrow all that whole work, which the Almighty God hath by his right hand and strong arm established, they deliver by tradition certain false observations, of his either simple, or negligent, or wilful and malicious gathering, and abusing the holy scriptures of God, and the ancient writings of the fathers.

It is a hard thing for him that speaketh much to speak nothing worthy just reprehension. But it is much harder to escape the reprehension of corrupt judges, even when he shall speak most uprightly. His defence is abroad, published by himself. And, notwithstanding the endeavour of a learned adversary was to impeach it, yet by his last and a moderate answer he avouched it good, and approved his plain and sincere dealing to the consciences of all men.

Whom it may please to understand after what sort he prepared himself to the accomplishment of those two notable books, of the Defence of the Apology, and the Reply, which are as two double cannons prepared for the battery of error and superstition, must needs confess his diligence and reverent proceeding in such cause to have been such, as for which he may well be compared with any whomsoever the former or this present age hath thought therefore worthy commendation. For, besides his advised observation of all such things, as in the adversary's books deserved answer; and besides that he disposed a summary and full collection of such matter as he would use for the disproof of the same, the which he conceived in short notes; this may be a notable testimony that he had purpose to set down the authorities out of the fathers and the quotations truly and plainly: whereas in times before he had gathered sundry books of common-places out of the Greek and Latin and later writers, he did peruse afresh the authors themselves, and made every where in them special marks, for the difference of such places whereof he made choice. Those were all drawn forth and laid to their themes by certain scholars, who wrote them out by such direction as he had given unto them. So reverent regard had he to do the work of the Lord and to defend the truth faithfully.

---

[1] This dedication is here given from the first edition of the Sermons, 1583. It does not appear in the reprint of 1603, or in the folios.

With like reverence also did he, in all places where he was occasioned to preach, handle the word of God. Albeit his gifts of reading and understanding and memory were great, yet it appeareth he did seldom or never deliver any exposition upon any piece of scripture before any congregation in the meanest parish of the country, but upon diligent study, and whereof he drew his notes. In this his care God's providence wrought mercifully for his church, that so there might be some way to deliver in common unto all the fruits of those godly travails, which he gave forth to some one especial part of the church. Hereby it is that these his sermons, preached before her majesty and at Paul's Cross, come now to the reading of all such before whom they were once spoken; to seek that of them in true practice of christian religion, for which they were in their times uttered. Why I make choice of these among so many so excellent his sermons pronounced in those places, if any be curious to ask; let him advisedly consider the state of God's church amongst us in these days, and bestow his pains to read these which are offered to his christian judgment, and then make to himself a charitable answer. And if at such several times as that reverend father, in the fear of God, moved his petitions before the conscience either of her highness, or of your honours, or of any others, the good children and servants of God, he were so well acquitted, that he was thought to speak uprightly in true zeal, for the advancement of God's glory, and like a wise builder of the house of God; no doubt, in this rehearsal of them all together, they shall work that wholesome effect, if through the assistance of God's holy Spirit they be considered now with as great diligence as he was then heard with good attention.

Your honours have well declared, that you measured not your loving affection to him by the short term of his life; which giveth great hope that his humble requests, so many as are to crave aid and furtherance of authority, shall in good time be preferred. They are such as shew how desirous he was to see the peace and prosperity of Jerusalem, and that the kingdom of God might never again be taken away from us. He sheweth what things they are by which this may be brought to pass; that among all the means which man's wisdom can provide, next to the high means of princely authority, the chiefest is that all particular churches may be furnished with sufficient, learned, and godly ministers; and therefore that tender and due care be had to increase the number of them. Their service is most needful in the overthrow of Jericho, the city which God will have destroyed, and in the building up unto God his temple at Jerusalem. The care which magistrates take hereof, and that labourers may be sent into the Lord's harvest, which may defend the cause of Christ against those which charge the gospel to be heresy, and that the things which he hath done for us are wrought by the power of Beelzebub; and which, as good watchmen attending their ward, may stir up the people to know the season, that the night is passed, and the day is come, that it is time to cast away the works of darkness and to put on the armour of light; shall witness for them what zeal they bear to the house of God. If the ministers be mindful to perform their duty; if the Lord's harvest be not neglected; if the defence for the gospel find upright judges; if all that give outward shew of zeal be indeed zealous, and work the fruits of zeal, what hope may they of Jericho have that their cursed dwellings shall stand? or why shall Israel mistrust that the temple of God shall not receive again the former and perfect beauty?

Now, because every where in these sermons he commendeth the necessary use of godly learning, and is an humble suitor for patronage thereof, I cannot but present them unto your honours, our patrons, and fathers, and right honourable chancellors of both the universities; that, seeing the benefit of this your gracious protection hath and doth and shall reach itself so far, to do so much good to the whole church of God, you may at home and with yourselves rejoice in the comfort of a good conscience for the manifold fruits of your favour bestowed in such sort, and all that have the love of the truth may earnestly pray unto God for your honours, that he will continue his goodness towards you, and give you long and prosperous days in this life, and, after, a joyful entrance into his glory.

Your honours' most humble to command,

JOHN GARBRAND.

CERTAIN SERMONS OF BISHOP JEWEL.

JOSHUA VI.

1. *Now*[1] *Hiericho was shut up and closed, because of the children of Israel; none might go out, nor enter in*[2].
2. *And the Lord said unto Joshua, Behold, I have given into thine hand Hiericho, and the king thereof, and the strong men of war.*
3. *All ye therefore, that be men of war, shall compass the city,* &c.[3]

In divers manners God spake and opened himself to our fathers; by visions and dreams, by sacraments, by angels, by plain express words, by allegories, by secret and mystical understanding, where one thing is covered under another. And all this did he that he might condescend to our capacity; that we might be converted and saved; that we might be guided in the right way, and not go aside neither to the right hand nor to the left. By vision God spake to Ezechiel, as appeareth in the first chapter of his prophecy: The wheels which he saw were horrible to behold, they were full of rings; "and the rings were full of eyes:" the four beasts were also terrible, they had faces like a man, like a lion, like a bullock, and like an eagle. In dream God spake to Samuel, saying: "Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, whereof whosoever shall hear, his two ears shall tingle," &c. Touching sacraments God himself saith: "Thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came out of Egypt." "Thou shalt set apart unto the Lord all that first openeth the womb, &c. And when thy son shall ask thee to-morrow, saying, What is this? thou shalt then say unto him, With a mighty hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt, out of the house of bondage. For when Pharao was hard-hearted against our departure, the Lord then slew all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of man even to the first-born of beast: therefore I sacrifice unto the Lord all the males that first open the womb, but all the first-born of my sons I redeem." Sometimes he spake by angels, as by sundry examples it may appear. Sometimes by himself in his own person, as he spake to Moses face to face. Sometimes by plain express words: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." And again: "Thou shalt have none other gods before my face; thou shalt make thee no graven image," &c. These are plain words; these are the words which our Lord God hath spoken. Sometimes he expressed his holy will, not in words, or visions, or in such sort as I have shewed, but only by some mystical or secret allegory, by some deed which the people saw done before their eyes; of which kind is this which we have now to consider. Therefore hath God said by the prophet: "What could I have done any more to my vineyard that I have not done unto it?" What should I do, but it hath been done? What should I say, but it hath been said? What warning should I give, but it hath been given? I have been careful for my people, that they should repent and turn to me, that all Israel should be saved. If they perish, I am free from their destruction; they perish in their own wilfulness, they have none excuse.

Ezek. i.
1 Sam. iii.
Exod. xiii.
Deut. vi.
Deut. v.
Isai. v.

Now touching an allegory, whereof we are at this present to say: God opened his mind sometimes not by words, but by some notable kind of deed; and the people heard God speak unto them, not with their ears, but with their eyes. The people of Israel, as they were passing through the wilderness, lacked water to

[1] And, 1583.]
[2] Neither might any man go out or in, 1583.]
[3] And ye shall compass all the city, &c., 1583.]

drink, and were like to perish: there stood a mighty great rock of hard stone, which Moses smote with his rod: it opened and yielded out a great stream of water: the whole people drank of it, and was refreshed. The same people, being likewise in the same wilderness utterly void of bread and all other sustenance, was like to famish: God sent them manna from heaven above: they gathered it, they ground it, and they ate of it: it was sweet and delicate and full of comfort.

This was an allegory, that is to say, a secret and mystical kind of utterance. For by this manna and by this rock the people was led to understand and think on that bread and that water that should come from heaven. St Paul saith, "The rock was Christ:" his side was cloven, his blood issued out: it is a water springing up into everlasting life: we drink of it, and live for ever. 1 Cor. x.

So likewise that manna was the body of Christ: the people did eat of it, and lived by it. Christ had not yet taken upon him a natural body; yet they did eat his body: he had not yet shed his blood; yet they drank his blood. St Paul saith: "All did eat the same spiritual meat," that is, the body of Christ; "and all did drink of the same spiritual drink," that is, the blood of Christ; and that as verily and as truly as we do now; and whosoever then did so eat Christ lived for ever, not because the rock was turned into his flesh, or the water into his blood: it was an allegory, as all other sacraments be: the people hereby was taught to consider of other things. 1 Cor. x.

When the people was stung with serpents in the wilderness, and were swollen, and heaved up, and perished in the wilderness without hope of cure, Moses erected up a brasen serpent upon a pole: the people beheld it, their anguish abated, their swelling slaked, and they were healed. Christ was this serpent, he was lifted up on the cross: whoso trusteth in him shall never be ashamed.

In certain of their sacrifices they had a lamb, they sticked him, they killed him, and made sacrifice of him: this lamb was Christ the Son of God, he was killed, sticked, and made a sweet-smelling sacrifice for our sins. Of him saith God himself: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." Matt. iii. Of him saith John: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." John i. Of him St Peter speaketh: "Among men there is none other name given under heaven whereby we must be saved." Acts iv. In his righteousness only we are received as righteous; his blood cleanseth us from all sin: there is no other sacrifice wherewith we may be reconciled to God our heavenly Father. All these were allegories, that is to say, certain resemblances and significations of secret matters. That striking of the rock, that feeding upon manna, that lifting up of the serpent, that killing of the lamb, were certain mystical kinds of speaking. And let no man think these things are impertinent, or from the purpose: they are incident unto the matter, and grow necessarily of the things we have to speak of.

When Joshua, that noble and worthy captain, by God's special conduct had passed through the water of Jordan, and taken possession in the land of Canaan, a land flowing with milk and honey, there to plant the people of Israel according to the promises that God had made them; the citizens of Hiericho, that stood in the frontiers of the country, rampired their wall, and placed their artillery, and appointed themselves to resist him, and to withstand his force. To assault this city Joshua practised a strange kind of battery. He commanded that the ark of God's majesty should be carried reverently about the walls seven days together; and that the whole host in armour should go before it; that after them should follow seven priests with seven trumpets; that all the rest of the people should follow after the ark; and that thus they should do every day once. The seventh day he increased their labour, and bade them to go about seven times in like order. The people within laughed them to scorn to see their folly. At the seventh and last turn Joshua commanded them all to make a shout. Straightway, after so long silence, they lifted up their voices, and shouted with a great shout, so many hundred thousands of men, women, and children: the trumpets blew in every corner: the whole heaven and earth was full of their noise; and the wall fell down flat.

Here let us consider and glorify the power of God: there was neither mine, nor ram, nor other engine, nor warlike force, nor worldly policy practised: only at this roar and sound of trumpets and voices of men the rampires were broken, the walls fell down, and sunk, and were made even with the ground: the soldiers went over and slew without mercy man, woman, and child, and cattle, and whatsoever creature they found before them: they fired the city, and consumed it, and burnt it to ashes.

Then Joshua sware at that time, saying: "Cursed be the man before the Lord, whosoever henceforth shall take in hand to restore this city of Hiericho: let him lay the foundation thereof in the death of his eldest son, and in the death of his youngest child let him close up and finish the gates:" let him never more rejoice in the fruit of his body, but let him live as a man accursed in the midst of the people: let his name and memory and all his posterity perish with him. This was the tenor of Joshua's curse.

1 Kings xvi. Six hundred years after, in the time of the wicked king Achab, one Hiel (having no regard to his[1] curse) set upon to restore Hiericho; and it came to pass even as it was foresaid by Joshua: God's curse fell upon him; he buried his eldest son, he buried his youngest son, he was left without comfort, even as a man that the Lord had cursed: for God's will was that Hiericho should lie waste and desolate for ever, as an everlasting remembrance of his wrath, that all people should fear to withstand his will. This is the plain story only, according to the letter.

But as touching the allegory, or the matter which therein lieth covered, it hath a far deeper meaning. This Hiericho, whereof the story speaketh, was
2 Kings ii. a city in Canaan, in a low, sour, barren ground, in the midst of a rotten and pestilent water, by reason whereof, before the same water was cured by the prophet Elizeus, the men that drank thereof died of sundry diseases, and the women also became unfruitful. This city withstood the people of God, and laboured to keep them from their inheritance that God had given them.

That Hiericho of which we have now to consider is a spiritual power of darkness, that resteth only in flesh and in worldly promises, that withstandeth God's people, and exalteth itself against God. For even in this life, as there is a Jerusalem, so is there a Hiericho: as truth hath her house, so is there also a house wherein falsehood and error dwelleth. As there is a glory of the light, so is there a power of darkness. This Hiericho of falsehood and darkness God overthroweth when it seemeth good in his sight: with the breath of his mouth and with the blast of his holy word he doth overthrow it; and whosoever will seek to restore it shall be accursed.

Three things therefore I have thought good by God's sufferance to treat of:

1. First, how high this Hiericho is built, and how strongly it is fenced, and yet how easily it is overthrown.

2. How vainly and how miserably they lose their labour that seek by any means to restore it.

3. What good remedies may be devised, that this Hiericho be not restored again.

Whatsoever my simple learning or utterance shall be, yet I doubt not but the very bare consideration hereof of itself unto the godly must needs be comfortable.

Psal. cvii. "They that go down to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." For God is marvellous in the surges and tempests of the sea; he is marvellous in the firmament of heaven; but much more marvellous is he in the surges and stormy tempests of his church. Here may we behold the work of his hands. This is the shop of his power, of his wisdom, of his light, and truth, and righteousness, and patience, and mercy. Here may we see the children of light and the children of darkness, the vessels of honour and the vessels of shame, the assaults of falsehood, and the glory and victory of truth. Here shall we see how God leadeth even into hell, and yet bringeth safely back; how he

[1] This, 1583.]

killeth, and yet reviveth; how he refuseth the full, and feedeth the hungry; how he is the ruin of many, and the resurrection of many. Here may we see the wonderful ways and the unsearchable judgments of God. It is a place full of terror, and a place full of all comfort. In respect hereof the prophet David saith: "O Lord, our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world!" Psal. viii. Again he saith: "One thing have I desired of the Lord, that I will require; Psal. xxvii. that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to visit his temple."

Hiericho was a mighty strong town, well manned, well victualled, well walled, well fenced; and in affiance thereof it withstood the whole power of God's army. Joshua (notwithstanding he had great force of armed men) during the assault suffered no man to use his weapon: he willed them all to walk quietly and silent, without doing violence: his strength was not in the number and courage of men, but only in the ark, that is, in the presence and power of God.

Thus it fareth oftentimes in spiritual warfares: falsehood is armed; and truth goeth naked: falsehood maketh outcries; and truth saith little: falsehood is bold; and truth is outfaced. Blindness of itself naturally is hardy and venturous; and falsehood is wily and shifting. When the high priests and captains of the temple and the elders were come to lay hands on Christ, he said unto them: "This is your very hour, and the power of darkness." Luke xxii. Their hearts were darkened, their eyes were blinded, they saw not their ways, they knew not their dangers, they would not understand, they would not be taught: malice and frowardness had made them blind; therefore the fear of God was not before their eyes. Herein stood their power; therefore they were bold, and said: "Let us break their bands, and cast their cords from us." Psal. ii. Therefore they said: "We will not have this man to reign over us." Therefore they said: "The word that thou hast spoken to us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee." Thus cried they, because of the blindness which was in them, and because of the folly of their hearts. Luke xix. Jer. xliv.

Yet is there no soldier so stout in defence of Hiericho as he that thinketh his cause is good, and that his doing pleaseth God well, and therefore is moved thereto in conscience. None so desperate and wilful for the falsehood and darkness of Hiericho as such who have zeal without knowledge, as are blind, and follow their blind guides; who, when they slander, or persecute, or kill others for righteousness sake, think they make a sacrifice unto God, and that God is highly pleased with their doing. Such were they that cried against Christ, "Crucify him, crucify him;" and, "He hath blasphemed." Therefore Christ maketh his prayer for them: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." They know not me, they know not whence I come, nor who it is that sent me; they take light for darkness, and darkness for light. Therefore the wise man saith: "Lean not unto thine own wisdom:" "do not the things that seem right in thine own eyes." "There is a way which seemeth right to a man; but the issues thereof are the ways of death." It seemeth catholic, it seemeth holy; but the end thereof leadeth to death. St Paul saith of the Jews: "If they had known the wisdom of God, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory." If their eyes had been open to see him, if their heart and understanding had been open to know him, they had not been guilty of innocent blood, they would not have betrayed the Lord of glory. John xix. Matt. xxvi. Luke xxiii. Prov. iii. Prov. xiv. 1 Cor. ii.

But Hiericho is not only thus fenced with blind zeal and wilful ignorance, but also oftentimes hath help of man's strength, and the favour and succour of worldly power. The Egyptians had mighty chariots, straked and barred with iron, in the strength whereof they put their trust. The people of Babylon built themselves a tower as high as the heavens, to shew forth their pride and get themselves a name. Hereof David saith: "The kings of the earth band themselves, and the princes are assembled together against the Lord and against his Christ." He saith not, the vulgar people, or a sort of rascals only, but kings and princes, and they which bear authority in the world, assembled[2] themselves against the Lord, and in this power they think they are invincible. Psal. ii.

[2 Assemble, 1583.]

Exod. v. When Moses and Aaron did the message of God unto Pharao, saying, "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel;" Pharao said: "Who is the Lord, that I should hear his voice, and let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." What is his power? What hurt can he do? I know him not, I care not for him: Israel shall not depart my country. So said Nabuchodo-
Dan. iii. nosor: "Who is that God that can deliver you out of mine hands?" In like sort did Sennacherib king of the Assyrians vaunt himself in the pride of his
2 Kings xix. strength, and bid defiance against the God of Israel: "Thus shall ye speak to Ezechiah king of Juda, and say, Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest, saying, Jerusalem shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Ashur. Have the gods of the heathen delivered them which my fathers have destroyed?" And even so doth St John bewray the folly of Babylon:
Rev. xviii. "She saith in her heart, I sit, being a queen, and am no widow, and shall see
Acts iv. no mourning." In trust hereof they said sometimes, "and commanded the apostles, that in no wise they should speak or teach in the name of Jesus." They said: We are the children of Abraham, we are the sons of the prophets.
Mal. ii. They said: We cannot err; for it is written: "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge; and they should seek the law at his mouth." In trust hereof they
John vii. said: "Doth any of the rulers or Pharisees believe in him? But this people, which know not the law, are cursed." In trust hereof they have said: "Let us cut them out of the land of the living, let the name of Israel be had no more in remembrance:" this doctrine is schismatical, this religion is new, it hath no ground, it shall not prevail, it shall not stand. Such courage have the citizens of this ignorant Hiericho taken in the strength of man's arm, and in the help of worldly policy.

Then they fell to sword and persecution, and all kind of torments and cruel death: the people despaired: the very elect began to faint. St Paul
1 Cor. iv. saith: "We are made a gazing-stock unto the world, and to the angels, and
Psal. lxxiv. unto men." The prophet David prayeth unto God against such: "Arise, O God, maintain thine own cause: remember thy daily reproach by the foolish man." So strong is the hold of this spiritual Hiericho, and so stoutly it fighteth against the Lord.

Albeit Hiericho was so strong, and the walls thereof seemed invincible, such as no power could pierce, yet at the sound of seven trumpets, and the shout of the people, they fell down flat to the ground. So mightily did God in such weak means shew forth his wonderful and fatherly care to work the rest and peace of his people. Pharao had Israel even in his mouth as a prey: the sea was before them, and the hills on each side: they were unarmed: he had the power and all the policy of his country: it seemed unpossible they should ever be able to escape that danger: but mark the turning of God's mighty hand: suddenly the sea opened; Israel passed through the midst of it as upon dry land; Pharao followed after, and was swallowed and drowned with all his men. Israel looked back, and saw the marvellous works of God, how
Exod. ix. it was now performed which God had said unto Pharao: "Thou shalt perish from the earth; and indeed for this cause have I appointed thee, to shew my power in thee, and to declare my name throughout all the world." Therefore they rejoiced in God, and feared him, and made him sacrifice.

Nabuchodonosor, when he fell upon Jewry, made the whole country to shake with the terror of his name. He was like to a mighty great tree, whose height reached to the heavens, and the sight thereof through all the world; yet suddenly was this mighty tree hewn down, as the Holy One that came down from
Dan. iv. heaven had said: "Hew down the tree, and destroy it." "Nabuchodonosor was driven from men, and had his dwelling with the beasts of the field, and did eat grass and fodder as the oxen, seven years, till his hairs were grown as eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws." The power of Sennacherib was terrible: the people of Israel were not able to withstand it: he did glory in the pride thereof; he said no God was able to deliver Jerusalem, nor to save it out of his
2 Kings xix. hands; "yet suddenly the angel of the Lord in one night smote in the camp of Ashur an hundred fourscore and five thousand of his men:" he fled away with the rest, and was slain by his sons, and the people of God left at liberty.

Though Babylon said she should never mourn nor feel any heaviness, yet "an angel came down from heaven, and cried out mightily with a loud voice, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great city, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." It were an infinite labour, and yet very comfortable, to consider how marvellously God in the old times hath overthrown his enemies, and delivered his poor servants. Rev. xviii.

David, to save his life, was fain to run from king Saul, and remained in a mountain in the "wilderness of Ziph; and Saul sought him every day; but God delivered him not into his hand." David was not only without aid or hope of aid, but also without sustenance, and looked when he should be taken, and thought it not possible to escape; "for Saul and his men compassed David and his men round about to take them. But there came a messenger to Saul, saying, Haste thee and come, for the Philistines have invaded thy land. Wherefore Saul returned from pursuing David." And thus poor David was delivered. God is a helper in due season, he cometh with aid when things are desperate, he helpeth when there is no hope of help elsewhere: the counsels, attempts, and policies of the wicked are in vain. "He that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh them to scorn." The prophet David found himself disquieted at the worldly prosperity of the wicked, and saith: "As for me, my feet were almost gone, my steps had well-near slipped; for I fretted at the foolish, when I saw the prosperity of the wicked, &c. Then thought I to know this; but it was too painful for me, until I went up into the sanctuary of God: then understood I their end. Surely thou hast set them in slippery places, and castest them down into desolation. How suddenly are they destroyed, perished, and consumed!" "As for me, it is good to draw near unto God; therefore have I put my trust in the Lord God, that I may declare all thy works." 1 Sam. xxiii. Psal. ii. Psal. lxxiii.

A king is strong; a woman is strong; and wine is strong: but truth doth abide and is strong for ever. Truth is great and strongest. Whither may a man go from the Spirit of the Lord? or whither may a man fly from his presence? If he ascend up into heaven, the Lord is there; or, if he descend into hell, the Lord is there also. "The face of the Lord is upon them that do evil." "When they shall say, Peace and safety, then shall come upon them sudden destruction."

Let no man be deceived, and think that these things are wrought by the power of stars, or by the pleasure of princes: it is God that ruleth the world, and not the stars. It was not Joshua that overturned the walls of Hiericho, nor the cry of the people, and sound of the trumpets. It was neither Constantinus, nor Jovinian, nor Valentinian, nor Theodosius, that planted the gospel, and changed the hearts of the people. These were virtuous and godly emperors; yet those changes were not made by their power, but it was God which sent forth his Spirit, and renewed the face of the earth. Christ Jesus, the Sun of righteousness, had looked upon them: the Morning Star from an high had risen over them. Good princes and good rulers are the good instruments by whom God setteth forth his glory: their hearts be in the hands of God; he bendeth them, and inclineth them to his purpose: but the truth of the gospel is not planted and settled in our hearts, neither by the will of man nor by the authority of princes. No creature can claim part of this glory: this glory belongeth unto God; "but unto us and to our fathers, to our kings and to our prophets, the confusion of our faces." "This is the Lord's doing; and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in it." This is a change wrought, not by the stars, but by the right hand of the Most High: "The sons of God, even they which believe in him, are born, not of blood, nor of the will of flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God;" as by the prophet Ezechiel God himself declareth: "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you;" "I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes." And by the prophet Jeremy: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God; and they shall be my people." Let us then know this ourselves; and of others let us with the prophet Esay say: "Therefore let them see and know, and let them consider and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this." Bar. i. Psal. cxviii. John i. Ezek. xxxvi. Jer. xxxi. Isai. xli.

He is able to set stars and heavens out of course, to set the sun back, and to make it stand, to open the earth, to divide the sea, to make the dry rock to yield water, to make the clouds to give bread, to make children to preach, to make an ass to speak, to make the devils to confess his holy name, and to say,
Luke iv. "I know who thou art, even the Holy One of God." With this power he blew down the walls of Hiericho, with this power he beateth down whatsoever hold is built up against God. This power standeth not in worldly strength, but is
1 Cor. i. shewed in weakness: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to con-
Psal. xx. found the mighty things," saith the apostle Paul. "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." "Our help is in the name of the Lord, which hath made both heaven and earth." Thus is the prince of darkness cast out, thus is the gospel of Christ carried throughout the world: this is the overthrow of Hiericho: this is the might of God's hand.

But is Hiericho so laid flat that no man will attempt or wish to restore it? Verily, it was afterward restored in the days of Achab; but he that restored it was accursed. Even so it fareth with this spiritual Hiericho: it is never so blown down but some would wish to raise it up. God delivered his people out of Egypt; and yet there were that looked back, and wished to be there again; and, when they had manna in their mouths, they thought it a loathsome and a squeamish meat, and wished for their gourds and onions; and, having the angels of God to go in visible form before them to be their guides both day and night, yet wished to be under Pharao, in the house of bondage, to be tormented with labours, to live in tyranny and oppression, where they had their children slain before their faces.

Notwithstanding God had delivered his people from the captivity of Babylon, yet the greatest part of them remained still there, and would never return to see Jerusalem.

Rev. xviii. "Babylon, the great city, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils;" yet John saith: Many shall mourn, and weep, and lament, and cry over her, "Alas, alas, the great city Babylon, the mighty city Babylon, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and gilded with gold, and precious stone, and pearls!" "what city was like to this great city?"

Psal. xix. David saith: "Their sound is gone forth through all the earth, and their
Isai. lii. words into the ends of the world." And the prophet Esay: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that declareth and publisheth peace, that
Rom. x. declareth good tidings, and publisheth salvation!" Yet St Paul saith: "They have
Isai. liii. not all obeyed the gospel." And Esay: "Lord, who hath believed our report?
Isai. lxv. or to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?" And again: "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, after their own imaginations." The truth of God is not alway taken, and it is never so received, that every man liketh thereof. The Lord knoweth who are his, and to whom he will make himself known.

Christ himself was a stumbling-stone unto the unbelieving Jews, and a sign that should be spoken against. St John saith: "This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light; because their deeds were evil." The gospel of Christ is the power of God to salvation; it
2 Tim. iv. is the savour of life unto life; yet is it also the savour of death unto death. "For many will not suffer wholesome doctrine, but, having their ears itching, shall after their own lust get them a heap of teachers, and shall turn their ears from the
1 Tim. iv. truth, and shall be given unto fables; and shall give heed unto spirits of error, and doctrine[1] of devils." Because wisdom cannot enter into a wicked heart, nor dwell in a body that is subject to sin, the devil, the prince of this world, was cast
1 Pet. v. forth; yet St Peter saith, "He walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." And even so standeth it with Jerusalem, the city of the Lord, and that cursed city Hiericho. Many refuse the blessing of the Lord in their deliverance from under Pharao, and feeding them with heavenly manna, and giving them his angels to be their guides: they will not return home to their own

[1 Doctrines, 1583, 1609.]

country out of their captivity in Babylon: though they see the judgments of God done upon proud Babylon, yet they mourn and lament over it; they look not upon the hands that are spread all the day unto them, they obey not the gospel: Christ is unto them a stumbling-stone; and so seek they to restore again Hiericho, which the Lord hath overthrown, and which he would not have built again, but curseth them that shall seek to restore it. And this do they, because they know not how amiable the tabernacles of the Lord are, because they did never taste and see how sweet the Lord is.

Three special helps the devil hath used to further this purpose of restoring Hiericho: first, the hard heart, and blindness of the people; secondly, the eloquence and subtile persuasion of the learned; thirdly, the sword and violence of tyrants. Of these three the first is the greatest; for blindness and stubbornness will prevail where cunning and tyranny can do nothing. Hereof the prophet Jeremy complaineth: "My people is foolish, they have not known me: they are foolish children, and have none understanding: they are wise to do evil, but to do well they have no knowledge." Of this sort our Saviour speaketh: "This people's heart is waxed fat, and their ears are dull of hearing, and with their eyes have they winked; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and should return, that I might heal them." Of this sort Esay reporteth: "It is a rebellious people, lying children, and children that would not hear the law of the Lord; which say unto the seers, See not; and unto the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things; but speak flattering things unto us, prophesy errors: depart out of the way, go out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from us." Through blindness and stubbornness all the children of Israel murmured against Moses and Aaron: "Wherefore now hath the Lord brought us to this land to fall upon the sword?...were it not better for us to return into Egypt?" Therefore the Lord said: "I will do to them as they have spoken:" "they shall not see the land whereof I sware to their fathers," but their carcases shall fall in this wilderness: "they shall not enter into my rest." With this blindness God doth punish those which obey not his word. "The Lord shall smite thee," saith Moses, "with madness and blindness, and with astonying of heart; thou shalt grope at noon-days, as the blind gropeth in darkness." I will take my Spirit from thee, I will command the clouds that they shall not give thee rain: thou hast forsaken me; and I will forsake thee: "I will cause the sun to go down at noon; and I will darken the earth at clear day, saith the Lord." "I will send a famine upon the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the word of the Lord:...they shall seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." St Paul told the Jews at Antiochia: "Seeing you put the word from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the gentiles:" you shall be left in your filthiness.

Jer. iv. Matt. xiii. Isai. xxx. Num. xiv. Deut. xxviii. Amos viii. Acts xiii.

Now what shall be done to these hard-hearted and blind builders of the spiritual Hiericho? Christ telleth us: "It shall be easier in that day for them of Sodom than for that city," which will not receive the disciples. And again: "Except ye believe that I am he, you shall die in your sins." The end of such is worse than the beginning. All those plagues and utter destruction came upon Hierusalem, because she knew not the time of her visitation, even the day of God's mercy, as they were foretold by the prophet Jeremy: "Behold, that which I have built will I destroy, and that which I have planted will I pluck up, even this whole land." So doth God plague one sin with another, and letteth them which are filthy grow in filthiness, because of the hardness of their heart which cannot repent; whereby they heap unto themselves vengeance against the day of the Lord's wrath: such are not worthy to see Hierusalem; therefore are they left to perish in Hiericho.

Luke x. John viii. Jer. xlv.

As for the eloquence and deceitful persuasion of the learned, I will say nothing. Notwithstanding, it hath been and is so used to the restoring of Hiericho, that a blind man may perceive it, and all the world may rue it. One said sometimes, that, were the matter never so false, he would prove it by eloquence to be true. Another said, the sun and moon stand still, and the earth

goeth about. Another said that snow was[1] black, and that he was able well to prove it; and there were many which believed them. Such were they of whom it
Isai. v. is written in the prophet Esay, "that spake good of evil, and evil of good; which put darkness for light, and light for darkness; and put bitter for sweet, and sweet for sour." So they mocked the eyes of the ignorant, and abused the gifts of
Isai. xlvii. God. "Thy wisdom and thy knowledge," saith the prophet, "they have caused thee to rebel; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else:" "thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the star-gazers, and prognosticators stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee."

We may answer such learned disputers as David answered the proud Goliah:
1 Sam. xvii. "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield," that is, with great eloquence and shew of learning; "but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the host of Israel, whom thou hast railed upon."
Jer. ix. By the prophet Jeremy thus saith the Lord: "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man glory in his strength, neither the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he under-
1 Cor. i. standeth and knoweth me." Again: "It is written," saith the apostle, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the
Job v. prudent." And Eliphaz saith: "He taketh the wise in their craftiness; and the counsel of the wicked is made foolish:" he will open their errors, he will bewray their craftiness, he will overthrow the cunning devices of their wit: these helps shall not suffice to build up cursed Hierieho.

Now to speak of the third help, of the power of princes, whom the wicked builders of this spiritual Hiericho have in all ages deceived. The authority of a prince is great: he is the servant of God, he carrieth the sword for God to take
Prov. xvi. vengeance on him that doth evil. Salomon saith: "The wrath of a *king* is as messengers of death." Unto them these builders have recourse, and accuse the servants of the Lord, which have waited upon Joshua, and have done the Lord's will upon this wilful and rebellious city.

The heathen and infidels used this help against the Christians; they accused them before kings that they were wicked, that they worshipped strange gods, that they lived in adultery and incest, that they killed their children, and did feed upon man's flesh. Before them they charged the Christians with divisions and schisms, saying: You Christians agree not among yourselves, you have so many sects, and one sect is at defiance with another, and condemneth one another; therefore your religion is not true, it is not of God: since the time we forsook our gods, these and these evils are come upon us. They charged Christians that they were stirrers up of rebellion, and that they disquieted the minds of the people. Let these Christians, said they, be cast to the lions. Such complaints were brought before kings and princes against the Christians of the primitive church; and these false charges have been thought true; therefore were there sharp laws made against them. It was commanded that no man should speak in the name of Christ, and who did not obey this should die the death.

Who is able to express the miseries which followed in the execution of those laws? There was no sword nor weapon, no rack nor torment, no fire nor water, but they were prepared for and stained with christian blood. Soldiers were kept in whole garrisons: princes made leagues, kept counsels, devised new and cruel laws, used conspiracies, practised all kinds of strange and terrible deaths for the defence of Hiericho: they killed Christians by thousands[2]. Maximianus burnt in one temple twenty thousand, assembled together to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ[3]. Dioclesian made proclamation for the overthrowing of the christian churches throughout all the Roman empire; he caused the books of holy scripture to be burned in the open market-place, and displaced with great ignominy[4] such Christians as were magistrates, and

---

[1 Is, 1583.]

[2 For detailed accounts of the persecution under the emperors here named see Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VIII. capp. iii. &c. pp. 240, &c.]

[3 See Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. VII. cap. vi. Tom. I. pp. 446, 7.]

[4 Ignomy, 1583.]

all other that bare any office. These thought that hereby the gospel of Christ should be abolished and quite overthrown.

But the Lord, which was mighty to save Daniel in the midst of the lions, and Jonas in the whale's belly, and his three servants in the flaming fire, and Israel in the Red sea, whose eyes are over the righteous, and which is nigh unto all that call upon him, was also able to make his own cause good, to give courage to his servants, and trembling and anguish of mind to their enemies. For, the more his servants were diminished, the more they increased; and, the more tyrants prevailed, the more they were weakened. He that should die was bold and careless; he that should kill was fearfully amazed: the tormentor mourned, the condemned rejoiced: the dead had the glory, the tyrants the shame: their sacrifices decayed, their temples were forsaken, their gods laughed to scorn, their priests were wood[5], and lacked their large offerings: the Lord did let the curse fall upon them which he made by his servant Joshua, and which shall come upon all those that will seek to raise up Hiericho.

To rehearse the examples of God's mighty hand, and to declare what he hath done in all ages to shew forth his power, no tongue is able: yet is it[6] expedient to give forth one or two examples thereof. Licinius, an ungodly emperor, after he had extended his force against the Christians to suppress them, and gave greatest shew of his favour to such about him as could best devise new and strange torments, felt the plagues of God, was sundry times vanquished by Constantinus, to whom he yielded himself, and led a private life in Thessalia, until at length he, which had been before the enemy unto all learning, was slain by his own soldiers[7]. The palm of the hand which Balthazar saw write upon the plaster of the wall did more amaze him; his countenance was more changed, and his thoughts more troubled therewith, than if he had been assaulted with the force of a hundred thousand men. Tripart. Hist. Lib. i. cap. viii. Carion. Lib. iii. Dan. v.

King Pharao first said to the messengers of God, Moses and Aaron, "I know not the Lord," I care not for him. But, when he felt the smart of God's hand, he cried out unto them: "The Lord is righteous; but I and my people are wicked: pray ye unto the Lord (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thunders and hail; and I will let you go; and you shall tarry no longer." Exod. ix.

Antiochus placed idols in the temple of God, and blasphemed his name, and brought Jerusalem into bondage; he burnt the books of the law in the fire, and cut them in pieces, that so the name of God might no more be remembered: but, when the torments which God cast upon him began to vex him, then he began to leave off his great pride and self-will: when he was plagued, and came to the knowledge of himself with the scourge of God, when he himself might not abide his own stink, he said: "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man which is mortal should not think himself equal to God through pride." Then he prayed to the Lord, then he delivered the Jews, then he would restore the temple, then he would also become a Jew himself, and go through all the world, and preach the power of God. 1 Macc. i. 2 Macc. ix.

Maximianus, practising the like attempts, was likewise stricken: his flesh was eaten with lice, his body rotted inwardly, he was not able to abide the smell of himself. Then he confessed his error, found his guilt, called in his proclamation, stayed his sword, and (albeit it were against his mind) commanded that the Christians should have their books, and use their churches, and hear the scriptures, and call upon the name of Christ, as they had done before[8]. Euseb. Lib. viii. capp. x. & xix.

Julian of all other began most politicly and subtilly, and therefore most mightily, to set up Hiericho: he gave commandment that no christian man's child should go to school, devising thereby to keep them rude and barbarous; that no Christian should bear office, or live in any manner authority, thereby to make them vile; that they should never be captains or soldiers, that so they

---

[5] Wood: wild.]

[6] It is, 1583.]

[7] Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. I. cap. viii. fol. A. vii. 2. Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 71.]

[8] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VIII. capp. x. xvi. pp. 247, 8, 57. Conf. Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. VIII. cap. xviii. foll. 92, &c. Lactant. De Mort. Persecut. xxxiii.—But *Maximianus* seems to be a mistake for *Maximinus*.]

might be kept in weakness: he removed the Christians out of his court. He opened again the temples of the heathen, and did erect idols in them; and, the more to give credit and countenance to the matter, he himself, being the emperor, took upon him the office of a bishop, and did offer sacrifice: many of the nobles and many of the people applied themselves to follow this example, and did the like. He licensed the Jews to return home again, and to build up Jerusalem: he allowed them money, he gave them liberties; and all this only in the despite of Christ, only to discredit and deface the glory of the Son of God. Hereby the heretics upbraided and defied Christ: the faithful were dismayed; and the church of God was brought to great confusion.

But now let us enter into the sanctuary of the Lord's counsels, and behold the latter[1] end of these doings. The Jews fell to work, laid their foundation, provided all things needful, and began to build: suddenly brake out an earthquake, and overthrew their work; lightnings fell from heaven and burnt their tools in their hands, and their coats on their backs. The print that the lightning made in their garments was a cross, in token that they were the enemies of the cross of Christ. Then was the name of Christ more glorious, and his gospel more beautiful than before.

Julian took his journey into Persia, and had made great threats, that at his return he would consume the name of Christians, root out the name of the Galileans, and not leave one Christian alive, and would set up the image of Venus in all his churches. But, being in the field, he was suddenly stricken in the breast with an arrow from heaven: he pulled it out: the wound was deadly: he cursed Christ, he took of the blood into his hand, threw it up into the air, and thus cried: *Vicisti, Galilæe:* "O thou Christ of Galilee, thou hast conquered." Thus suddenly the tyrant was slain, his attempts were accursed, his frame of Hiericho would not stand. The faithful Christians were set at liberty, they went to their churches, they gave God the glory, they made triumphs and were joyful. Thus God looketh upon his faithful; such is the power and readiness of his hand.

Hist. Tripart. Lib. vii. cap. xxxix. The devil himself confessed that when any Christian was present his mouth was muzzled, he could not speak, he could do nothing[2]. The like might be said of Nero, Caligula, Maximinus, Dioclesian, Valerian, and others: they had conquered France, Spain, Germany, England, Hungary, Dalmatia, Arabia, India, Persia, and Scythia: they had the world at commandment; yet a few poor Christians, artificers, women, and maidens, ignorant and unlearned people, they could never conquer. Nero had crucified Peter, and beheaded Paul, that preached the gospel; but the gospel which they preached they could not behead, they could not crucify. Nero, Caligula, Commodus, and sundry others like tyrants were slain. Dioclesian, as it is thought, was stricken mad, made unable to rule, and therefore left the empire. Valerian was taken in the field by Sapores king of Persia, and tied in a chain, and, being the emperor of the world, was made to lie down on all-four, that Sapores might set his feet on his shoulders, and so get to horseback.

All this notwithstanding, the gospel of Christ grew still and went forward. Such success shall they have that take in hand to build Hiericho. The Lord will smite his enemies upon the cheek-bone, he will break the teeth of the wicked. Well may they bark, they shall not bite. "God knoweth the way of the righteous; and the way of the wicked shall perish." "God resisteth the proud, but giveth
Psal. xxxvii. grace to the lowly." "Yet a little while," saith David, "and the wicked shall not appear; and thou shalt look after his place, and he shall not be found:" the remembrance of him shall perish. Every plant which our heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out. Put not your trust then in princes, nor in the sons of men, which cannot save themselves: their breath departeth, and they return to their earth. It is God that is King of kings, which loveth the righteous,
Isai. xl. and overthroweth the way of the wicked. "All flesh is grass, and all the grace thereof is as the flower of the field:.... the grass withereth, the flower fadeth; but the word of our God shall stand for ever."

Was God able in those days to avenge the cruelty of tyrants, to withstand the proud, to defend the humble and lowly; and shall we think that his hand is

[1 Later, 1583.]

[2 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. VII. cap. xxxix. foll. P. vi. vii.]

shortened? Great is our God, and his power is wonderful, and there is no end of his judgments. O what leagues and confederacies, what practices and policies have we seen defeated! What abundance of blood hath been shed by sword and by fire! The workers thereof are gone: the end of many of them was horrible; yet the gospel continueth, and increaseth in all places. Æneas Silvius, who was afterward pope, and called Pius the second, sheweth in his story of Bohemia what great preparation was made to maintain the church of Rome, and to destroy all those which professed the gospel, whom they called Hussites and Calixtians, because they defended the receiving of the cup, as well as of the bread, in the Lord's supper. Two cardinals, the one of them cardinal Beauford, an Englishman, and bishop of Winchester, the other Julianus, were sent into Germany to levy power; at whose entreaty the emperor and states appointed three armies of men to fulfil the pope's purpose. But, saith the story, *Non visum hostem fugerunt:* "They fled before they did see the enemy." And again the second time: *Priusquam hostis ullus daretur in conspectu, fœdissima cœpta fuga*[3]: "They fled away with shame, before any enemy came to sight." Hereof one of the cardinals, Julianus, writeth thus to Eugenius the fourth: *Nonne videbitur hic digitus Dei? Ecce, exercitus armatorum toties fugit a facie eorum, et nunc similiter ecclesia universalis fugit: ecce, nec armis nec literis vinci possunt. Videbitur miraculum Dei evidenter, demonstrans illos vera sentire,...nos falsa*[4]: "Is not the power of God here to be seen? Our armies of soldiers have fled before them many times; and now the universal church fleeth. They cannot be overcome, neither by weapons nor by learning. This must needs appear a miracle wrought by God, to declare that their opinion is true, and ours false." Hist. Bohem cap. xlviii.

Thus we see how vainly and miserably they encumber themselves, which take upon them to restore Hiericho. God withstandeth them, and defeateth their purpose; as we may see this day. Let us therefore rejoice in God, and let us say with the people of Israel: "I will sing unto the Lord; for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and him that rode upon him hath he overthrown in the sea." Exod. xv.

It is not enough that we look back and gaze at this decayed city of Hiericho, and behold the rampires loosed, the walls thrown down, the houses burned, and the people thereof slain. God can give peace, God can withdraw it: we have seen the judgments of the Lord upon them, we have seen the turning of the Lord's hand towards us. That thing which hath been done may be done again. The ark of God was taken by the Philistines, and God suffered his temple to be spoiled; not that he was offended with the ark or with the temple, but for the unworthiness of the people. He never forsaketh, but he is first forsaken; as he saith: "Seeing ye have forsaken me, I will also forsake you." God himself telleth us by the prophet Jeremy, as you heard before: "That which I have built will I destroy; and that which I have planted will I pluck up." When Christ rebuked the unthankfulness of the Jews, he said unto them: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof." And again: "The children of the kingdom shall be cast out into utter darkness:" "for many are called, but few are chosen." It behoveth us therefore not[5] overmuch to glory in victory. It is fickle and casual, and may be lost. Let us humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, let us acknowledge the wonderful work that he hath wrought in our days, and pray him to continue the good thing he hath begun among us. In him we have our living, our moving, and our being. We are nothing but clay before him; "that he which rejoiceth may rejoice in the Lord." 2 Esdr. i. Matt. xxi. Matt. xx.

Now it remaineth we consider, what wholesome remedies may be devised that Hiericho be never again restored. Hereof I will say somewhat: the time so requireth. Here might we mark the practices and policies of noble conquerors, what ways they take to keep themselves in safety, and their conquered subjects from rebellion. Some, when they had gotten a city, thought it enough to over-

[3] Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1571. Hist. Bohem. cap. xlviii. p. 116; where *in conspectu daretur.*]

[4] Epist. Julian. Card. ad Eugen. IV. in eod. ad calc. Comm. de Gest. Basil. Concil. p. 67.]

[5] Not therefore, 1583.]

throw the walls thereof. Some rased all the castles, and threw down all the holds. Others have built strong places and towers, and furnished them with munition to bridle the people. Others have spoiled them, and kept them poor. Others have unarmed them, and kept them from all weapon. Others, to withdraw them from unquiet fancies, have set them to plough the ground, and to other[1] bodily labour. Others have cut off their captains, and all such as might seem able to lead the people, and to move rebellion. Some have killed their male children. Some dissolved the old laws, and gave them new. Others have forbidden banquets and feasts, and all other conventicles or assemblies, to make them strange one to another. Others have purposely sowed and maintained factions, and set city against city, sirname against sirname, blood against blood, that no man might safely trust another. Some have devised oaths and bands of conscience: some have devised laws martial, and other cruelty: some have transported and carried away the whole people, man, woman, and child; as Nabuchodonosor did the Jews into Babylon, and put others in their place. By these and such other like ways, as much as wisdom and policy could devise, they thought to keep countries and nations in obedience.

But, as touching our spiritual Hiericho, Joshua suffered nothing to stand; he burnt houses and palaces, and killed man, woman, and child, and cattle, without mercy, all together. For so God had given him in commandment, and so is it often written of him, that, where the Lord gave any people into his hands, he left nothing remaining, no, were it never so little. Of this policy
Num. xxxiii. Moses speaketh: "If you will not drive out the inhabitants of the land before you, then those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes, and thorns in your sides, and shall vex you in the land wherein ye dwell." Destroy not some only, to leave some: you shall leave nothing, no, not a little. If you do leave, you break the commandment of God.

In religion no part is to be called little. A hair is but little; yet it hath a shadow. In the body a little disquiet is oftentimes cause of death. The ciniphes[2] were but little; yet are they reckoned among the great plagues of God. Metellus, a nobleman of Rome, by receiving a hair in his milk was choked with it, and died hereof. Some things are small and do no hurt: some things, though they be small, do great hurt. Therefore doth God straitly charge his people to keep the
Josh. i. & vi. Deut. xv. & xxviii. law, saying: "Thou shalt not turn away from it, neither to the right hand nor to the left." And St Paul saith: "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump."
1 Cor. v.

I speak not this because I think nothing at all may be left to any especial
Josh. vi. purpose. For even in Hiericho, where was made a general destruction, God himself commanded that all silver and gold, and vessels of brass and iron should be saved, and not saved only, but be brought into the Lord's treasury. Howbeit, the things that may be reserved must not be dust, or chaff, or hay, or stubble, but gold, and silver, and iron, and brass; I mean, they may not be things meet to furnish and maintain superstition, but such things as be strong, and may serve either directly to serve God, or else for comeliness and good order. Such things may be reserved, notwithstanding they came out of the spoil of Hiericho.

Now, to stay the restoring of Hiericho, many good ways may be devised. For our consideration at this present, and because the time is far spent, I will name only four unto you. The first, maintenance of schools and learning. Second, understanding of the cause; that is, that every man may consider what he hath left, and what he hath received; out of what darkness into what light he is come. Third, kindness towards God, and thankfulness. Fourth, the discipline of the church. With these four, by God's grace, we may keep Hiericho from restoring. Of each of these a few words, and so I will end.

That learning and knowledge is able to hinder the builders of Hiericho, it is so plain that it needeth no speech. In the time of Moses' law, Aaron the great bishop and high priest had written in a tablet before his breast "doctrine" and "truth;" not only learning, but also truth: whereby was meant, that neither might be without other. For, as learning is dangerous and

[1] Others, 1611.

[2] See before, page 96, note 1.

hurtful without religion, so is religion unable to defend itself, and to convince the gainsayers, without learning.

For this cause the heathen, when they erected temples in the honour of their gods, did also build libraries, that is, places to keep books, that by such means their priests might grow in knowledge, and be better able to persuade others to their religion. Strabo writeth of the Smyrnians, that they built a temple in the honour of Homer, and joined thereto a library. Augustus the emperor built a temple and also a library in the honour of Apollo. Trajanus in like manner built a library, and called it Ulpia, after his own name. At Rome in the capitol, where all the gods had a solemn place for to be worshipped in, there was also placed a library. Athens was a famous university, and had many colleges and schools of learning, Academia, Stoa, Lycæum, Canopus, Prytaneum, Tempe, Cynosura, in which places were divers sects of philosophers. Such were in Persia the wise men whom they called Magi, in Babylon the Chaldees, in India Brachmanes, in Æthiopia Gymnosophistæ, in France and England Druides, and others in other countries. In all times the kings and princes which did set forth religion were also builders of schools and colleges, and advancers[3] of learning. The people of Israel were never in better state (as P. Phagius, a learned man, noteth out of their story) than when they had in every town and village *Bathe chenesioth* and *Bathe medraschoth*, that is, synagogues wherein they assembled together, and places to preach in[4]. The same Phagius reporteth of Hierusalem, that there were in it more than four hundred common schools and synagogues, in which the law of God was taught[5]. The patriarch Jacob was called *minister domus doctrinæ*, "a minister of the house of learning;" because he applied himself to the knowledge of the law of God, and to godliness. The prophets of God had their schools, to breed up under them such as might after their death draw the people from idolatry, and resist the false prophets. They which were so taught by them were called *filii prophetarum*, "the sons of the prophets." Samuel taught in such sort at Rama. Elias and Elizeus the prophets in such sort taught the law of God besides Hiericho. St John the evangelist taught at Ephesus; and Eusebius reporteth out of Philo, that St Mark had at Alexandria sundry scholars, which gave themselves to reading and reasoning and expounding of the scriptures[6]. Others did the like at Antioch and at other places. Out of such schools it pleased God to make[7] many excellent men, and place them in his church, as Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Arnobius, Basilius, Nazianzenus, Chrysostomus, Hieronymus, Ambrosius, Augustinus; who were brought up in all kind of learning, and became shining stars and bright lights in the house of God, notable defenders of religion, overthrowers of idols, and confounders of heretics. Christian princes herein have witnessed their zeal in setting forth the glory of God. After Charles the great had made his notable conquests, he erected five famous universities, one at Paris, another at Tolouse, another at Papia, another at Padua, another at Prague[8].

Suidas reporteth of Leo the emperor: *Cum aliquando Eulogio philosopho stipendium dari jussisset, &c.*[9]: "When Leo on a time commanded that Eulogius a philosopher should have his princely reward, a nobleman of his court said, that that money would be better employed for maintenance of soldiers. Nay, saith he, I would rather it might be brought to pass in my time, that the wages which are now bestowed upon soldiers might be given to maintain philosophers." Suid. in Leon.

Alexander Severus so highly esteemed that famous and notable lawyer Carion. Chron. Lib. iii. Alex. Sev.

[3 Avancers, 1583.]

[4 Atque hac Dei causa בתי כנסיות Bathe chenesioth, et בתי מדרשות Bathe medraschoth, id est, synagogæ et ædes concionatoriæ, ut illi vocant, olim passim in Israel in omnibus locis institutæ erant, ut &c. in vera Dei religione imbuerentur.—Tharg. ex Chald. in Lat. vers. add. Annot. aut. P. Fag. Argent. 1546. In Levit. cap. xxiii. fol. z. 6. 2.]

[5 Id. ibid. See before, page 679, note 5.]

[6 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. capp. xvi. xvii. pp. 42, &c.]

[7 Take, 1583, 1609.]

[8 Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. fol. 90.—Papia is the Latin form of Pavia.]

[9 Cum, &c., quodam ex eunuchis dicente, pecuniam illam militibus esse impendendam, dixit: Utinam mea ætate fiat, ut stipendia militum in philosophos conferantur. — Suid. Histor. Basil. 1564. In Leon. col. 545.]

Ulpian, that, when certain of his soldiers ran fiercely upon Ulpian, purposing to slay him, the emperor stepped forth, and set himself between the body of Ulpian and the fury of the soldiers, and covered him with his own robes, that the soldiers might know how careful he was for the good estate of Ulpian[1].

As also for the contrary, such as have practised cruelty upon learned men, and have hated knowledge, are worthily discommended in the stories of all ages. I told you before of that wicked apostata Julian, how he forbade that Christians should bring up their children in learning. Such an enemy to knowledge was also Licinius the emperor, who called learning the poison and overthrow of commonweals. The like is reported of Caligula, Caracalla, and Domitianus, that either they utterly hated all manner of learning, or had some special malice against the writings of some one notable man, and therefore sought to destroy them. Such was the policy of Satan; so thought he to get the upper hand, and to restore again his wicked Hiericho.

And were these the practices of heathen princes only? May not we remember the like attempts wrought in our days? Who will call to mind the time that is not far past, shall find that this ignorant Hiericho had many friends, who by all means drew men from knowledge: they gave liberty rather to do any thing than to seek understanding, and yet suffered rather the use and reading of fabulous and unclean writers than[2] of the holy scriptures and books which carried fruitful instruction.

Good letters and study to increase knowledge are not to be neglected. Such as presume of God's Spirit over-boldly, that, without their endeavour to use the wholesome means which he hath left unto his church, they shall and do by special inspiration understand his will, do tempt God. The prophet David prayed for the presence of God's Spirit, but to the purpose he might take profit and fruit of his reading in the law of God. Therefore he saith:

Psal. cxix. "Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law;" and, "Give me understanding; and I will keep thy law." And again: "Incline mine heart

1 Cor. xii. unto thy testimonies." St Paul taught the Corinthians, that "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." And in the second chapter of

1 Cor. ii. his first epistle saith: "Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to

Acts ix. us of God." This Spirit prepared the heart of Paul, yet sent him to Ananias,

Acts viii. Acts x. that by him it might be told him what he should do. This Spirit prepared the hearts of the eunuch and of Cornelius, yet sent unto them Philip and

Acts xvi. Peter to open the scriptures unto them. Lydia heard Paul; and "the Lord opened

1 Cor. iii. her heart, that she attended unto the things that Paul spake." "I have planted," saith he, "Apollos watered; but God gave the increase." Thus are we taught not to forsake the helps of reading, of hearing, and such-like; yet to know that neither of them can settle us unto godliness, without the especial grace of

Hom. 3, de Verb. Dom. secund. Johan. God's Spirit. Augustine saith well: *Non verbis hominis fit ut intelligatur* [*verbum Dei*], ... *facit Deus ut intelligatis*[3]: "The words of man do not cause that God's word is understood: God giveth the understanding thereof." And Chrysostom upon these words of the apostle, "Such trust have we through Christ to God, not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of our-

In 2 cap. ii. ad Cor. selves, but our sufficiency is of God," saith: *Hoc est, non ita dicebam fiduciam habemus, ut id partim sit nostrum, partim sit Dei; sed totum illi tribuo acceptumque fero*[4]: that is: "I did not so say we have trust, that this work is partly ours and partly God's; but I allow it, and yield it wholly unto God." The consideration hereof putteth us in mind to join humble and hearty prayer to our diligent reading and hearing, that God will give us understanding and knowledge.

Now, to conclude this first remedy whereby Hiericho may be kept from building, we may say that of the use of good learning which St Augustine speaketh against those that charge the scriptures with unnecessary speeches:

[1 Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. Lib. III. fol. 67.]

[2 That, 1611.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Verb. Evang. Johan. i. Serm. cxvii. 3. Tom. V. cols. 581, 2; where *faciat*.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ii. ad Cor. Hom. vi. Tom. X. p. 475.]

Solo ... vomere terra proscinditur; sed ut hoc fieri possit, etiam cetera aratri membra sunt necessaria[5]: "The share only renteth the ground; but to help this work the other parts of the plough are also needful." We say eloquence and other liberal arts are to be likened to that part of the carpenter's wimble which turneth about, goeth round, and by little and little draweth in the iron or steel bit. The wooden handle entereth not into the wood, but wreatheth in the piercer: so do these arts, if they be rightly used, further the understanding of the word of God. This use Lactantius seemed to seek when he said: *Vellem mihi dari eloquentiam, vel quia magis credant homines ornatæ veritati, vel ut ipsi suis armis vincantur*[6]: "I would gladly have the gift of eloquence; either because men might give better credit to the truth when it is beautified, or else because the heathen may the sooner be overcome with their own weapons." And in another place he sheweth that this eloquence must serve and wait upon the wisdom of God: *Circumliniatur poculum cœlestis sapientiæ melle, ut intelligamus non hominem loqui, sed Deum*[7]: "Let the cup (of your speech) be seasoned with the honey of God's wisdom; that we may know it is God that speaketh, and not man." Where this is not done, but men give themselves rather to be curious in hearing eloquence and pleasantness of speech than desirous to learn the truth, the word of God becometh unfruitful; as it is to be feared in many that they little account of the gospel of Christ, but seek to please their itching ears with fantasies of men. Augustine saith to such: *Bonorum ... ingeniorum insignis est indoles, in verbis verum amare, non verba. Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest? quando nihil [aliud] quærimus, nisi ut pateat quod clausum est*[8]: "Such as be of good disposition seek not after words, but after the truth; for what availeth a key of gold, if it cannot open that we would have opened? and what hurteth a key of wood, if it can open? seeing we desire no other thing, but that it be opened unto us which is shut."

De Civit. Dei, Lib. xvi. cap. ii.

Lib. iii. Inst. cap. i.

Lactant. Inst. Lib. v. cap. i.

De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xi.

The second let or stay that Hiericho be not restored is, that the people may be instructed why it was overthrown, and why God hath cursed them that shall seek to restore it. This knowledge is a singular gift of God. When the Lord declared his favour towards Israel, among other his special mercies he spake in this sort: "This shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel: after those days I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts, and will be their God; and they shall be my people; and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord; for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord." And again our Saviour saith out of the prophet Esay: "They shall all be taught of God." And in the seventeenth of St John he saith: "This is life eternal, that they know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." To this end and for this cause "he gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the gathering together of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edification of the body of Christ; ... that we henceforth be no more children, wavering and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the deceit of men, and with craftiness, whereby they lay wait to deceive." Therefore doth St Peter call upon them that are of the church of God in all places, that they shew forth the mercies of God, that they witness unto all the world what the Lord hath done for them, in filling them with all spiritual knowledge and understanding: "Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you." Therefore doth God give charge to his people the children of Israel to hear his law and keep his commandments, not as an ordinance that should stand good but for a season, which should be kept only by

Jer. xxxi.

John vi.

John xvii.

Eph. iv.

1 Pet. iii.

[5 August. Op. De Civ. Dei, Lib. xvi. cap. ii. 3. Tom. VII. col. 416.]

[6 Vellem mihi...aliquam...eloquentiæ contingere facultatem...vel quod magis possent credere homines ornatæ veritati...vel certe, ut ipsi philosophi suis armis...opprimerentur a nobis.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. iii. cap. i. Tom. I. pp. 189, 90.]

[7 Circumlinatur modo poculum cœlesti melle sapientiæ, ut possint ab imprudentibus amara remedia sine offensione potari.—Id. ibid. Lib. v. cap. i. pp. 360, 1.]

[8 August. Op. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iv. cap. xi. 26. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 74; where *nisi patere*.]

them; but also requireth that they teach the same to their posterity, that so his
Deut. vi. great blessings may never be forgotten. For thus he saith: "These words which I command thee this day shall be in thine heart, and thou shalt rehearse them continually unto thy children, and shall[1] talk of them when thou tarriest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Thus doth God, by promise that he will give the Spirit of knowledge and of understanding unto his people, and by raising up labourers whom he hath sent forth into his vineyard, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and pastors, and teachers, and by his earnest commandment that we gave ear to his word, and speak of his wonderful kindness shewed unto us and our forefathers, make it appear how needful a thing it is that we know his will. Without this knowledge we cannot love him as our Father, we cannot fear him as our Lord.

But when we see the miserable blindness and ignorance in all places abroad, what hope may we have to see Hiericho suppressed and quite overthrown? It cannot be but great inconveniences shall follow in the church of God, as confusion of order, and dissolution of life, to the endangering of the state, unless by godly care of the magistrates some help be provided. This care must shew itself in removing blind watchmen, which have no knowledge, who are but dumb dogs, that cannot bark, who lie and sleep, and delight in sleeping.
Isai. lvi. These "greedy dogs can never have enough," saith the prophet Esay. Non-residence and absence from their cure is a fault that would be amended in the shepherds of the Lord's flock. Though they be never so able to instruct, and therefore worthy to have the rooms in the church; yet, if they have not a desire to do good, if they feed not Christ's sheep, if they be strangers to the people of their charge, if they be not at hand to give their flocks their bread in due season, what let may there be, but that ignorance and blindness shall grow and increase in the people?

Another fault, no less hurtful to the church of God, is the suffering of pluralities, when one man taketh the profit of two or more benefices, which is not worthy of one. These non-residents and plurality-men teach not, they know not, nor care for the people of their charge: they have brought this confusion and shame into the house of God. They are blind guides, they are the darkness of the world. Against those which are such God sheweth his heavy
Ezek. xxxiv. displeasure: "My sheep," saith he, "wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered through all the earth; and none
Ibid. did seek or search after them." And again: "Neither did my shepherds seek my sheep; but the shepherds feed[2] themselves, and not my sheep." And by
Jer. ii. the prophet Jeremy he saith: "They that should minister the law knew me
Jer. x. not." And again: "The pastors are become beasts, and have not sought the Lord; therefore have they none understanding; and all the flocks of their pastures are scattered." These either be a remnant of the wicked inhabitants of Hiericho, that resist the passage of God's people towards the land of promise, or such as have forgotten the commandment of the Lord, and have given themselves to do the sins of the people whom the Lord gave over unto them. These be they that seek the restoring of Hiericho, and the overthrow of Hierusalem; therefore the curse of God will fall upon them: the blood of God's people shall be required at their hands, because they bring the abomination of desolation into the holy place; because they suffer Christ's flock to perish for lack of knowledge, and to be carried away after every wind of false doctrine. God grant all such, that they may see with their eyes, and understand in their hearts, and know the gracious goodness of the Lord, that the people be not through their negligence like horse and mule; but that they may discern between darkness and light, and between Hiericho and Hierusalem; that they may be able to give a reason of the faith which is in them, and that they may teach the same unto their children. So shall we be built upon a rock, so shall we stand as firm as mount Sion, so shall we never be confounded.

---

[1] Shalt, 1583, 1609.] [2] Fed, 1583.]

The third means to stay the building of Hiericho is to be thankful for the benefits which God hath bestowed upon us, and in such sort to lead our life that it may appear we be his servants. To this end God hath given his holy word, and to this end hath he left his holy sacraments, that we should be put in mind of his kindness, and not become unmindful or unthankful, and so receive his grace in vain.

But you will say, What thanks shall I give? Some lead me one way, and some another: some say, Here is Christ; some say, There is Christ: I know not nor wherefore nor how to yield thanks. Hereto a short answer cannot suffice; and a long would be tedious. Let us call to remembrance the lesson that was given us in this place on Sunday last[3]: let us "search the scriptures." Esay the prophet saith: "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak[4] not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Chrysostom saith: *Nullo modo cognoscitur quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodo per scripturas*[5]: "By no means may it be known which is the true church of Christ, but only by the scriptures." Without them our faith is no faith: without the help of them we cannot know Christ from antichrist, we cannot know the church of Christ from the synagogue of Satan: hereby let us learn to know Hierusalem, hereby let us learn to know Hiericho. Certainly, if the word of God and the breath of his mouth be not able to shew this, tradition and custom shall be much less able.

Isai. viii.

Hom. 49, in Opere imperfecto.

It is a good thing to be thankful, and to praise the name of the Most High: the servants of God find cause of thankfulness in consideration of the great and wonderful mercies continually poured upon them. Moses commanded Nisan to be the first month in the year, because God had delivered Israel from the hand of Pharao in that month. In like sort "Mardocheus the Jew and Esther the queen sent letters unto all the Jews that were through all the provinces of the king Assuerus, both near and far, enjoining[7] them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adir with joy and feasting," for that upon that day God had delivered them from the hand of Haman; and that they would not fail to observe the same every year.

Exod. xii.

[Esth. ix.][6]

Upon this day, even upon this day, I say, the seventeenth of this month, God sent his handmaid and delivered us. Let us be kind and thankful unto God for so great a blessing. I say not, Let us make it the first day of the year: yet this I say, Let us have it in remembrance, let us sing with the prophet, "When the Lord brought again the captivity of Sion, we were like them that dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with joy.... The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we rejoice." Let no man be offended herewith: it is only a remembrance of the mercy of God; it behoveth us to remember it, it is good to speak of it. For, if we have eyes to see, and neglect not our own salvation, we have now much greater cause to rejoice than David had; because the things which are this day restored unto us by the goodness of our God are far greater and worthier than those which David and the people of Israel received in their deliverance out of the captivity of Babylon. For, by how much the heavens are greater than the earth, and God is more excellent than a creature; so much doth the knowledge of God and his true worship pass all worldly blessing, and all other felicity that can be devised under the sun. For what knoweth he which knoweth not God? Or what worshippeth he which worshippeth not God? He that worshippeth not God hath not the comfort of God; but he that hath God, and knoweth God, and serveth God, hath a sure help and defence in all assays. Let us therefore be glad and rejoice; let us witness our joy, and sing unto the Lord a new song. Let us kindle in our hearts the fire of the love of God and of our neighbour, and let the flame thereof break out to the glory of God. Let

Psal. cxxvi.

---

[3] If reference be made to John v. as the lesson of the previous Sunday, then this sermon must have been preached in the year 1569; as Nov. 13, on which day that chapter is read, fell that year on a Sunday.]

[4] Spake, 1583.]

[5] Qui ergo vult cognoscere quæ sit vera ecclesia Christi, unde cognoscat, nisi tantummodo per scripturas?—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xlix. ex cap. xxiv. Tom. VI. p. cciv.]

[6] Inserted from 1583.]

[7] Enjoying, 1583.]

us deck the altars of our hearts with the flourishing branches of virtue and good works; let us sacrifice and kill our lusts and affections. In this manner if we shew our thankfulness towards God, we shall hinder the wicked purpose of them that wish the restoring of Hiericho; we shall see the land of God's promise, and enter into his rest.

The fourth stay to hinder this building is discipline; which is so needful that neither without it shall ye be able thoroughly to discomfort those that seek to build up Hiericho again, nor yourselves happily and prosperously to go on forward in setting forth the glory and majesty of our God, and to pass safely to the country promised. It is as the sinews of the church to strengthen it, and to join and knit the parts thereof together. But, because the time is passed, and this matter weighty and worthy of larger discourse, I will leave it to your godly considerations, and for some other time.

And thou, O merciful Father, rise up, we beseech thee, to judge thine own cause, stablish the thing thou hast begun in us, guide our feet in the way of peace, give force unto thy word, bless thine inheritance, blow down the walls of Hiericho: so shall Hierusalem prosper, and her walls be made strong: so shall the day-star lighten our hearts: so shall Israel rejoice, and all the people truly know thee, and praise thy name for ever. Amen.

HAGGAI I.

Ver. 2. *Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, This people say, The time is not yet come, that the Lord's house should be builded.*

3. *Then came the word of the Lord by the ministry of the prophet Haggai, saying,*

4. *Is it time for yourselves to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste?*

THESE words be written in the first chapter of the prophet Aggeus. For better understanding whereof, I must call to your remembrance the story of that time, upon occasion whereof these words were spoken.

Almighty God, being for many and sundry causes highly displeased with his people the Jews, after he had chastened them many ways, and saw none amendment, at the last gave them over into the hands of their enemies, and suffered both the king and all the people of the country to be carried away prisoners into Babylon; where they continued in misery the space of seventy years. In the mean season their country partly lay waste, and grew full of wild beasts, partly was inhabited by foreigners; the temple that Salomon had built them, the stateliest and richest work of the whole world, was burnt to the ground, and all the ornaments thereof ravened up, and carried into Babylon.

After fifty years king Cyrus shewed favour towards his people, and did license them to depart home again. But, as they were about the building, upon occasion of complaint of their enemies the whole work was stayed. At the length, after seventy years, God remembered his promise and mercy, and stirred up the heart of king Darius, king of Persia, who had then conquered the Chaldees, to license the Jews to depart home again into their country, and to re-edify their city and temple. This king Darius (as the rabbins or doctors of the Jews and most part of learned men conjecture) was son unto the king Assuerus, begotten of the good lady queen Hester, which lady Hester he married after he had imbased and divorced from him the proud and stubborn queen Vasthi. This was God's marvellous providence, by that means twice to deliver his people; first, by the good lady Hester from the tyranny of Haman, as it appeareth by the story; and after, by her child Darius clearly to deliver them, and to discharge them out of their enemies' hands for ever. The Jews, notwithstanding they had so gracious a grant of their king, yet many of them would not return home, but made their abode even there among their enemies in Babylon, and the most part of them that were returned fell to building of their own houses, and left the house of God unbuilded; so soon they had

Esth. iii.

forgotten God's mercy towards them. In the time of their trouble they cried out, If I shrink from God, I pray God shrink from me: but, being restored home and at liberty, they said, as the prophet here reporteth: *Nondum venit tempus, &c.:* "The time is not yet come, that the Lord's house should be builded." They saw they had many enemies on every side: the matter itself was marvellous weighty, and to their judgments almost impossible. They had begun before under king Cyrus; and, because the matter was then dashed, and their enemies prevailed against them, they were utterly discouraged and cast into despair.

Wherefore God spake to them by the prophet Aggæus: "Is it time for yourselves to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste?" Have you found leisure to set up and furnish your own house, and can you neglect the restoring of my house? my house, I say, in which my law hath been read and preached to you, where your fathers have made me sacrifices, towards which house you turned your faces whensoever you prayed unto me in Babylon, and were heard? Therefore saith the Lord: "You[1] have sown much, and bring in little; ye eat, but yet have not enough; ye looked for much, and, lo, it came to little; and, when you brought it home, I did blow it out." You set your joy upon vain things; and the same shall deceive you. This place of the prophet Aggeus I have thought good to apply to the present state of our time. For, as then the city of Hierusalem was miserably rased, and the temple of God burnt down by heathens; even so hath it fared in time lately past with the church of Christ here among us. And as then God mollified and softened the heart of the king Darius for the delivery of his people, even so of his great mercy hath he now stirred up a most noble and virtuous lady, our sovereign queen Elizabeth, for the same purpose. And as then there were many that set light by God's benefits, and thought it meet enough for him to wait upon their leisure; even so I pray God the same security be not found in us at this time. I pray God there be none of us that make light of God's grace, and say in our hearts: *Nondum venit tempus, &c.:* "The time is not yet come, that the Lord's house should be builded."

1. Wherefore, first, I will prove, by God's grace, that our church hath been overgrown with errors and abuses, as then the temple of Hierusalem was defaced by the Chaldees.

2. Secondly, I will shew what things they be that do stay men from re-edifying of this temple.

3. Last of all, after what sort this church ought to be builded, and so I will leave you to God.

[Prayers.][2]

Touching the first part I shall not need many words; for God hath in our days sufficiently revealed, and we have seen the state of the church in time past. And, indeed, the errors and abuses have been so gross, that whoso cannot see them with his eyes, yet may feel and grope them with his fingers. Yet, because I know some are not thoroughly persuaded herein, but think that the church of Rome hath evermore been pure and without spot; and some others in their writings call it the rule of the truth, that whatsoever the church saith, whatsoever it be, must needs be true;—as Sylvester saith, it is *infallibilis regula*[3], "a rule that never deceiveth;" some set it above the word of God, as the same Sylvester, *A doctrina ecclesiæ Romanæ et Romani pontificis sacra scriptura robur trahit et auctoritatem*[4]; "The holy scripture taketh force and authority of that doctrine of the church and bishop of Rome;" and as Cusanus, *Sequuntur... scripturæ ecclesiam,... et non e converso*[6]; "The scriptures follow the church, and not, on the con-

[Sylvest. Prieriæs contr. Lutherum.]

Epist. 2 ad Bohem.

[1] Ye, 1583.]

[2] This is inserted from 1583.]

[3] Silvester quotes with approbation the opinion of Thomas and other doctors, that...quilibet teneatur inhærere doctrinæ ecclesiæ tanquam regulæ infallibili.—Silvestr. Summ. Summar. Bonon. 1515. Eccles. 1. fol. 185.]

[4] Sylvest. Prier. In Luth. Concl. Dial. in Luth. Op. Witeb. 1554-83. Tom. I. fol. 159. 2. See before, page 216, note 4.]

[5] This reference is inserted from 1583.]

[6] N. de Cus. Op. Bas. 1565. Ad Bohem. Epist. vii. p. 858.]

trary part, the church followeth the scriptures:" others say, *Impossibile hæreticari, &c.*: "It is not possible he should fall into heresies which followeth the church of Rome:" some others say that, if Christ and his apostles were alive, they were not able to rule the church in better sort than is[1] now ruled by the pope and his cardinals: thus some school-doctors have written; I am able to allege mine authors:—therefore I must of force stand upon this matter a little; not because I think it needful, but that all men may be satisfied.

First, Christ our Saviour, as he foreshewed the prosperous course of the gospel, that it should be preached throughout the world, and that the gates of hell should not be able to withstand it; so he and his apostles forewarned also the ruin and decay of that church; and that in so many places, and in so plain words, that no man can doubt of it or deny it.

Matt. xxiv. For Christ, alleging the prophet Daniel, saith that abomination should sit in the holy place, and that there should be such confusion and disorder, that if it [Luke xviii.?] were possible the very elect should be perverted. He saith that, when he shall come to judge, there shall scarcely be found faith in the world. Paul likewise 2 Thess. ii. saith that the man of sin, that is, such a one as in all things should be contrary to Christ, and is called antichrist, should sit in the temple of God, and bear himself as if he were God indeed.

Dan. viii. Daniel saith: "The truth shall be cast down to the ground." And to Timothy 1 Tim. iv. Paul saith: "In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall 2 Pet. ii. give heed to spirits of error and doctrines of devils." St Peter saith: "There shall be false teachers among you."

And where saith Christ[3] (I beseech you consider) this horrible desolation should be? Among the Turks or Jews? No, but in the holy place. Where shall the Son of man scarcely find faith? Where shall the very elect stand in doubt what they may believe? Among the heathens or infidels? No, but in the church. Where saith St Peter shall be the masters of lies? Where saith Daniel shall the truth be trodden down? Where saith St Paul shall the man of sin perch, and settle, and behave himself as if he were very God? Among the heathen? No, no, good brethren, but *in templo Dei*, "in the temple of God," in the very church, among them that should bear the name of Christ.

But, forasmuch as it cannot be doubted among christian men, that Christ and his apostles appointed the church in their time in such sort as no better could be devised; let us compare the church of late time to that original, as the use is in trying of measures, where, in trial whether is true or false, ye have evermore recourse to the standard; for, if there be any fault, whatsoever it be, the standard will bewray it. This order Christ himself used with the priests and Pharisees, saying: *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur*: "My house shall be called the house Matt. xxi. of prayer. But you" have gone from the pattern or original, and you "have made it a harbour for thieves." And, whereas the contention stood upon divorce, Christ Matt xix. called them to the first original: *A principio non fuit sic*: "From the beginning it[4] was not so:" "they twain shall be one flesh." And St Paul, when the holy mystery of the Lord's supper was abused, called them home to the first institution: 1 Cor. xi. "I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered unto you." By Matt. xxii. this standard Christ reproved the Sadducees: *Erratis, nescientes scripturas*: "You err, not knowing the scriptures." And by the same he confuted the devil, when Matt. iv. he came to tempt him: *Scriptum est*: "It is written." This standard shall be able to warrant us, if we can say truly, *Scriptum est.* For, as the learned father Iren. Lib. iii. cap. i. Irenæus saith: *Scriptura est basis et fundamentum fidei nostræ*[5]: "The scripture is the pillar and foundation of our faith." It is rashness to believe without the warrant or direction of the scriptures: it is not devotion, nor catholic faith, but foolish rashness. Now, how many ways and in how many points the church of late days hath dissented from the church of Christ and of the apostles (which no

---

[1 Than it is, 1583, 1609.]

[2 This reference is inserted from 1583.]

[3 1583 repeats the three words *where saith Christ* after *consider.*]

[4 Is, 1611.]

[5 ...quod quidem tunc præconaverunt [apostoli], postea vero per Dei voluntatem in scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. III, cap. i. p. 173.]

doubt was the catholic church), it were almost an infinite work to reckon up. For they disagree in so many things, that in manner they agree in nothing. Notwithstanding, I will lay out one or two things before you; and by them your wisdoms shall guess the rest.

Christ gave the sacrament of his body and blood to be frequented in the congregation, that all should be partakers thereof in remembrance of his death, and said: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem:* "Do you[6] this in remembrance of me." Thus Christ himself ordained and commanded; thus the apostles, and the catholic fathers in the primitive church, used it; and there can no commandment nor example be shewed forth to the contrary. Yet our latter[7] fathers, against Christ, against the apostles, against the primitive church, have thought it sufficient that one priest alone should communicate for all the rest. Luke xxii.

Christ delivered the holy communion under both kinds, and so it was[8] used in the primitive church and in the times of the doctors Chrysostom, Ambrose, Gregory, Augustine, and Hierome. But our fathers in the council holden at Constance of late years have gone from the original, and have decreed against Christ himself, against his apostles, and doctors, that to minister the communion to a layman under both kinds is an open heresy[9]. Alas! good brethren, I beseech you consider by the way, in what state was the church of Christ then, when Christ's own institution and the apostles' doctrine was called heresy?

Christ, his apostles, and the catholic fathers used their prayers in a common tongue, that the people might perceive what was said in the church, and say Amen. But how near our latter[7] fathers come to that original, it needeth no rehearsal: for you have heard it taught you as a necessary doctrine, that your prayers should be in the Latin tongue, although you did not understand what ye prayed for; and that kind of prayer hath been called devotion.

God left order to his church: *Non facies tibi sculptile:* "Thou shalt not make thee any graven image." From Christ's time for the space of five hundred years there was no allowance of images in the catholic church; but our latter[7] fathers cannot take it for a church, unless it be decked and set about with images.

The apostles were married (as Ignatius and Ambrose witness[10]); and so were others the ministers of the church after them, as it is well known, for one thousand years after Christ. To hold good this original, there have been certain canons set down: *Si quis docuerit, sacerdotem sub obtentu religionis propriam uxorem contemnere, anathema sit*[11]: "If any man teach that a priest, for colour of religion, should contemn his wife, let him be accursed." And the general council holden at Gangra, as it is set down also by Gratian: "If any put difference between the priest that is married, by reason of his marriage, that he should not offer, and for that cause cometh not to his offering, he is accursed[12]:" yet pope Hildebrand, one of the latter[7] fathers, decreed and commanded, that no man should hear such priest's mass that had a wife; but caused their tenth to be burnt, their prayers and blessings to be holden as curses, and the sacrament which they had consecrate to be spit at and trodden under men's feet[13]. Dist. 28. Si quis. Dist. 28. Si quis discernit.

You will say, These be but small matters, and may be borne withal for decency and good order. But you shall understand, that the canons of the apostles, and divers of the first bishops of Rome, and other holy fathers required that all such as were present at the ministration of the communion should also be partakers of the sacrament[14]; and accounted worthy to be put out of the church whosoever would not communicate with the minister. And Chrysostom calleth such a one impudent and malapert: *Quisquis mysteriorum consors non est, &c.*[15]: "Whosoever," saith he, "doth not communicate, and standeth by, he is Hom. 3. ad Eph.

[6] Ye, 1583.] [7] Later, 1583.]

[8] Was it, 1583.]

[9] Concil. Constant. Sess. xiii. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XII. col. 100.]

[10] See before, page 727, notes 19, 23.]

[11] Can. Apost. c. 6. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxviii. can. 14. col. 142.]

[12] Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit.—Ex Concil. Gangrens. c. 4. in eod. ibid. can. 15.]

[13] Concil. Rom. I. sub Gregor. VII. col. 313. Conf. Apolog. cap. 1, 13. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. X. cols. 315, 6, 326, &c.]

[14] See before, pages 119, 143, 4, 176, 200, &c.]

[15] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i. Hom. iii. Tom. XI. p. 23. See before, page 200, note 1.]

shameless and malapert." Communion under one kind is no small matter, but such a matter, and of such weight, that Gelasius calleth it open sacrilege to minister the sacrament in one kind[1].

De Consecr. Dist. 2. Canone comperimus.

Common prayer in a strange tongue is such a matter that it taketh away the very use of common prayer. For the people (as Paul saith) cannot say Amen, nor be edified, nor give God thanks. And the emperor Justinian, in a law that he maketh touching the public prayers of the church, saith thus: "We command all bishops and priests to minister the holy oblation, and the prayer at the holy baptism, not under silence, but with such voice as may be heard of the faithful people; to the intent that the hearers may be stirred up to more devotion, &c. And let the holy priests understand that, if they neglect any of these things, they shall make answer therefore at the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And yet nevertheless we ourselves, understanding the same, will not pass it over, nor leave it unpunished[2]."

To have images in the church of God is no small matter. It is forbidden by a general council called Eliberinum[3]; and Epiphanius, a catholic father, calleth it abomination[4].

The violent enforcing of sole life is such a matter, that St Paul calleth it *doctrinam dæmoniorum*, "the doctrine of devils." And Daniel saith it is one of the marks of antichrist: "Neither shall he regard the desires of women." Which place St Hierome expoundeth: *Ideo antichristus simulat castitatem, ut plurimos decipiat*[5]: "Therefore doth antichrist feign or pretend chastity, that he may deceive many."

Dan. xi.

Thus far they disagree from the original of God's word. But they use commonly to say, the church was then in her minority and infancy; afterward she was better informed. So when Christ, and the apostles, and the doctors please them, they shall rule the matters, they shall be holy doctors and holy fathers; if not, they shall not be patterns to follow, but children and infants. They use them as merchants use their counters; for that counter, which now standeth for a pound, anon after shall be removed and made a simple halfpenny. Yet notwithstanding they cry fathers, doctors, church; and yet indeed do all things contrary to the church of Christ, contrary to the doctors and fathers of the church.

Two principal things there be that seem to bear up the whole brunt of the religion that hath been in the world of late time: the one is the mass, and things thereunto belonging; the other is the authority of the pope. These two I will briefly compare to the first original, only running over certain special branches of them both, in as few words as I can devise.

And as touching the mass, if there be any man here that hath any good opinion of it, and is also learned and able to judge, let him think with himself, what doctor or father in the primitive church ever used, or taught us to use, a private mass; what doctor or father ever heard of ten, twenty, or thirty masses in one church said at one time; what father or doctor ever taught the priest to communicate for other. Chrysostom noteth it is an error to say, the sacraments received of one may do good to others that receive them not[6]. What father or doctor ever taught that *hoc facite* was *hoc sacrificate?* What doctor or father ever taught us that the bread is transubstantiate into Christ's body? I assure you, that word was never heard of until now within little more than three hundred years, under Innocentius the third. What father or doctor taught us that there remain *accidentia sine subjecto?* that Christ's body is in a hundred thousand places at once? that the priest should hold the bread over his head, and turn his back

Hom. 40. in 1 ad Cor.

[1 Gelas. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 12. col. 1918. See before, page 9, note 8.]

[2 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. XX. Novell. cxxxvii. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7 See before, page 287, note 10.]

[3 Concil. Elib. can. 36. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 974. See before, page 659, note 21.]

[4 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Epist. ad Joan. Episc. Hieros. Hieron. Interp. Tom. II. p. 317. See before, page 644.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Daniel. Proph. cap. xi. Tom. III. col. 1131. See before, page 911, note 8.]

[6 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. xl. Tom. X. p. 378. See before, page 23, note 9.]

to the people? that the sacrament should be hanged up in a canopy for the people to adore? What father ever taught us that their communion-bread should be round, because the earth is round? that the priest should kiss the altar, because Judas kissed Christ? that he should wash his fingers, because Pilate washed his hands? that he should knock his breast, in token of the thief's repentance upon the cross? Those things have been written by Durand, Bonaventure, and Innocentius, and others like of late time[7]; but the fathers in the primitive church never heard of them.

Yet some men of late time have beaten into your heads, that these and many other like things have come by succession, even from the primitive church and from the apostles. But so the conjurers and sorcerers say that their books of conjuration and sorcery came from Moses, from Enoch, and from Abel. Plutarch writeth that Theseus, Romulus, Hercules, and other like princely gentlemen, indeed were bastards, and were begotten of fathers of very low degree; but, after they came into honour and estimation, the people (because they knew not whose sons they were) thought they had come from heaven, and therefore they called them the sons of the gods.

Even so these things that I have here reported, notwithstanding indeed they are base-born, yet, because they have stolen into the church, and have been had in honour, some men have taught you they have come even from heaven, and therefore they have fathered them upon Christ and his apostles. But in the mean season they have not dealt justly with you, but have done wrong both to Christ and to his apostles. Hierome, writing upon Aggeus, saith: *Quæ absque auctoritate et testimoniis scripturarum quasi traditione apostolica sponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutit gladius Dei*[8]*:* "The sword of God striketh those things, which men find out and devise of themselves without the authority and testimonies of the scriptures, and deliver forth as if they came by the tradition of the apostles." Hieron. in I. Agg.

Again, what catholic father taught us that the pope is the head of the church, above kings, above councils, above the word of God, greater and of more authority than the apostles? that he cannot err? that the whole world is his diocese? that he may not be judged, whatsoever he do, although he draw a thousand souls down into hell? that he is neither man nor God, but a mixture meddled together of God and man? All these things our later fathers have written of the pope[9]; and yet I leave a hundred things untouched. Thus far have they gone from their original and pattern.

But what greater disorder can there be in the church of God than when antichrist shall come and sit in the place of God? There is an old fable of antichrist, that, when he cometh, he would turn trees upside down, and do such-like wonders. But the marks whereby antichrist shall be known indeed are otherwise set down in the holy scriptures. In his coming, "abomination shall stand in the holy place; and truth shall be thrown down in the earth."

I know many men are offended to hear the pope pointed out for antichrist, and think it an uncharitable kind of doctrine: therefore I refrain to use any such names, and only will report to you of other, by what tokens antichrist, when he cometh, may be known. Gregory, as it were in the spirit of prophecy, writing against John bishop of Constantinople, saith: *Rex superbiæ prope est, et (quod dici nefas est) sacerdotum est præparatus exercitus*[10]*:* "The king of pride is at hand; and (which is unlawful to be said) an army of priests is prepared." By these tokens, saith Gregory, you may know him: he shall be the prince of pride, and he shall have an army of priests to wait upon him. In another place he saith: *Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit*[11]*:* "Whosoever calleth himself the universal Gregor. Lib. IV. Epist. 38. Gregor. Lib. VI. Epist. 30.

---

[7] See before, page 15, note 15; page 16, notes 1, 3, 4, 5; also the Reply to M. Harding's Answer, Articles 1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13.]

[8] Hieron. Op. Comm. in Agg. Proph. cap. i. Tom. III. col. 1690.]

[9] See before, page 93, note 2; page 400, note 7; pages 442, 3.]

[10] Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. Tom. II. col. 744. See before, page 345, note 7.]

[11] Id. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. col. 881.]

priest, or desireth so to be called, in the pride of his heart is the forerunner of antichrist." These words were written by Gregory more than nine hundred years since.

If there were ever any that might be known by these tokens, which was or is "the prince of pride," and is called or desireth to be called the "universal priest" or "bishop," or "hath an army of priests;" I leave that to your judgment, whether the same be he whom Gregory describeth, or some other. I pray God to lighten the eyes of all the world, that all the world may spy him, and the man of sin may be revealed.

When the woman of Samaria saw the miracles that Christ had done, and heard some men doubt whether he were Messias or no: "Why (quoth she), when Messias shall come, shall he do more signs than this man hath shewed?" So may we say by the bishop of Rome: When antichrist shall come, shall he work more signs than they of that see have done? shall he work more disorder in the church? shall he do more to the dishonour of God, and against Christ?

Some man will say that, for unity sake, it is meet that some man be named head of the church. But Gregory saith: *Si quantitatem vocis perpendimus, duæ sunt syllabæ; si pondus iniquitatis, universa pernicies*[1]: "If we weigh the quantity of the word, it standeth in two syllables: if we consider the weight of the wickedness, it is an universal destruction." Unto Anastasius the bishop of Antioch he writeth thus: "To dissemble the injury done to your honour, if one bishop be called universal, then, if that one universal bishop fall, the whole universal church goeth to ground[2]." Therefore Franciscus Zabarella, a canonist, seeing the great inconveniences that grew hereof, saith: "The popes do now whatsoever they list to do, yea, although it be unlawful, and are become more than God. Hereof hath followed infinite errors; for the pope hath invaded and entered upon all the right of the inferior churches; so that the inferior bishops may go for nought; and, unless God help the state of the church, the universal church is in danger[3]." In consideration of this great danger which hereby groweth to the whole church, Gregory saith to John the bishop of Constantinople: *Tu quid Christo universalis... ecclesiæ capiti in extremi judicii dicturus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibimet conaris universalis appellatione supponere*[4]? "What answer wilt thou make at the trial of the last judgment unto Christ, the head of the universal church, which thus by the name of universal bishop seekest to make all his members subject unto thee?" This decay of the church the old catholic fathers foresaw in their time. When Constantinus the emperor endowed the church with lands and possessions, they say there was a voice of angels heard in the air, saying: *Hodie venenum infunditur in ecclesiam*[5]: "This day poison is poured into the church." If there were poison poured into the church then, I doubt there was never triacle poured into it since. This we see, that from that time she hath done worse and worse. Augustine findeth fault with the multitude of ceremonies, and saith, the church in his time was in worse case by man's devices than was the church of the Jews[6]. Bernard said: "There is no part sound in the clergy[7]." And again: "They which choose the first places in the church are chiefest in persecuting Christ[8]." And again: *Non doctores, sed*

Gregor. Lib. vi. Epist. 30.

Lib. vi. Epist. 24.

Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

Johan. de Paris. cap. xxii. in Vita Silvestri.

[1 Id. ibid. See before, page 96, note 2.]

[2 Et ut de honoris vestri injuria taceam, si unus episcopus vocatur universalis, universa ecclesia corruit, si unus universus cadit.—Id. ibid. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873. Conf. before, page 374, note 2.]

[3 Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia male considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus per multa retro tempora, et usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis quod omnia possent, et sic quod facerent quicquid liberet etiam illicita, et sic plus quam Deus. Ex hoc etiam infiniti secuti sunt errores, quia papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum ecclesiarum; ita quod inferiores prælati sunt pro nihilo: et nisi Deus succurrat statui ecclesiæ, universalis ecclesia periclitatur.—Francis. de Zabarell. De Schism. Pont. in Auth. Var. de Jurisd. Autor. et Præem. Imper. a Schard. Bas. 1566. pp. 703, 4.]

[4 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 742; where *es dicturus*.]

[5 Johan. de Parrhis. de Potest. Reg. et Papal. cap. xxii. in Goldast. Monarch. Rom. Imp. Hanov. et Franc. 1612-14. Tom. II. p. 140; where, *hodie in ecclesia venenum effusum est*.]

[6 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Inquis. Januar. seu Epist. lv. 35. Tom. II. col. 142. See before, page 138, note 2.]

[7 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Psalm. Qui hab. Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. iii. col. 838. See before, page 769.]

[8 Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. iii. col. 656. See below, page 1021.]

seductores; non pastores, sed impostores; non prælati, sed Pilati[9]: "They be not teachers, but deceivers: they are not feeders, but beguilers: they be not prelates, but Pilates."

What should I hold you with calling the fathers to witness in this matter? They themselves that have been proctors for the church of Rome are contented sometimes to acknowledge that they have forsaken the original. Latomus findeth fault that the Lord's supper was ministered to the people in one kind only[10]. Abbas Panormitane[11], Faber, Pius Secundus[12], found fault with the forbidding of priests' marriage. *Ex agamia* (saith Faber) *multi lapsi sunt in pedicas diaboli:* "Many have fallen into the snares of the devil by forsaking marriage;" and further expresseth the mischievous purpose of those which brought such ordinance into the church by a similitude, saying: *Araneæ texunt subtilia retia, &c.*[13]: "Spiders weave their webs so small and fine that they may scarcely be seen: if any thing fall into them, they first set upon the head thereof, and so take away all sense and feeling." Albertus Pighius confessed there were errors and abuses in the mass[14]. I will say nothing of their life[15]. Some of themselves say that they succeed Peter in place, but Judas in life. Boniface, being himself a bishop, said: "In old time we had treen chalices and golden priests; but now we have treen priests and golden chalices[16]." And Adrian, being also a bishop, said: *Succedimus non Petro in docendo, sed Romulo in parricidio*[17]: "We succeed not Peter in teaching, but Romulus in slaughter of our brethren."

Yet notwithstanding (say they) we are successors to Peter, and vicars of Christ: we are the church. But Christ taketh it for an argument against the scribes and Pharisees: "This did not Abraham." You are not the church, you are of your father the devil. And Micheas: "My priests teach for reward, and my prophets prophesy for money; and yet they rest themselves upon the Lord, and say, Is not God in the midst of us?" Are not we the church? "Therefore night shall be unto you for a vision, and darkness shall be unto you for a divination, and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them." Mic. iii.

I will speak nothing of the blindness of the time past; for our adversaries take that for a special hold, and call ignorance the mother of devotion; and say, scriptures are a buckler and a defence for heretics. Not long sithence in this city there were certain interrogatories put forth, to inquire of such as then they called heretics, wherein one inquiry was made in this sort: "Item, whether you know or have heard of any person or persons within your parish that hath kept, or at this present doth keep, any heretical, naughty, and seditious book or books, especially English testaments or bibles." I feign not this of myself: the book is to be seen, imprinted even in this yard[18]. But this matter will soon be answered, will they say; for it followeth, "falsely translated." That were somewhat, if they would appoint you out one that were translated aright, or did allow any translation of the testament in English to be used.

Whensoever any great eclipse chanceth in the sun or moon, some marvellous impression, or change, or mortality followeth upon the earth: even so, when true knowledge faileth in the church of God, it cannot be but the souls of the people

---

[9 See before, page 162, note 3.]

[10 See before, page 62, note 5.]

[11 Panorm. (N. de Tudesch.) sup. Tert. Decretal. Venet. 1475. Lib. III. Tit. iv. cap. 6. fol. c. 2.]

[12 Platin. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Pius II. p. 295.]

[13 ... agamiam acceptaverunt aliæ ecclesiæ; unde plurimi per deteriorem incontinentiam lapsi, in pedicas inciderunt diaboli. Araneos vides, veneno turgentes, tam subtilia retia texere, quæ oculos fallere possint: quicquid incidit, mortifero morsu necant, et primum quod aggrediuntur caput est, sensus auferentes.—J. Fabr. Stapul. Comm. in Paul. Epist. Par. 1531. Lib. x. cap. iii. fol. 160.]

[14 Alb. Pigh. Explic. Cathol. Contr. Par. 1586. Controv. VI. fol. 123. 2.]

[15 Lifes, 1611.]

[16 Ex Conc. Trib. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. i. can. 44. col. 1900. See before, page 121, note 13.]

[17 Scriptum reperitur, non diu antea cum moreretur, dixisse eum: Non esse in terris aliud vitæ genus calamitosius papatu; et sanguine parare pontificatum, non esse Petro, sed Romulo potius succedere, qui propter monarchiam occidit fratrem.—Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. fol. 108.]

[18 It is probable that some injunctions issued by bishop Bonner are referred to; but those which the Editor has been able to examine do not contain the inquiry above given. Bonner's injunctions, &c. seem generally to have been printed by Cawood, St Paul's church-yard.]

shall perish. If in the little time of Moses' absence the people forgat God, and fell to idolatry; if, when Christ slumbered, and took but a little nap in the ship, the ship began to drown; how shall it be with them that receive not Moses at all, and give no place to our Saviour Christ, who only is able to save the church from drowning? For, as Hilary saith: *Ecclesiæ, intra quas verbum Dei non vigilaverit, naufragæ sunt; non quod Christus in somnum relaxetur, sed quod somno nostro consopiatur in nobis*[1]: "Those churches are in danger of drowning wherein the word of God waketh not; not for that Christ is in any slumber, but because his word is heavy in us through our heaviness." And Origen sheweth how dangerous the state of them is where the gospel is not preached. "Such a church cannot stand before the abomination of desolation stedfast, or without danger of seducing[2]."

Hilar. in Matt. cap. viii.

And therefore Christ compareth his church to the weakest things that be. Sometimes he calleth it a vine, which, unless it evermore be propped and borne up, and looked unto, and pruned, of itself is not able to stand, but falleth to the ground, and groweth wild. Sometimes he likeneth it to a flock of sheep, which without attendance is ready to take infinite maladies: sometimes[3] to a ship, which if it be not well provided on every side, if it be destitute of light of sun and stars, is in danger of the rock, and winds, and surges of the sea: sometimes to the moon, which hath no light but from the sun.

What needeth more proof in a matter being of itself so clear? Christ himself, and Daniel and Peter and Paul, gave us warning that this confusion should come to pass in the church of God. We see with our eyes how far we are strayed from the original. We see what darkness and blindness hath been even in them that should have ruled the stern. Good men have had their eyes opened, and have pointed to us that the pilot of the ship a long time hath been antichrist. The ancient and old doctors in their time foresaw that this great captivity and confusion was coming even upon them. Our fathers of late[4] years (though our adversaries and patrons of the contrary cause, yea, the bishops of Rome and their chiefest[5] pillars) do confess that the pattern and original hath not been kept. Discipline, which is the greatest bond of the church, hath been broken: I pray God it may now be restored. The sacraments that Christ left for our most comfort have been miserably mangled and defaced. Our prayers have been without spirit and verity, and so abused that indeed they were no prayers.

What greater proofs or authorities do we look for? Now then, can there be any man so wilful, that will say there hath been no disorder in the church? or that Christ himself and his apostles (if they were alive) could rule the church in no better sort than it hath been and is by the pope and his cardinals?

But methink I hear some say, The church cannot be so forsaken, it is the house and temple of God, it is the spouse of Christ: Christ made her a sure promise that he would never forsake her. *Ero vobiscum usque ad consummationem seculi:* "I will be with you to the end of the world." All this is true; yet is it not true that every particular church of the world shall be established for ever. For was not this temple that Salomon built the temple of God? yet was it overthrown and burnt down to the ground by the Chaldees. Jupiter's image was set up in it by Antiochus. It was afterward overthrown by the emperor Titus; yet was it the temple of God. God's house is a house of prayer; yet Christ saith, *Vos fecistis speluncam latronum:* "You have made it a den of thieves." The Lord made choice of his vine, he loved it; it was a chosen heritage; yet Jeremy saith: "Many pastors have destroyed my vineyard, and trodden my portion under foot: of my chosen place they have made a desolate wilderness." Hierusalem was called the holy city; yet is she charged that she hath played the harlot and done shamefully. The Jews called themselves the

Matt. xxviii.

Luke xix.

Jer. xii.

[1 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. viii. 1. col. 644.]

[2 Animæ ergo quæ noviter susceperunt verbum, et adhuc prægnantes constitutæ, necdum fructificaverunt in eo in utero intelligibiliter habentes, non possunt sustinere stantem in loco sancto adversantem veritati sermonem, neque stare quominus seducantur persuasionibus ejus.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Matt. Comm. Ser. 43. Tom. III. pp. 861, 2.]

[3 Sometime, 1583.]

[4 Later, 1583.]

[5 Chief, 1583, 1609.]

people of God, but Christ calleth them the "synagogue of Satan." The church Rev. ii.
of God is called the holy place; yet Christ saith, the abomination of desolation, and St Paul saith, the man of sin, shall stand in the holy place.

If we believe Christ and his apostles, that forewarned us hereof; if we believe the old doctors; if we believe the writers of later years; if we believe such as God hath stirred up in our time to revive his gospel; if we believe our adversaries; if we believe our own senses and experience; let us confess that the church hath been defaced with abuses; let us give God thanks, that of his great mercies hath restored it; and let us every man endeavour to re-edify it.

God had mollified the king's heart to be gracious towards them, he had delivered them, he had restored them home to their country, he gave them prophets to call upon them, and a godly prince to rule over them; but the people cried out: "The time is not yet come, that the Lord's house should be builded." Here must I touch the causes that withhold men from the building of[6] God's temple, not all that may be reckoned, (for that would require more time,) but only the chiefest that shall come to hand.

The first seemed to be despair of the cause. For they saw it was a long travel from Babylon to Hierusalem. They had been spoiled of all they had, and were poor; and the greatest part even of their own people forsook them, and would not return home with them. Their enemies were strong, and laughed them to scorn, and hindered their buildings. Others charged them with sedition, and said, If these men may once recover their city, they will pay no more tribute, they will be no[7] longer in subjection, and this matter at length shall redound to the king's damage; look in your chronicles, and you shall find that the Jews have ever been traitors.

Even so when the man of God, Luther, was raised up by God to reform the church, a friend of his said unto him, O father Luther, you shall never be able to prevail: the pope and princes and all the world are against you; the matter is past recovery; go into your study, and say, *Deus misereatur nostri.* Even so, whensoever it pleaseth God to build up the walls of his temple, he chooseth out such, that for their own infirmities, and for the force and strength of their enemies, they might be discouraged and despair. Even now that it hath pleased God to restore his gospel, they that are of the contrary part cry out, These men be rebels, they would have no magistrate, they would have all things in common. Behold what they have done in Helvetia: behold what they have done in Germany: look out your chronicles, you shall find that all the uproars and seditions which have been these forty years have been stirred up by some of them.

But all this discouraged not the good prince Zorobabel: he armed himself with God's promise against all impossibilities, and so called the people to the building of the temple. And therefore God prospered him, and moved the king Darius' heart to make proclamation, that, whosoever would withstand Zorobabel in his doings, timber should be taken out of his own house, and a gallows made, and he thereon hanged without redemption. Even so that man of God despaired not, though he saw all the world against him, but gave the glory to God. And therefore God blessed his doings, as we see at[8] this day: for it is the cause of God, and not of man. "The zeal of the Lord of hosts hath done this." I will bring this to pass (saith the Lord) not for your sakes, but that my name may be glorified among the nations. For God chooseth the weak things[9] and the foolish things of the world. As for the adversaries, be they never so strong, he that dwelleth in the heavens laugheth them to scorn. These, through fear and despair, keep back from building the temple.

Some there be that confess that many things are out of frame, and ought to be looked on; but they say, it is no time to fall a building: we must look for a general council. And God grant we may once see that day that a general council may be called, wherein Christ may sit president, and all these matters that are now in question may have indifferent hearing, and may be decided by the word of God.

[6 Building up of, 1583.]
[7 1611 omits *no.*]
[8 1583 omits *at.*]
[9 Thinks, 1583.]

But, alas! they that make a face and shew of general councils, themselves stop and stay, that there may be no general council. When Luther made his first appeal from the pope that then was to a general council, they made him answer, that it was against the decree of pope Julius and pope Pius, that any appeal should be made from the pope to any council[1].

When the emperor had compelled them to a council, and the princes of Germany and commonweals had sent learned men thither, the bishops that were there assembled would not hear any of them preach or dispute or declare their mind. For only bishops may sit and speak in their council, and such as are sworn to maintain the pope. Æneas Sylvius, otherwise called pope Pius the second, saith: "If a bishop speak against the pope, yea, although he speak the truth, yet nevertheless he sinneth against the oath that he hath made unto the pope[2]."

Æn. Sylv. ad cap. Mag.

And last of all, when the council hath done all that it can, the whole conclusion of the matter hangeth upon the determination of the pope. Now judge you, what sentence there is like to be, where as he shall be judge in his own cause. Thus when they cry out and speak of councils, they seek delay, they mock with God and man, and indeed mean to have no council.

St Paul, after he was called of God, and touched in his heart and conscience with God's truth, appealed not to a general council, but saith: *Non acquievi carni et sanguini:* "I communicated not with flesh and blood." "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence; and the violent take it by force." There is no council above God.

Gal. i.

Matt. xi.

A council may testify the truth to be truth, but it cannot make falsehood to be truth. Augustine answered most indifferently, writing to Maximinus, a bishop of the Arians, that alleged a general council holden at Ariminum: *Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense tanquam præjudicaturus proferre concilium, &c.*[3]: "Neither may I lay to thee the council of Nice, nor mayest thou lay to me the council of Ariminum, either of us thinking thereby to find prejudice against the other; but let us lay matter to matter, cause to cause, and reason to reason, by the authority of the scriptures, which are indifferent witnesses for both."

Lib. iii. contr. Max. cap. xiv.

When Agesilaus minded to make his passage with his army through his neighbour's land, he desired licence of the prince of that country: the prince said he could make him no ready answer, but that he would take advice of his council. "Well then," said Agesilaus, "take you advisement: in the mean season I will pass through." So when our adversaries delay off, and sojourn till they may take their deliberation in a council, let them deliberate while they will; but in the mean season let us pass on in the business of God, and take the occasion offered us to build up a house to the Lord.

Some other say, it is not yet time: the bishops be they that should redress the church. Would to God they would! For they should be *lux mundi*, "the light of the world:" they should be "shepherds" and "watchmen," they should be builders of God's church. But what if the light become darkness? What if the shepherds become wolves? What if the watchmen lie asleep? What if the builders become overthrowers? Jeremy saith, the pastors have overthrown the vineyard; and is it likely that they will rear it up again? Christ said unto the bishops: "You have made my house a den of thieves;" and is it likely that they will bring it again to the former state, and make it a place of prayer? But, O merciful God, what a building is that like to be, where ignorance is the foundation, where ignorance is devotion, and the greatest corner-stone of the building! I pray God lighten their hearts with his holy Spirit, and make them to be that they profess themselves to be, the light of the world, and true labourers in God's vineyard, and faithful builders of his house.

In the mean season let us remember, that in the old law, whensoever the bishop grew out of order, God raised up sometimes prophets, sometimes princes,

[1] Sleidan. Comm. Argent. 1572. Lib. II. fol. 19.]

[2] This passage has not been found; but see Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1551. Ad Martin. Cancell. Arch. Mogunt. Epist. cccxxxviii. pp. 822—4; where the pretensions of the pope are strongly maintained.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Contr. Maxim. Arian. Lib. II. cap. xiv. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 704. See before, page 638, note 3.]

to reform the church, to redress things that were amiss, and to re-edify the decays. For the prince is keeper of the law of God, and that of both tables, as well of the first, that pertaineth to religion, as of the second, that pertaineth to good order: for he is the head of the people, not only of the commons and laity, but also of the ministers and clergy. By that authority Moses, being a magistrate, rebuked Aaron the bishop for making the golden calf. Joas, being a king, redressed the riot of the priests. Salomon, being king, first builded the temple of God, and put down the high bishop Abiathar, and set up Sadoc. Afterward the same temple, being polluted, was restored, not by the bishops, but by the kings, Ezechias, Josias, Abias, Jehosaphat; and at this time after the captivity of Babylon it was restored, not by the bishops, but by Zorobabel the prince of Juda.

And after the coming of Christ, when the emperors became christened, Constantine, a godly emperor, threatened the bishops, if they would not be ruled, he would take upon him to see them punished, as having indeed authority and power over bishops. And Justinianus in his law threateneth the bishops, that, if they would not make their prayers in a loud voice, that the people might say Amen, he would punish them with his sword; as hath been said before[4].

But what needeth more examples? When the ark of God was restored home, David, being king, played the chiefest part; David, being king, made psalms and ditties; David, being king, danced before the ark; and, being king, set the bishops and priests in order. And for this cause they are kings, even to serve the Lord. And therefore they do not well that divide commonweals in two, and devise two heads, the one for the spiritualty, the other for the laity. For St Paul saith: *Omnis anima superioribus potestatibus subdita sit:* "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Every soul, whether he be bishop, cardinal, or pope, all are subject to their prince. And Chrysostom upon that place saith: *Etiam si apostolus sis, si evangelista, sive propheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris; neque enim pietatem subvertit ista subjectio*[5]: "Yea, if thou be an apostle, if thou be an evangelist, if thou be a prophet, or of what state soever thou be; for this subjection is no hindrance to godliness." And of the superiority of princes' power Tertullian speaketh thus: *Colimus...imperatorem,...ut hominem a Deo secundum,...solo Deo minorem*[6]: "We worship the emperor as a man next unto God, and inferior only unto God."

Rom. xiii.

Hom. 23. in xiii. Rom.

Tertull. ad Scap.

Some other there be that see and know that the church of God is now a building, and yet not only refrain themselves from the work, but also spurn down that other men have built up; that see we teach nothing but the word of God and the doctrine of the primitive church, and yet, lest they should seem to receive the doctrine which they have persecuted, enforce themselves to be constant, and lay violent hands upon their own conscience, and say, *Non regnabit super nos:* "He shall not bear rule over us;" and, as Pharao said in the hardness of his heart: *Nescio Dominum:* "I know not the Lord."

I take not here upon me to judge other men's consciences; but such men there have been, as we may know by reading, and as God hath opened by notable judgment; and I pray God there be none such now. I pray God there be none that offend against their own conscience and knowledge, and against the Holy Spirit of God.

But, alas! I speak not now of the ignorant and unlearned sort of people, that offend of simplicity, and have a zeal of God, although it be not according to knowledge; but I speak of them that be learned, that know well that we teach you nothing this day but that Christ and his apostles taught before us, and was evermore frequented throughout the church, until all things grew to corruption. And of the contrary part, they do know, and their consciences do testify unto them, that their doctrine for the most part is contrary to the use of the primitive church, contrary to the apostles, contrary to Christ himself.

Yet will these men sooner leave their living than be present at the hearing

---

[4 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. IX. Tit. XX. Novell. CXXXVII. 6. Tom. II. pp. 196, 7. See before, page 287, note 10.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. XXIII. Tom. IX. p. 686.]

[6 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Scap. 2. p. 86.]

of an English prayer, or communicate with the people under both kinds. They call it a schism to have the common prayers in a tongue that the people may understand. To communicate under both kinds, they call it a schism. For the ministers to be married, they call it a schism: and other like things, which were tedious to rehearse at length. Those things which were ordained by Christ and his apostles, and used throughout the whole catholic primitive church without question, they call schismatical.

O merciful God! Shall we say that all the whole world of the Christians, ever from Christ's time until the late time of these latter[1] fathers, was in a continual schism? Shall we say that St Augustine, St Ambrose, and other old fathers were schismatics? Shall we say that Christ and his apostles taught us schisms? or that was once true and christian doctrine is now[2] become a schism? Is the church now within five hundred years become catholic? and was Christ's church, and the apostles' church, and the doctors' church not catholic? O Lord, if we be deceived, thou hast deceived us: for if in these doings we be schismatics for having prayer in a known tongue, or for communion under both kinds, or for the marriage of priests and ministers; whereas thou gavest thy communion under both kinds, and didst choose such as were married to be thy apostles, and didst pray in the common and vulgar tongue, as also thy apostle Paul taught us to do; if this be schism, we are become schismatics for following thine example and that ordinance which thou hast left unto thy church.

But St Hilary sheweth how we shall be sure to know an heresy or a schism. *Hæc est regula fidei: Christus dixit, apostolus dixit*[3]*:* "This is a rule of faith, to say, Christ hath said it, the apostle hath said it." Christ saith: *Bibite ex hoc omnes:* "Drink ye all of this," without exception. Paul biddeth us to pray so that the people may say Amen; and saith: *Honorabile conjugium in omnibus:* "Marriage is honourable in all men." Then is this by Hilary's rule the catholic faith, and the contrary is schismatical; for our faith is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. St Cyprian saith: *Non pax est,... sed bellum; nec ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab evangelio separatur*[4]*:* "It is no peace, but war; no catholic peace or unity, but open war and schism: neither can he say, I am of the church, that is divided from the gospel." Justinus Martyr, as it is reported by Eusebius, said: *Ipsi Domino non acquiescerem, si alium Deum diceret præter omnium Creatorem*[5]*:* "I would not believe Christ himself, if he should say there were another God than the Creator of all things." If he would not believe God himself, teaching otherwise than is set down by the word of God, much less would he believe the church, teaching contrary to the gospel.

Cypr. Serm. 5. de Laps.

Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xviii.

God of his mercy grant that all our controversies that we now stand upon may be heard and determined by God's gospel, and open the eyes of our adversaries, that they may see the hope whereunto they are called!

In the mean season let not us shun or refrain them, but exhort and counsel them with all sobriety in the spirit of meekness, as our brethren. Who knoweth whether God of his mercy will call them to repentance? As God said to St Paul by revelation, *Populus mihi multus est in hac civitate:* "I have much people in this city;" so I trust I may say, at least I doubt not but we may charitably hope, God hath a great number, even among them that run to the mass, that will yet hear no reason, but are stubborn and wilful. Their hearts are in the hands of God; and he is able and will mollify them, and of stony will make them fleshy, and of stones make them the children of Abraham, and the principal corner-stones in the building of his church.

Other impediments there be that keep men from the building of God's house. But that which God complaineth of by the prophet is, that every man fell to build his own house, and left the house of God unbuilded. This is the corruption of our nature. Such things as we should glorify God withal, we

---

[1 Later, 1583, 1609.]

[2 Is it now, 1583.]

[3 These words have not been found; but for ideas very similar see Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in cxxvi. Psalm. 8. col. 417; also De Trin. Lib. II. 3, 5, 22, 3. cols. 789, 90, 8, 800.]

[4 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Laps. pp. 128, 9; where *non est pax.*]

[5 Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. IV. cap. xviii. p. 114.]

abuse most to the dishonour of God. Therefore Christ calleth them "thorns," and "the mammon of wickedness;" not because they are so of themselves, (for they are the gifts of God,) but because our froward nature maketh them so.

The man, as Christ saith in the parable, that was bid to the marriage-feast, sent word that he was married, and could not come. Esay saith: "The harp, and viol, and timbrel, and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord." The fantasies and pleasures of this life ravish our minds, and pull them clean from God. So saith the prophet: "You can have your houses ceiled and furnished: in the mean while my house lieth forsaken." Isai. v.

O that Aggeus the prophet were now alive, and saw the rearing up of God's temple here in England! What, think you he would say, You build your own houses, and leave the house of God forsaken? Nay, he would say, You build your own mansions, and pull down the house of God.

The masters of the work build benefice upon benefice, and deanery upon deanery; as though Rome were yet in England. The poor flock is given over to a wolf: the poor children cry out for bread, the bread of life; and there is no man to break it to them.

The noblemen or gentlemen[6], the patrons of benefices, give presentations of benefices, either to be farmers themselves, or else with exception of their own tenths, or with some other condition that is worse than this. The poor minister must keep his house, buy him books, relieve the poor, and live, God knoweth how, and so do you too.

O good my lords and brethren, I come not hither to be a patron for money matters: God seeth my heart, before whom I speak it. But I see God's temple by this means is forsaken.

Young men, such as are of most towardness, turn themselves to be physicians or men of law, yea, clerks or apothecaries. The matter is so used that they are ashamed to be ministers in God's church.

They should not so do, say you: no, neither yet you, as your doings are, can be angry with them. They are not angels, but your own children, your brethren, your cousins, of your own affections, of your own flesh and blood; and they think themselves too good to become your slaves.

O merciful God! at the beginning of the gospel every man brought his goods, and laid them at the feet of the disciples. Now every man is ready to pull out in a manner necessary sustenance, even out of the mouths of Christ's disciples. Then that that was every man's own, every man made it common, and no man counted it to be his own. Now that appertaineth to others, and is appointed to the building and preserving of God's church, that every man layeth hands on, and counteth to be his own. In the mean season, the poor universities are neglected, the schools every where unfurnished, the youth driven and chased away from the building.

Think of this in your hearts; consider with yourselves. There lack already ministers throughout the realm to teach the people, and to build up the walls of God's church. One poor hireling is driven to serve two or three parishes. The sick have[7] no man to comfort or counsel them: the dead have no man to bury them; one man burieth another. That thing I know is not material: yet it seemeth not so to all men; and our bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, and ought reverently to be brought to their graves.

View your universities: view your schools, which ever have been nurseries to this purpose: alas! how many shall you find in both the universities, and in all the schools through England, not only that are already ripe, but also that are minded to the ministry? If they be not found there, alas! where think you to have them? Where think you will they be found? Think you that they will spring out of the ground, or drop down from the heavens? No, no, they be of you, and must be bred and reared amongst you. If there be none to be found, nor hope of any to be hereafter; be you well assured that acts of parliament and proclamations are not enough to content the conscience of the people, and to build up the temple.

[6 Nobleman or gentleman, 1583, 1609.] [7 Hath, 1583.]

O that the queen's majesty knew the great scarcity and miserable need of ministers that is abroad! And I beseech you, good my lords, and other honourable and worshipful that are here, that have or may have access unto her, to put her in remembrance, that her grace will be mindful of the house of God, and redress the greediness both of corrupt patrons, and of such who engross and gather into their hands many livings, being themselves the remnant of the ignorant and persecuting Babylon; and yet leave, to take charge over the people, blind sir Johns, not only lack-Latin, but lack-honesty, and lack-conscience, and lack-religion. It would be a great furtherance to the church of God, a wonderful way to increase schools and the universities.

Now remaineth the last part that I have taken in hand to speak of; that is, of the manner of the building. Whereof, because the matter of itself is long, and I scanted of time, I will speak two words, and so make an end. And what better way can be devised to restore Christ's church than that we see used by Christ himself? Christ, when he was apposed of the Pharisees in the case of divorce, whether it were lawful for a man to put away his wife upon any kind of matter, and to marry another, called them back to the scriptures: *Ab initio non fuit sic: scriptum est:* "From the beginning it was not so:" "it is written." And so in other places in like matters he saith, *Scriptum est;* and ever returneth them to the scriptures. The same order used Esaias: *Ad legem et ad prophetas:* "Have recourse to the law and the prophets." So Josias, so Ezechias, so Josaphat reformed the temple of God, when it was polluted, according to the pattern of the scriptures. For, as Tertullian saith: *Percæque ad universas hæreses jam hinc præjudicatum est, id esse verum quodcunque primum, id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius*[1]: "By this rule we may equally prescribe against all heresies; that is true that was first appointed, that is false that was afterward devised." St Augustine saith: *In scripturis didicimus Christum, in scripturis didicimus ecclesiam: has scripturas communiter habemus; quare non in eis et Christum et ecclesiam communiter retinemus*[2]*?* "In the scriptures we have learned Christ; in the scriptures we have learned the church: these scriptures we have indifferently between us; why do we not after one sort hold Christ and the church by them?" And again, where he writeth against Petilian, a Donatist: *Non audiamus, Hæc dico, Hæc dicis; sed audiamus, Hæc dicit Dominus. Sunt certi libri dominici, quorum auctoritati utrique consentimus, utrique credimus, utrique servimus: ibi quæramus ecclesiam, ibi discutiamus causam nostram*[3]: "Let us not hear, Thus I say, Thus thou sayest; but let us hear, Thus saith the Lord. There be certain books of our Lord, unto the authority whereof each part agreeth, each part believeth, each part yieldeth: there let us seek for the church, thereby let us examine and try our matters."

Tertull. adv. Prax.

Exhort. ad Concord. Eccles. Tom. ii.

De Unit. Eccles. Tom. vii.

This is the rock upon which Christ hath built his church: against this rock the gates of hell shall not prevail. Augustine speaketh this in a pretty allusion: *Non me ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me*[4]: "I will not build myself upon thee, but I will build thee upon me." The same affirmeth Hierome, Basil, Cyril, Hilarius, and other the ancient writers[5]. It would be too long to allege any more: only I will recite unto you Lyra's judgment of these words, more for that he was one that favoured our adversaries than for the weight of his authority: *Super hanc petram*, saith he, *id* [*est*], *super Christum:* "Upon this rock, that is, upon Christ:" *ex quo patet, quod ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis, &c.*[6]: "Whereby it is manifest that the church is not among men by reason of any ecclesiastical or secular authority or dignity; because many princes and chiefest bishops have forsaken the faith: therefore the

Lyra in xvi. Matt.

[1 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Prax. 2. p. 635. See before, page 25, note 9.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Donatist. Epist. cv. 14. Tom. II. col. 301; where *discimus* twice.]

[3 Id. De Unit. Eccles. cap. iii. 5. Tom. IX. cols. 340, 1; where, *hæc dicis, hæc dico, certe,* and in the text *cedimus.*]

[4 Id. De Verb. Evang. Matt. xiv. Serm. lxxvi. 1. Tom. V. col. 415. See before, page 340, note 7.]

[5 See authorities cited page 340.]

[6 Ex quo, &c. potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis; quia multi principes et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostasse a fide: propter quod ecclesia consistit in illis personis in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei et veritatis.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52.]

church resteth in these[7] persons, in whom are to be found true knowledge, the confession of faith, and acknowledging of the truth." Wherefore the foundation of this building, whereupon all the whole work must rest, must be Christ and his holy word; for, as St Paul saith: "No man can lay another foundation than that which is laid already, Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. iii.

The emperor Domitian, pretending a reforming of the empire, which afore his time Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and other wicked emperors had spoiled and defaced, asked a philosopher, one Apollonius Tyanæus, what order were best to be taken therein. Apollonius made him answer: "Sir, if it please your majesty, you must do as the musician bade his scholars do." "How is that?" said Domitian. "Marry, sir," quoth Apollonius, "there was a cunning musician that set his scholars to an ignorant and homely minstrel to learn music of him; but, before he sent them out, he gave them this lesson: Whatsoever you see your master do, see that you avoid it: he is unlearned, and his lessons and manner of fingering naught: therefore see you do the contrary." Even so may I say: Whatsoever we see that they have done that were our latter[8] fathers before us, that have destroyed Christ's church, let us remember to do the contrary. Their foundation, as you know, and as they themselves confess, is ignorance: let our foundation be Christ, and knowledge of God's word. They have pulled the scriptures out of the people's heads and hands, that no man might see their doings: let us exhort all men, as St Chrysostom, Origen, and other holy fathers did, to read the scriptures[9], that all the world may see our doings. They build God's word upon the church: let us, as Paul doth teach us, build the church upon God's word. They, contrary to God and contrary to his word, have made the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church: contrary, I say, to the word of God have they made him supreme head of all the church. These are not my words; but St Gregory, who was himself a bishop of Rome, saith of them: *Piæ leges,...venerandæ synodi,...ipsa...Domini nostri Jesu...mandata, superbi atque pompatici cujusdam sermonis inventione turbantur*[10]: "The godly laws, the reverend synods, and the very commandments of our Lord Jesu, are broken by the invention of a certain proud and pompous name." And thereof, as Gregory himself testifieth, hath ensued *universa pernicies*[11], "an universal destruction." Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

Mark, I beseech you, and let it not out of your remembrance. They say, this is the key of the church, that one be the head of it to rule it and to govern and keep[12] in unity all the rest. But Gregory, which was himself a bishop of Rome, saith it is *universa pernicies*, "a general corruption and plague of the church." Let us, according to God's word, according to the canons, know that, as Cyprian saith, *Unus est episcopatus, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*[13]: "There is but one bishoprick, part whereof is holden in whole of every several bishop." And, as Hierome saith: *Ubicunque fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanais, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii*[14]: "Wheresoever there be a bishop, be it at Rome, be it at Eugubium, be it at Constantinople, be it at Rhegium, be it at Alexandria, be it at Tanais, they are all of one worthiness, they are all of one priesthood." Cypr. de Simp. Prælat. Hieron. ad Evagr.

They set the pope above kings and princes, against God's word. Let us know that, according to God's word, every soul must be subject to the higher powers. In these things and in all other the like, in which they forsake the pattern and original, and in which they do contrary to the scriptures, to Christ, and his apostles, contrary to the practice of the primitive church, and contrary to the sound judgment of the ancient catholic fathers, grounded upon the word of God; let us remember, whatsoever they do or have done, to do the con-

[7 Those, 1583, 1609.]
[8 Later, 1583, 1609.]
[9 See before, pages 685, 96.]
[10 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748. See before, page 346.]
[11 Id. ibid. col. 749. See before, page 374. Conf. page 96, note 2.]
[12 Kept, 1611.]
[13 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108; where *episcopatus unus est.*]
[14 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 803. See before, page 373.]

trary. For it is not possible, by what means things have grown to corruption, that by the same means they shall ever be well restored again.

After the temple was builded or was in building and rearing, Esdras the prophet read the law of God, and sacrificed oxen, sheep, and lambs; and the people wept in consideration that they and their fathers had so unkindly offended God, and deserved so extremely to be punished at his hand. So the good king Josias, after he had found the book of the law, and saw how highly both he and his fathers had offended God, he fell a weeping: for the consideration of God's great benefits and our own unworthiness causeth us to mourn at the sight of our own unkindness. Then they turned unto God, repented themselves of their wickedness, and left such vanities as they had walked in before. So Christ our Saviour, when he began to preach the gospel, and to spread abroad the unspeakable treasure of our salvation, called us first to repentance, and said: *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquavit enim regnum cœlorum:* "Repent ye; for the kingdom of God is at hand." Zachæus, when he had received Christ to his table, repented him of his extortion, and made restitution: "Then Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come unto this house; forasmuch as he is also become the son of Abraham." So the christian men in the beginning repented themselves and changed their whole life, and therefore were called saints; as St Paul useth in many places to name them: *Vocatis sanctis:* "To those which are called saints;" and, *Sanctis qui sunt Corinthi:* "To the saints which are at Corinth." Pliny, being a heathen, and set by the emperor to inquire of christian men, made report in his epistle to Trajanus, that they were a sect which would not offer up to idols, which could not be compelled to blaspheme Christ, but were wont at certain times appointed to meet together and sing hymns to one Christ their God; that they were of one mind, and agreed among themselves, and did abstain from theft, murder, and adultery, and did keep their faith, and defrauded no man[1].

Luke xix.

Even such should we be, thus ought we to live; these things are examples for us to follow: we should meet often to sing hymns and give thanks to our God, we should lament our former wickedness, wherewith we have called God's anger upon us.

But, alas! there appeareth not in us that change of life that ought to be in such as turn to Christ: we are as proud, as covetous, and wicked in abusing the holy name of God as ever we were in the time of ignorance. Thus we abuse the great mercy of God, thus we withhold his truth in unrighteousness. We say we know God, but give him not the glory that is due unto God.

And, besides this, we are in love with our own corruption; and, as the prophet saith, we rejoice when we have done wickedly: we cannot abide to have our fault touched: our pride is grown up as high as heaven, our covetousness is sunk as deep as hell: our poor weak brethren be offended, and think that these be the very fruits of Christ's gospel. Yet we can in no wise suffer to be reproved; we say to the preacher, Peace, and talk not to us in the name of the Lord, tell not us of the scriptures, tell not us of Christ, of Peter, and Paul: we bid him speak us fair, and bless those things that be accursed by God's own mouth. We say, he is too busy, he meddleth with that he knoweth not. Yes, yes, man, he knoweth it well enough, he knoweth that pride is pride, that usury is usury, that sin is sin; and thou and thine own conscience knoweth[2] it too, if thou wouldest be known of it; yea, thou knowest it, and indeed in thy heart of force art weary of it. And this is extreme misery, that we are so far plunged in sin, that we can neither abide our own faults nor yet the amending of them. Is this the repentance of our life? Are these the fruits of God's gospel? Are these the fruits of the innocent blood that we see shed before our eyes? Are these our tears for the sins we have committed? Is this the thanks that we render unto God for giving unto us so great blessings? But, what said I, blessings? Would God we were so blessed that we might consider our blessedness! Many already bewray the weakness of their stomachs, they brook not the gospel: yea, they seem already

[Jer. xi.]

[1 C. Plin. Secund. Epist. Lib. x. xcvii.]

[2 Knowest, 1583.]

weary of these preachers, they call them pulpit-men, men of the Spirit, and I know not what; as though they themselves had nothing to do with God's Spirit. Ah, merciful God! what way may God take to win you? Alas! what are we? what have we offended you? Are we become your enemies for telling you the truth? I fear me this murmuring is not against us, but against the Lord.

You have had the mass, and that you worthily hated: you have now the communion, and that you regard not. God hath sent to call you with fire and fagots: those which used that severity and cruelty you call tyrants. He hath sent unto you now simple men, that bring you nothing else but the kingdom of God, and seek for nothing but only for your salvation; and them you disdain. It is even now come to pass that Christ said: "We have piped to you; and you have not danced: we have mourned to you; and you have not wept: but wisdom[3] is justified of all her children." Many of you are even full of that[4] gospel, and full and weary of these school-masters. Therefore shall God send amongst you another manner of school-master, that shall entreat you after another sort, that shall pull the pride from your necks, and the ruffs from your shoulders. I will say, I would God I might not speak thus in the spirit of truth! I would to God it might prove untrue, and never come to pass! But God is just; and the extreme disdain of God's truth and his holy gospel justly deserveth the extremity of God's vengeance; and this gospel, that you are already so weary of, shall be taken away from us. The kingdom of God shall be taken away from us, and shall be given to a nation that shall do the fruits of it. The kingdom of God, which is the true understanding of God's word, shall be taken away. And then what shall remain but blindness and falsehood, which is the kingdom of the devil? "I will send," saith God, "a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord." Luke vii. Amos viii.

Let us therefore, good brethren, remember for what causes God suffered his temple at Jerusalem to be destroyed and burnt by the Chaldees: let us remember wherefore God took from us his holy gospel that he had planted amongst us of late time: let us now thankfully receive it, with tears and repentance for our former life: let us not make ourselves unworthy of the great grace and blessing of God. To you this holy promise is made: you are the children of Abraham: to you Christ spreadeth out his arms to embrace you: receive not the grace of God in vain: let us not put out that heavenly light which God hath kindled; let us pray to God to give us new hearts, and to put a new spirit within us. Why should you perish, you that are so dearly saved? why should you perish, O you the house of Israel? Let us once fall to the building up of God's holy temple, let us not drive it off any longer.

The foxes have burrows, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not yet a place to rest his head in. God calleth to us by the prophet: "Bring wood, and build this house; and I will be favourable in it. Is it time for yourselves to dwell in your ceiled houses, and this house lie waste?" Your houses are fresh and fair furnished; and yet my house lieth desolate, flat upon the ground. Behold the miserable desolation of my holy place; my flock is scattered in the mountains: behold your brethren that lie in chains in a thousand places bound, beaten, tormented, and drawn to most cruel death, not for any offence they have committed, but only for the building of my temple and profession[5] of my name. They are your own body, flesh, and blood. My bones are scattered upon the face of the earth, my blood is shed without compassion, as it were water upon the ground. O what cruel eyes have you, that can see this, and not be moved; that can build your own houses, and serve your own pleasures, and leave my house forsaken!

Thus almighty God speaketh to us. O good brethren, let us not despise his calling; let him not speak to us in vain; let us no longer say, it is not yet time to build up the Lord's house. God hath raised up unto us a most virtuous and noble lady, that hath already set labourers a-work, and begun the building. Let us

[3 Wisdoms, 1583.] [4 The, 1583.] [5 Professing, 1583, 1609.]

remember that the Chaldees, when they came to Jerusalem, never strained courtesy, or said, it is not yet time to pull down the house of God: they laid hands on it, and spoiled it; they burnt it without mercy, even unto the ground. Let us not in God's cause be more negligent than our enemies were against God. Let every man say with himself: It is God's temple that must be built up, it is the heavenly Hierusalem, it is the ark of the Lord, it is the Lord's business that I have in hand: accursed be he that doth the Lord's business unfaithfully.

And you, my lords, forasmuch as God hath planted you in chiefest honour, and made you the greatest overseers of his work, I beseech you, even for his sake, when you see your own houses so furnished as is meet for your estates, remember the poor house of God. When you see your men waiting and attending at your tables, remember how few there be to wait upon Christ at his table. When you consider that your own houses cannot be maintained without provision, remember there be provision made for the house of God. Let the zeal of God's own house ravish and devour our hearts: let us build up the tabernacle of the most holy, and dreadful, and everliving God; so will God dwell and abide with us, and be glorified in the midst amongst us.

And thou, most merciful Father, deal favourably with Sion, that we may see the walls of thy Hierusalem restored. For now is the time of thy mercy come upon us, now is the time. And, as thou hast begun this work in us in these our days, so vouchsafe to bless the same, that it may endure and continue for ever, that all the world may know thee, the only true and living God, and thy Son Jesus Christ, whose gospel thou hast revived amongst us. To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

PSALM LXIX.

Ver. 9. *The zeal of thine house hath eaten me*[1].

CERTAIN learned and wise men of old time, that had no understanding or savour of God, when they considered with themselves to what end and purpose mankind was created[2] and set in this world, after they had driven the matter as far as they might by natural knowledge, at length they concluded, some, that man was made to know the properties and qualities, the convenience or difference of natural things, either in the air, or in the water, or in the earth, or under the earth; some other, that man was made to consider and behold the sun and moon, the stars, the course and revolutions of the heavens. And so they judged that man, which either had most abundance of natural reason, or beheld and considered the heavens best, to be most perfect of all others, and that he came nearest to the end of his creation. Thus said they, as men without feeling of God, only endued with the light of nature.

But (as God himself declareth, who fashioned us, and made us, and knoweth us best) the very true end why man was made was to know and to honour God. Therefore, whoso knoweth him best, and honoureth him with most reverence, he is most perfect, he cometh nearest the end of his creation.

When Salomon had described the deceivable vanities of the world, and said,
Eccles. i. "Vanity of vanities, vanity of vanities, all is vanity;" when he had concluded, by long discourse, that riches, empire, honour, pleasures, knowledge, and whatsoever else under the sun, is but vanity, he knitteth up the matter with these
Eccles. xii. words: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of men." That is, this is truth, and no vanity: this is our perfection: to this end are we made; not to live in eating and drinking, not to pass our time in pleasure and follies, not to heap up those things which are daily taken from us, or from which we are daily taken away; but that, in our words, in our life, in our body, and in our soul, we do service unto God; that we look above

[1] This sermon was re-printed in 1641.]

[2] Create, 1583.]

the sun and moon and all the heavens; that we become the temples of the Holy Ghost; that the Holy Spirit of God may dwell in us, and make us fit instruments of the glory of God.

Therefore God gave us his holy word, and hath continued it from the beginning of the world until this day, notwithstanding the philosophers and learned men in all ages, who scorned it out as the word of folly, (for so it seemeth to them that perish;) notwithstanding the wicked princes, and tyrants, and high powers of the world, who consumed and burnt it, as false and wicked, or seditious doctrine; notwithstanding the whole world and power of darkness were ever bent against it; yet hath he wonderfully continued and preserved it, without loss of one letter, until this day, that we might have whereby truly to know him the true and only God, and his Son Jesus Christ, whom he sent.

Therefore have we temples and churches, places to resort unto all together, to honour, to worship, and to acknowledge him to be our God, to join our hearts and voices together, and to call upon his holy name. In such places God hath at all times used to open his majesty, and to shew his power. In such places God hath made us a special promise to hear our prayer, whensoever we call upon him. Therefore are they called the dwelling-place and house of God. In such places all godly men evermore set their greatest pleasure, and thought themselves miserable when they were secluded or put off from the same; as the prophet and holy prince David: *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi, In domum Domini ibimus:* "O," saith that holy man, Psal. cxxii. "my heart rejoiced within my body, when my fellows called upon me, and said, Let us go into the house of the Lord." Again: "I am in love with the beauty of thy house." And again: "O how beautiful is thy tabernacle, O Lord! O thou the God of hosts, my heart longeth and fainteth to come within thy courts." His spirits were ravished with the sight and majesty of the tabernacle: not for that the place itself at that time was so beautiful; for in David's time it was almost rotten, and ruinous, a homely thing to behold, nothing in comparison to that temple that afterward was built by Salomon: but therein stood the shew and worthiness of that holy place, that God's truth and law was opened and proclaimed in it, and the sacraments and ceremonies so used in such form and order as God had commanded them to be used; and the people received them obediently, and lived thereafter.

Therefore when the tabernacle was restored; when the ark was fet[3] home from Obededom, and set in the mount Sion; when religion revived, which through the negligence and malice of Saul was forsaken; when he saw his nobility, his bishops, his priests, and all his people willing and forward, he could not refrain himself, but brake out and sang[4]: *Hæc est dies, quam fecit Dominus: exultemus et lætemur in ea:* "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us be glad and rejoice in it." Let us be merry, and joy that ever we lived to see it. Even so Paul, when in his time he saw the gospel take root and prosper, and that the savour of life was poured abroad, that the kingdom of God was enlarged, and the kingdom of Satan shaken[5] down, his heart leaped and sprung within him. *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile:* "Behold now that acceptable time." Behold, God hath looked down mercifully upon the world; behold, the day of salvation is come upon us.

But the godly man, as he rejoiceth at the beauty of God's house, so, when contrariwise he seeth the same disordered filthily, when he seeth the sacraments of God abused, the truth trodden under foot, the people mocked, the name of God dishonoured, he cannot but lament and mourn, and find himself wounded at heart. When the good king Josias saw the book of God, which was so long hid in the wall and out of remembrance; when he considered the blindness in which they had lived, and the unkindness of their forefathers, he could not forbear, but fell a weeping; he feared lest God would take vengeance upon them for so great contempt of his word. When Jeremy saw the wilfulness and frowardness of the people, which would not submit them-

[3 Fet: fetched.] [4 Song, 1583.] [5 Shaking, 1583, 1609.]

Jer. ix. selves and be obedient unto God, he cried: "O that my head were full of water, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night," &c. Such care had they for God's people: thus the zeal of God's house had eaten them up.

Zeal (if any man know not the nature of the word) is an earnest affection and vehement love; as is the love of a mother towards her children, or of the natural child towards his mother. This zeal cannot abide to see that thing which it loveth despised or hurt. Such a zeal and care carrieth God over his people: he loveth them as a mother loveth her little children: he will Isai. xlix. not suffer them to be hurt. By the prophet Esay he saith: "Can a woman forget her child, and not have compassion on the son of her womb? though they Zech. ii. should forget, yet will I not forget thee." Zachary also saith: "He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of his eye." For God hath said: "They shall be my people; and I will be their God." Such care likewise bear all the godly towards their God: they love him with all their soul, with all their heart, with all their strength: they reverence him as their dear Father: they are grieved at any blasphemy, and with any contempt of his holy name.

But, as every man, be he never so wicked, yea, even he that saith in his heart, There is no God, which is become filthy and abominable in all his doings, yet in his talk outwardly saith he hath a God, and that he believeth in him; even so there is none so wicked, or so forsaken of God in his heart, but he persuadeth himself he hath the zeal of God; and, what he doth in self-love of his own fantasy, he will bear in hand he doth it for the love of God. The overthrowers and wasters of the church will seem to shew a special care for the church. Dissemblers, hypocrites, despisers, scorners, even such as sin against the Holy Ghost, which deny the truth of God after they have known it, which, witting and knowing, fight against the truth, which say of Christ, We will not have him to rule over us, which work that sin that shall never be forgiven in this world nor in the world to come; yet notwithstanding will pretend and seem to have the zeal of God.

Thus the scribes and Pharisees set up their bristles against Christ: Thy disciples keep not the common fast: thou sufferest them to pull and to eat the ears of corn: thou sufferest them to eat with unwashed hands: thou breakest the tradition of the elders: thou breakest the law of God which he gave us by Moses: thou art a seditious teacher: thou art a schismatic, thou art an heretic. They said: We "fast twice in the week:" "we have Abraham to our father:" "we are Moses' disciples." Therefore, when they heard Stephen speaking those Acts vii. heavenly words, "Behold, I see the heavens open, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God;" through zeal they gave a shout with a loud voice, and stopped their ears, and ran upon him all at once.

Mark xiv. When Christ had said, "Ye shall see the Son of man sit at the right hand of God, and come in the clouds of heaven, the high priest," through zeal, "rent his clothes," and said, "Ye have heard the blasphemy:" this naughty man speaketh blasphemy against God. He called a council, the scribes and Pharisees met together, not one man amongst them but of themselves: they looked about them, as if they only were the pillars and buttresses of the church, and were only zealous and careful for the house of God. But their meeting was (as David forespake, and as Peter declareth, and as we know) "against the Lord, and against his[1] Anointed." They were touched with zeal of their own glory, and not with the zeal of God's truth. They sought their own praise, but not the praise which is of God. They made cracks that they knew the scriptures, that they were the temple of God, that they had the consent of all antiquity; as others have done since that time, and as we see many do this day; and in very deed these men now have even as much as they had then, as by proof and trial it will appear.

There are others, which have a feeling of God, and a great care for his church; but such a feeling and care as cometh either of their own fantasies, or of some opinion and credit they have in their fathers which were before them, not of the understanding of God's pleasure. Such are they which offended[2] God,

[1 1583 omits *his*.] [2 Offend, 1583, 1609.]

not of malice or wilfulness, but only for lack of teaching and understanding. Such were they which withstood St Paul in all his preaching, for that they took him for an heretic, and thought his preaching was against God. "I bear them witness," saith he, "that they have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge." Such a zeal have many who forbid that God commandeth, and command that which God forbiddeth. Such a zeal had Paul himself: "I was a blasphemer, and a persecutor, and an oppressor; but I was received to mercy, for I did it ignorantly without belief." Such a zeal have they who think they do God good service when they kill and murder the righteous and good servants of God. Such a zeal have they who (as saith Nazianzene) defend Christ against Christ, and defend the church against the church[3]. And these things do they, not of malice, nor of wilfulness, nor against their conscience, but because they know not God the Father, nor his Christ whom he hath sent. Therefore they stumble at Christ, and spurn away the gospel of God, and think ill and speak evil of the word of life, because they know not the gospel of God, nor the word of life. Thus they persuade themselves that they defend the church, that they honour the Son of God, that they do God great service, and that they have the zeal of God.

Rom. x. 1 Tim. i.

But this pride was ever in the heart of man, and it appeared even in our grandsire Adam: whatsoever liketh us well, we think that cannot but please God. Such is the opinion we fondly conceive in our fantasies: in trust whereof whatsoever we do we think ourselves sure and safe. Origen, writing upon the place of the apostle, *Zelum Dei habent, sed non secundum scientiam,* "They have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge," saith: *Similiter ... potest dicere apostolus et de aliis... quod timorem Dei habeant, sed non secundum scientiam:... de aliis, &c.:* "In like manner the apostle may say of others, They have the fear of God, but not according to knowledge; of others, They have the love of God, but not according to knowledge; of another, He hath the faith of God, but not according to knowledge; and another may be said to fast, but not according to knowledge. And so in all things, whatsoever we do, unless we have knowledge and understanding, it may be said unto us, that we have the zeal of a good work, but not according to knowledge." *Ideo danda est præcipue opera scientiæ, ne res nobis infeliciter accidat, ut in fide positi frustremur a fide, ... zelum habentes bonorum, decidamus a bonis*[4]: "Therefore all heed is chiefly to be given to the attaining of knowledge, lest it go not well with us, lest we fail from our faith when we think we believe, and, thinking we have a zeal of good works, we be found void of all good works." The wise man saith: "This was not enough for them, that they erred in the knowledge of God; but, whereas they lived in great wars of ignorance, those so many and so great plagues they called peace." The zeal that they had and the contentation of their hearts made them believe that all their superstition, and idolatry, and other enormities, was catholic unity.

Orig. in x. Rom. Lib. viii. Wisd. xiv.

This zeal, as on the one side it hath many tokens of goodness, for that it hath a conscience, and a fear, and an obedience towards God; so on the other side it is very dangerous, because it lacketh knowledge; even as a ship for lack of a governor is ever in danger of the rocks, and as the body which hath no eye is ever in danger of falling. Such kind of zeal, the greater it is, the worser it is: the more vehement it seemeth, the more vehemently it fighteth against God. For our good meaning maketh not our doings good: our zeal is not a rule whereby we may measure out either our faith or our works; but only the known will and pleasure of God. Therefore speaketh God in this manner by the prophet Esay: "My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways." Therefore saith Salomon: "Trust in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own wisdom: in all thy ways acknowledge him; and he shall direct thy doings."

Isai. lv. Prov. iii.

[3 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-40. Orat. ii. 85. Tom. I. p. 53. See before, page 98, note 2.]

[4 Similiter, &c. de aliis, quia caritatem Dei habeant, sed non secundum scientiam...et de alio, quia fidem Dei habet, sed non secundum scientiam... et alius abstinens potest dici, sed non secundum scientiam...Et sic per singula quæque quæ gerimus, nisi secundum scientiam et intellectum geramus, potest ad nos dici, quia habemus zelum operis boni, sed non secundum scientiam. Et ideo danda præcipue est, &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. VIII. 1. Tom. IV. p. 621.]

Deut. v. This counsel also doth Moses give: "Take heed that ye do as the Lord your God hath commanded you: turn not aside to the right hand nor to the left."

But the true and godly zeal proceedeth not from hypocrisy or intention, but is led and trained by understanding, and is molten into the heart; and the vehemency and heat of it no man knoweth but he that feeleth it. It taketh away the use of reason, it eateth and devoureth up the heart; even as the thing that is eaten is turned into the substance of him that eateth it; and as iron, while[1] it is burning hot, is turned into the nature of the fire: so great and so just is the grief that they which have this zeal conceive, when they see God's house spoiled,
1 Kings xix. or his holy name dishonoured. So saith Elias: "I have been very jealous for the Lord God of hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, broken down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword; and I only am left; and they seek my life to take it away." So, when Moses found that the people had forsaken God and were fallen down before a molten calf, and did put their trust
Exod. xxxii. in the work of their own hands, "his wrath waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his hand, and brake them in pieces beneath the mountain." His heart was so inflamed with zeal, that he considered not what he had in his hand, nor what he did. Jeremy, when he saw the disorder of the people, and how they were not mended with his preaching, and would inwardly conceal the grief he conceived, and purposed not to make mention of the Lord, nor to speak any more in his
Jer. xx. name; yet could he not; for his zeal found way, and brake out: "His word," saith he, "was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones; and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay."

And, albeit there is much likeness between the rage and fury of hypocrites and the godly zeal of good men, (for either are hot, either are vehement, either wisheth redress;) yet this is an evident difference: godly zeal is tempered and seasoned with charity; the ungodly is joined with bitterness and revenge: the godly seeketh to win; the ungodly to kill and to destroy. The ungodly have their hands full of blood, they kill the prophets, they say: "We have a law; and by our law he must die." They say: "Come, let us destroy them, that they be no more a nation. Let not the name of Israel be had any more in remembrance." They burn the holy books of the scriptures, as did Aza and Antiochus. They say: Ransack it, pull it down, rase it to the foundation, let not one be left alive. They dig up the bodies of the dead out of their graves. They shew their cruelty upon the bones and ashes, which were long before buried, and well-nigh consumed. It grieveth them when they lack upon whom they may whet their blood-thirsty and cruel zeal. It grieveth them, no one thing else so much, that they did not work surely, and cut up the root. Such is the zeal of the ungodly: even such a zeal as was in Nero, in Caligula, of whom it is reported, he wished that all the Romans had but one neck, that he might cut off all their heads at one stroke; as was in Herod, in Annas, and Caiaphas, and the like murderers.

But the godly, when they see any disorder, they do nothing like the other: they mourn in their hearts to see that the truth is not received, and to see the minds of their brethren so obstinately hardened: they make prayer to God for them: they are deeply touched with the feeling of such calamities which God layeth upon other. The zeal of Moses could not like the idolatry of the
Exod. xxxii. people; yet he went unto the Lord again, and said: "Now, if thou pardon their sin, thy mercy shall appear; but, if thou wilt not, I pray thee rase me out of thy book which thou hast written." Christ lamented over Hierusalem:
Matt. xxiii. "O Hierusalem, Hierusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your habitation shall be left unto you desolate." Paul suffered much at the hands of the wicked Jews: they troubled the church of God, they hindered the course of the gospel, they were enemies of the cross of Christ, they were dogs,
Rom. ix. they were concision; yet he saith: "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in mine heart; for I would wish myself to be separated from Christ for my brethren that are my kinsmen according to the flesh, which are the Israelites."

[1] Whiles, 1583.]

David saith: "Mine eyes gush out with rivers of water; because they keep not thy law." And again: "My zeal hath even consumed me; because mine enemies have forgotten thy words." Again: "I saw the transgressors, and was grieved; because they kept not thy word." And, when he saw the whole nation of Israel wasted by the enemies, how mournful a complaint made he to God! "O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance: thine holy temple have they defiled, and made Hierusalem heaps of stones. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, and the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth." At this time, when the tabernacle was lost, when Saul was unquiet, and the priests were slain, and the prophets despised, and the people left without all comfort, he poureth out his heart in these words: *Zelus domus tuæ comedit me:* "O Lord, the zeal I bear unto thine house hath eaten me up." It inflameth my heart, drieth my blood, consumeth my marrow. Such a care had he for the house of God: it was death unto him to see it so destroyed and laid waste. Psal. cxix. Psal. lxxix.

So Christ, when he saw the temple of God foully and unseemly abused; that they made the holy place a place for their unlawful and unhonest gain by usury; that they turned religion into robbery, sold oxen, sheep, and doves, and kept their banks for exchange, in the temple; when the priests and Levites, which should serve God, were become merchants, and served themselves; when the temple or house of God, which David purposed, and Salomon finished, and Ezechias and Ezras and other godly princes preserved, in which was kept the book of the law, whither all the people assembled together to serve God, was not used like God's house, but like a common fair or market, and was made a den of thieves; when these gross abuses were suffered, and things were let run to such extremities, and all this under pretence of holiness, as if it were not only lawful, but needs it must be so; moved with zeal, he could not abide it: "He made a scourge of small cords, and drove them all out of the temple, and poured out the changers' money, and overthrew the tables, and said,...Make not my Father's house a house of merchandise. And his disciples remembered that it was written, The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." This was no frantic or melancholy passion, neither in Moses, nor in David, nor in Christ. "Moses was a very meek man above all that were on the earth." David "was a man that heareth[2] not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs." And Christ said: "Learn of me; for I am humble and meek." When his disciples, James and John, grew wrathful against the Samaritans that would not receive him, and said, "Lord, wilt thou that we command that fire come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did? he turned about and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not of what spirit you are." Yet through zeal for God's house Christ whipped out the buyers and sellers, David shed forth tears abundantly, and Moses dashed in pieces the tables of God's commandments. All men ought to be patient and gentle in matters appertaining to themselves; but in God's cause no man must yield or be patient. John ii. Num. xii. Luke ix.

In our days, upon whom the end of the world is come, when we did lately see those times whereof our Saviour foretold so long sithence, that desolation should be in the holy place, and such confusion, ignorance, and blindness, that men should stumble at noon-days, that truth should be a stranger upon earth, that men should forsake wholesome doctrine, and give ear unto fables, that the mystery of iniquity should work, and the very elect (if it were possible) be deceived; what trial was made of true and godly zeal! How notably did it shew itself against the rage and fury of the wicked! What should I speak hereof? The examples are fresh, you cannot forget them; you heard of them so late, it is so late since you did behold them. What moved so many, so learned, so virtuous, to yield their backs to the scourge, their necks to the tormentors, their bodies to the fire, to forsake their goods, their friends, their parents, their wives, and children, but the zeal of God's house? Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor things present, nor things to come, was able

[2] Hateth, 1611.]

to separate them from the love of God. They continued stedfast unto the end: the zeal of God's house did eat them up.

But now God hath restored us, he hath taken away the desolation from us, he hath given us his truth, he hath revealed the man of sin, he hath raised up a banner of hope. We see and enjoy such things as many kings and prophets would have enjoyed, and could not. What remaineth, but that we take the zeal of the Lord's house into our hearts, and seek by all means the glory of the same? As our good fathers and brethren shewed the vehemency of their love in disliking the disorders which troubled the church of God; so in this blessed peace which God giveth to his church let us witness our earnest zeal in seeking that it may be made beautiful, and established for ever.

Let our next care be to continue possession. Kingdoms are preserved by the same means by which they were first gotten: that which is conquered by zeal by careful zeal must be kept. It was said of Annibal, that he knew how to get the victory, but how to use it he knew not. Many have lost that by negligence which they had by diligence won. Therefore we ought, as our hearts were careful and desirous to see these days, so by our thankfulness to God for so great blessing, and by christian and godly providence, foresee such means whereby we may long hereafter enjoy the same. When Phidias had made the portraiture of Jupiter Pisanus, he overlaid it with oil, that it might continue fresh and green, and never putrefy. When God gave order to Noah for
Gen. vi. making the ark, he said: "Thou shalt pitch it within and without with pitch;" that it might be sound and sure, and abide the waves.

He which challengeth to himself that proud and wanton name, to be called the head of the universal church, after by little and little he was gotten into possession, was not behindhand by all means to maintain and keep the same. In this policy he took away the reading of the scriptures from the people: he made noblemen and princes his cardinals. He threw down and set up, and changed whom and what he would. The kings and states of the world, the bishops, professors and scholars in universities, and preachers, were brought to swear allegiance and obedience unto him. I devise not this: the stories hereof are abroad; and the oath which they took is known. His authority grew greater than the authority of general councils. Nothing might be decreed in councils but what pleased him: none might be admitted to speak in councils but such as were sworn to him. He had all law in his breast. There was sometimes a proclamation made in Rome, that for considerations no man should erect or build up any theatre; and that, if any were set up, it should be rased and pulled down. Pompeius, a gentleman of great wealth and noble courage, did build a theatre, such a one as before had not been seen, which would receive two thousand five hundred men, contrary to the proclamation and order taken. But, doubting lest the next magistrates should destroy it, he caused a place of religion to be set upon it, and called it the temple of Venus: whereby he provided that, if any would overthrow it because it was a theatre, they might yet spare it for the temple's sake; for to pull down a temple was sacrilege. Even so there have been proclamations and canons, that no man should be called the chief or the head of all churches, or usurp such authority over others; but, when the pope built up his supremacy against the meaning of such canons, he pretended religion for his doing: he said, it was *de jure divino*, that no man should presume or attempt against it, and that so his power might continue for ever.

If they have been thus careful to maintain falsehood, how much more careful should we be to maintain the truth! If they to advance their own kingdom, how much more we to set forth the kingdom of God, and to build up the church of Christ! And if they sought to do that by lies and by false means, why should we be slack to use the right and true and good means whereby that good thing which God hath wrought for us may be established? And albeit there be many ways by which the kingdom of God may be maintained, as the favour and countenance of the prince, which so comforteth and cherisheth the church as the sun-beams comfort and cherish the earth; and

knowledge, and learning, and discipline, which are as the life and sinews[1], and without which the church must needs fall asunder; at this time I will leave to speak of the rest, and only stay upon learning, which may truly be called the life or the soul of the church and of christian religion.

How necessary a thing they have counted learning to the setting forth of religion, the stories of our old fathers, of heathens and Christians in all ages, do witness. They thought that neither religion might stand without knowledge, nor knowledge were to be esteemed without religion. Charles the great, that he might the better plant religion in Saxony and Helvetia, did erect many places for increase of learning[2]. He knew well that there was no other way better to establish religion. The cathedral churches, before such times as ignorance and blindness grew over all the world, and brought in an universal corruption, maintained schools of learning; that the doctrine which was taught in those places might be defended against the gainsayers by such learned men as were there bred up. The princes of Germany and the free cities, after they had received the gospel, they dissolved their monasteries which had been harbourers for such as lived in idleness, and set up schools and colleges, which should be nurseries to breed up learned men, that might be able to teach the people and to maintain religion. Whereby it came to pass, that in short time they had great store of worthy and learned men.

This did they well see that have been the enemies of religion, and therefore used all means to hinder the increase of learning, that they might have the better way to overthrow religion: for if learning decay, it is likely that religion cannot abide. Bear with me, if I speak that which may seem more fit for some other place than for this audience: the best here understandeth me well. In other countries the receiving of the gospel hath always been cause that learning was more set by; and learning hath ever been the furtherance of the gospel. In England, I know not how, it cometh otherwise to pass. For, since the gospel hath been received, the maintenance for learning hath been decayed. And the lack of learning will be the decay of the gospel. Would God it were not so; or that yet, before the fault be incurable, there may be some redress!

Loth I am to speak, yet the case so requireth that it is needful to be spoken: I trust I shall speak in the hearing of them that will consider it. Maintenance of learning, whereby an able and sufficient ministry may grow and be established in all the churches of this realm, is to be wished for. The good estate of this noble kingdom, the comfort of posterity, the stay of religion, the continuing of the gospel, the removing of darkness hangeth upon it. One asked sometimes, how it was that in Athens, so goodly and great a city, there were no physicians. To whom this answer was made: Because there are no[3] rewards appointed for them that practise physic. The same answer may be made for our times: the cause why the church of God is so forsaken is the want of zeal in them that should, either for their courtesy or for their ability, be fosterers of learning, and increase the livings where occasion is, and give hope and comfort to learned men. What said I, increase? nay, the livings and provision which heretofore were given to this use are taken away.

Have patience, if any such be here, as I well know there are, whom these things touch. Suffer me to speak the truth: it is God's cause. The livings of such as are in the ministry are not in their hands to whom they are due. All other labourers and artificers have their hire increased double as much as it was wont to be: only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the vineyard of the Lord of hosts hath his hire abridged and abated. I speak not of the curates, but of parsonages and vicarages; that is, of the places which are the castles and towers of fence for the Lord's temple. They seldom pass now-a-days from the patron, if he be no better than a gentleman, but either for the lease or for present money. Such merchants are broken into the church of God, a great deal more intolerable than were they whom Christ

[1] And the sinews, 1583, 1609.]
[2] Carion. Chron. Lib. Par. 1543. fol. 90. See before, page 981, note 8.]
[3] 1583 omits *no.*]

chased and whipped out of the temple. Thus they that should be careful for God's church, that should be patrons, to provide for the consciences of the people, and to place among them a learned minister who might be able to preach the word unto them, out of season and in season, and to fulfil his ministry, "seek their own, and not that which is Jesus Christ's." They serve not Jesus Christ, but their belly. And this is done, not in one place or in one country, but throughout England. A gentleman cannot keep his house, unless he have a parsonage or two in farm for his provision.

O merciful God! whereto will this grow at last? If the misery which this plague worketh would reach but to one age, it were tolerable. But it will be a plague to the posterity, it will be the decay and desolation of God's church. Young men which are toward and learned see this. They see that he which feedeth the flock hath least part of the milk; he which goeth a warfare hath not half his wages. Therefore they are weary and discouraged, they change their studies: some become prentices, some turn to physic, some to law: all shun and flee the ministry. And, besides the hindrance that thus groweth by wicked dealing of patrons, by reason of the impropriations, the vicarages in many places, and in the properest market towns, are so simple, that no man can live upon them, and therefore no man will take them. They were wont to say, *Beneficia sine cura:* "Benefices without charge;" but now may be said, *Cura sine beneficio:* "Charge or cure without benefice."

I speak not this of myself: many here present know I speak the truth. And myself know the places which have continued still these many years without a minister resident among them, and have provided themselves, as they might, with their own money.

Your grace's subjects had hope of amendment in your grace's late visitation. But yet it standeth still in case as miserable as it did before. I know your grace heareth not of these matters. And I hope God will work in your gracious heart to provide some remedy against them. For otherwise the schools will be forsaken, the church desolate, the people wild and dismayed, the gospel discredited: otherwise we shall see that wrought against the house of God that never any Jeroboam, or Julian, or Licinius could have brought to pass against us. This noble realm, which ever was famous for the name of learning, is like thereby to come to such ignorance and barbary as hath not been heard of in any memory before our time.

I know that there are grievous complaints made that the bishops appoint priests and ministers that are ignorant, and have no understanding in the Latin tongue. Would God it were not true! Or would God that they, which be the causers hereof, would somewhat help to amend it! But, alas! are we able to make learned men upon the sudden? Or can we make others than come unto us, or will come to live in misery?

But there are many which can say: Such as be ministers in the church should teach freely, without hope of recompence or hire for their labour: our preachers are no better than Peter and Paul, and the other apostles: they are no better than the holy prophets, who lived poorly: poverty is a commendable estate. So say some, in like devotion as did Judas: "What needed this waste? this might have been sold for much and given to the poor; not that he cared for the poor, but because he was a thief and had the bag, and bare that which was given." I doubt not there are many which teach Christ for Christ's sake, which say in their soul, "The Lord is my portion;" who, in that heavy time, from which God delivered them, if they might have received their life only for a recompence, would have been glad to take the pains; who seek you, and not yours; which have forsaken all they had to follow Christ. I doubt not there are such.

But, for the hope of posterity, I report me to all you which are fathers, and have children for whom you are careful. Although yourselves have a zeal and care[1] for the house of God, yet will you breed them up, keep them at school until four and twenty years old to your charges, that in the end they

[1] And a care, 1583.]

may live in glorious poverty? that they may live poorly and naked, like the prophets and apostles? Our posterity shall rue that ever such fathers went before them. And chronicles shall report this contempt of learning among the punishments and murrains and other plagues of God. They shall leave it written, in what time and under whose reign this was done. Or if we grow so barbarous that we consider not this, or be not able to draw it into chronicle; yet foreign nations will not spare to write this, and publish it to our everlasting reproach and shame.

In the meantime, what may be guessed of their meaning which thus raven and spoil the house of God, which decay the provision thereof, and so basely esteem the ministers of the[2] gospel? They cannot say to God: "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up." Howsoever in other things they do well, howsoever they seem to rejoice at the prosperity of Sion, and to seek the safety and preservation of the Lord's anointed; yet needs must it be that by these means foreign power, of which this realm by the mercy of God is happily delivered, shall again be brought in upon us. Such things shall be done unto us as we before suffered: the truth of God shall be taken away, the holy scriptures burnt and consumed in fire. A marvellous darkness and calamity must needs ensue. For, if the tempest be so dark in the sea that the loadstar lose her light, and the needle fail to give token of the north pole, no marvel though the ship lose her course, and be swallowed up in the sands.

The gospel of Christ is the fountain of light and of knowledge. It cannot be maintained by ignorance and darkness. These be the props of their kingdom which take away the scriptures, which hold the people in blindness, which fly the light, which have their common prayers, minister the sacraments, marry, bury their dead, in a strange tongue, that the people may understand nothing; which make a famine of hearing the word of God; which stop up the springs of the water of life; which take away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves nor suffer them that would enter; which say, ignorance is the mother of devotion, and the church is then in best order, and the people most devout, when they are hoodwinked and blinded, and see nothing.

These are not fit instruments wherewith we may overcome the adversaries. This is not the sword of the Spirit, these are not the spiritual weapons which cast down holds, and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God. What man that would keep out his enemy will pull down his holds? what captain that meaneth to give a forcible assault upon the enemy will discourage his fighting soldiers? But our soldiers are out of courage: our castles are falling; therefore that which we fear will fall upon us.

The ox that treadeth out the corn is muzzled. He that goeth a warfare receiveth not his wages: the cry hereof goeth up into the ears of the Lord of hosts. He will not abide so great contempt of his word and preachers: his own name is thereby dishonoured. Our Saviour saith: "He that despiseth you despiseth me." And St Paul: "He that despiseth these things despiseth not man, but God." And think we that he will suffer his holy name to be despised? Nay, his wrath is already kindled. He hath already begun his judgments; and therefore many places are left desolate. There is none that can warn them of their sin, none that can move them to repentance, none that can preach unto them forgiveness through Christ, none that can instruct them in the comfort of everlasting life. Because they work such things against the Lord, the hearts of many are astonied. Though they hear, they understand not. They scorn and jest at the word of salvation: it is unto them a savour of death unto death: they are "earthly-minded, whose God is their belly, and whose glory is to their shame." Luke x. 1 Thess. iv.

For this cause you live still in your sins, in adultery, in covetousness, and in pride, without any feeling of conscience, without any fear of God. Your daughters, your heirs, to whom you shall leave your lands, are stolen away from you: robberies and theft are so common, as if it were not only lawful, but also commendable; as if sin were no sin, and hell-fire but a fable.

[2] His, 1583, 1609.]

Thus we provoke God to anger. Many walk, of whom we cannot think but with weeping: they are the enemies of the cross of Christ: the name of God is blasphemed through them. Many are so ignorant, they know not what the scriptures are, they know not that there are any scriptures. They call them heretical and new doctrine. Many will believe neither side, whatsoever they allege. Bring they truth, bring they falsehood; teach they Christ, teach they antichrist; they will believe neither, they have so hardened their hearts. Be the preacher rough or gentle, learned or unlearned, let him use authority of the scriptures, of the doctors, of the councils, of decrees or decretals, of God's law, of man's law, nothing will move them, nothing will please them; because the ministry of God, and thereby God himself, is despised.

These words happily seem sharp and over vehement; but the darkness[1] of our hearts against God, and the lack of zeal of his house, enforce me to them. We are almost fallen into the lowest pit: we are left without zeal, as senseless men, and as if we had clean forgotten ourselves, as the heathen which know not God. Therefore, unless we repent, the kingdom of God shall be taken away from us. He will send upon this land a famine of the word. Jerusalem shall be overthrown and made an heap of stones: the man of sin and they which have not the love of the truth shall prevail with many, and withdraw them from obedience to the prince: this noble realm shall be subject to foreign nations: all this will the zeal of the Lord of hosts bring to pass.

I could have spent this time in opening some other matter; but nothing in my judgment is more worthy your good consideration and speedy redress. I would be loth rashly or rudely to abuse the reverence of this place; but, unless these things be cared for, unless we shew forth greater zeal than hitherto, if the years to come eat up and take away from the ministry as the late years have done, there will not be left within a while any to speak the word of God out of this place. The pulpits shall have none to use them: the people shall grow wild and void of understanding.

When Xerxes beheld the great company of soldiers[2], suddenly he brake into tears, and wept bitterly. One said to him: "O sir, you have cause to rejoice, you have a goodly company: they are able to fight for you against any nation." "But what shall become of them?" saith Xerxes: "after a hundred years not one of all these shall be left alive." If the view of the small number of preachers might be taken, how few they are, and how thin they come up, we have greater cause than Xerxes to lament, if we have any zeal to the house of God. For, of the preachers which now are, within few years none will remain alive. And Xerxes' soldiers left issue behind them, which might afterwards serve their country; but there is like to be small increase for the supply of learned men. The Lord shall lack men to bring in his harvest: the little ones shall call for bread; and there shall be none to give it them. They that shall come after us shall see this to be true. There is no house so spoiled as the house of the Lord. There is no servant so little rewarded as the servant of Christ, and the disposer of the mysteries of God.

O that your grace did behold the miserable disorder of God's church, or that you might foresee the calamities which will follow! It is a part of your kingdom, and such a part as is the principal prop and stay of the rest. I will say to your majesty as Cyrillus sometimes said to[3] the godly emperors[4] Theodosius and Valentinian: *Ab ea quæ erga Deum est pietate reipublicæ vestræ status pendet*[5]; "The good estate and welfare of your commonwealth hangeth upon true godliness." You are our governor, you are the nurse of God's church. We must open this grief before you. God knoweth if it may be redressed; it hath grown so long and is run so far. But, if it may be redressed, there is no other besides your highness that can redress it.

Cyril. Epist. ad Theod. et Valen.

I hope I speak truly that which I speak without flattery, that God hath

---

[1] Hardness, 1583.]
[2] Of his soldiers, 1583.]
[3] 1583 repeats *to*.]
[4] Emperor, 1583, 1609.]
[5] Ὅτι δέ ἐστι κρηπὶς ἀκατάσειστος ταῖς βασιλέων τιμαῖς τῆς εἰς Θεὸν εὐσεβείας αὐχήματα, κ.τ.λ.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. De Rect. Fid. Tom. V. Pars II. p. 2.]

endued your grace with such measure of learning and knowledge as no other christian prince. He hath given you peace, happiness, the love and true hearts of your subjects. O turn and employ these to the glory of God; that God may confirm in your grace the thing which he hath begun. To this end hath God placed kings and princes in their state, as David saith, that they serve the Lord, that they may see and cause others to see to the furniture of the church. The good emperor Justinian cared for this as much as for his life. Constantine, Theodosius, Valentinian, and other godly princes, called themselves *vasallos*, "the subjects and bond-servants of God." They remembered that God furnished them in their houses, and were not unmindful to furnish his house.

When Augustus had beautified Rome with setting up many fair buildings, he said: *Inveni lateritiam, marmoream reddidi:* "I found it made of brick, but I leave it made of marble." Your grace, when God sent you to your inheritance and the right of this realm, found the church in horrible confusion, and in respect of the true worship of God a church of brick, or rather (as Ezechiel saith) [Ezek. xiii.] daubed up with unseasoned mortar. Your grace hath already redressed the doctrine: now cast your eyes towards the ministry; give courage and countenance unto learning, that God's house may be served; so shall you leave a church of God, and a testimony that the zeal of the Lord's house hath eaten you up.

And you, O dearly-beloved, if there be any such which are neither hot nor cold, which do the work of the Lord negligently, which esteem the word of God but as a matter of policy, which are ashamed to be called professors of the gospel of Christ, pray unto God that he will increase your zeal. Let us continue rooted and built in Christ, and stablished in the faith. Let us have care for the house of God. Whosoever is not after this sort zealous is a man of a double heart. We may not halt between two opinions. "If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, then go after him:" he that is not with Christ is against him. Many talk of the gospel, and glory in their knowledge; but it is neither talk nor knowledge which shall save them in that day. He that feareth the Lord, and serveth him with a pure heart, and may truly say, "The zeal of thine house hath consumed me," he shall be saved. If they shall not escape which have zeal without knowledge, what shall become of us, which have knowledge without zeal?

And you, whosoever you are, that by such means have decayed the Lord's house, and abridged the provision and maintenance thereof, and see the miserable wrack of God's church; if there be any zeal of God in you, if you have any fellowship of the Spirit, if any compassion and mercy; if you love God, if you desire the continuance of the gospel; O remember you have the patrimony due unto them that should attend in the Lord's house: you take unto yourselves wrongfully that which was not lotted for you. Give unto Cæsar those things which belong to Cæsar, and unto God the things which appertain to him and make for the beauty and furniture of his house. Enrich yourselves by lawful means, and without the spoil and waste of God's church. Let not the ministry by your means be despised. You enriched them which mocked and blinded and devoured you: spoil not them now that feed and instruct and comfort you. Let us seek the glory of God. Let us at length serve the Lord, and not our belly and greedy wantonness.

So shall God bless you and prosper you in all your affairs: so shall he strike a terror of you into all foreign princes that dwell about you: so shall your heart be kept stedfast in the hand of God: so shall your heart be perfect before the Lord: so shall you leave such as shall always praise the Lord in Sion: so shall you see your children's children, and peace upon Israel.

And thou, O most merciful Father, grant that thy words be not spoken in vain: it is thy cause. Thou art our Father: we are as clay in thine hands. Thou hast the key of our hearts: give zeal to them that have knowledge, give knowledge to them that have zeal, that they may be inflamed and ravished with the love of thy house, to sorrow for the decay thereof, and to do all their endeavour to build up and establish the same for ever. Amen.

MATTHEW IX.

Ver. 37. *Then said he to his disciples, Surely the harvest is great; but the labourers are few.*

38. *Wherefore pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send labourers forth into his harvest.*

CHRIST our Saviour, after he was baptized by John, and tempted by Satan in the wilderness, began to execute the commission whereunto his Father had sent him, chose unto himself a number of disciples to be at his commandment, and so took his progress through a great part of the country. In the mean way, in every place where he came he taught the people that the kingdom of God was come amongst them; he healed their diseases, wrought strange miracles before their eyes, and gave many singular and evident tokens of his coming.

But specially he beheld in what state the poor people stood touching their readiness in receiving God's truth, in all the country where he had been; and therefore, at the end of his circuit, he was moved with pity, and said he saw them in most woful case, forsaken and lost, as if they had been a flock of sheep without a herd, and that not through their own malice, but through the wilful blindness and negligence of them that were set to guide them.

Sheep (as Aristotle and Pliny write of them) are a simple kind of cattle, profitable to many uses, ready to receive all manner wrongs, without skill to help or succour itself: it coveteth to break out of the fold or close, if it may espy any hole open; it strayeth and wandereth abroad, many times hangeth in the briers, many times is taken up by the wolf; it is ever in danger of the wind and rain, yea, of the very grass and water it liveth by, and thereof is infected oftentimes with a number of maladies; so that the health and safety of the sheep resteth only in the care and diligence of the shepherd. To such a kind of cattle are the people likened.

Christ saith not, they were like unruly sheep, that would not be guided by their herd; but he saith, they were like poor lost sheep, that had no herd at all. For the people of themselves were not unwilling to receive the gospel; but there was none to instruct them. And for that he addeth another similitude to declare the same, and saith: "The harvest indeed is great; but the workmen are but few:" the corn is ripe and ready to be cut; but there lack hands to fetch it in.

The coming of these times was promised long before[1], even from the first creation of mankind; but the performance thereof at the first was dark, and as it were wrapped up and hid in a cloud, and like corn buried in the ground.

After it was somewhat more clearly set forth in the law given by Moses. After that it was revived by the prophets, and in manner plainly, in what place, at what time, of what mother, of what house or stock Christ should be born; what doctrine he should teach, what miracles he should work, what death he should die, how he should be buried, how he should arise, how he should ascend into heaven, how the heathens should be called to believe in him, how the Holy Ghost should be sent, and, to conclude, how Christ should come at the last to judge the world. After that came St John the Baptist, to point out Christ plainly with his finger, and to say: *Ecce Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi*: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

Last of all Christ himself began to preach and prophesy of himself, and to gather unto him a chosen people, that should be followers of good works. Then was the accomplishment and fulness of time come to pass, that had so long been looked for: then the kingdom of God began to suffer violence, and men violently even by force brake in upon it: then the corn sown[2] and cast into the ground by the patriarchs long before, and watered and cherished by

[1 Afore, 1583, 1609.] [2 Sowed, 1583.]

the dew of the prophets, was ripened and kerned[3] by the Spirit of God: then was the harvest great, and the ears white, even ready to be cut.

Yet, this notwithstanding, Christ saith the harvest-men are but few. He saith not, The harvest is great, and there are but few scribes, but few Pharisees, but few Sadducees, but few priests, but few Levites; for the priests and Levites were distributed through the whole country: in every little town or borough there was a college, and, as one of their rabbins recordeth, in the city of Hierusalem there were no less than four hundred schools[4]; so that the number was almost infinite.

Moreover, they used commonly to say, as it is reported by the prophet Jeremy: *Non peribit lex a sacerdote, nec consilium a sapiente, nec sermo a propheta:* "It cannot be that the true understanding of the law should be taken from the priest, nor good counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet." They read and expounded the law to the people every day: they had their daily sacrifice; and, whensoever the ox, or calf, or sheep, or goat was slain and offered unto God, as then the manner was, the priest for his share had the breastlet that covered the heart; in token, as Origen writeth, that the priest should be a man of counsel. He had also appointed to him the right shoulder and the tongue; in token that he should be prompt and ready in good works, and eloquent to declare the law of God[5]. Jer. xviii.

The bishop had evermore before his breast a tablet wherein was embroidered in letters of gold, *Urim* and *Thummim;* in token that he should be a man both perfect in life, and also full and plenteous in the truth of God. In the same were set twelve stones, and therein graven the names of the twelve tribes of the people; that he might have them evermore in remembrance. The skirts or hems of his robes were set with bells of gold, and pomegranates; in token that his life should give a good savour, and his voice should ring, and be heard among the people.

The Pharisees had certain special points and sentences of the law written round about in the borders of their garments; that it might never be out of their eyes: they prayed, no men more, and that in every corner of the streets: they fasted twice every week: the bed that they lay upon, as Epiphanius writeth, was but a span broad, and yet, that they might sleep with less ease, they strowed thorns underneath them[6]. Briefly, all their life in appearance was such, and all their apparel and behaviour so seemly and decent, that, if a man would paint out wisdom, sobriety, and perfect holiness, he could have no better pattern. And therefore they were called *Pharisæi,* that is, "divided," as men in holiness and perfection of life far passing all the rest of the people.

Yet for all this, notwithstanding their great shew of wisdom, of learning, of perfection of life, and the great multitude of them, Christ saith there were few workmen to go to the harvest. For "they did prophesy out of their own hearts,... they did not rise up in the gaps, nor made up the hedge for the house of Israel to stand in the battle in the day of the Lord: they have seen vanity and lying divination, saying, The Lord saith it, and the Lord hath not sent them; and they have made others to hope that they would confirm the words of their prophecy," saith Ezechiel. Ezek. xiii.

No, contrariwise, these that should have been the chief harvest-men were the wasters and destroyers of the harvest: "My people," saith God, "hath been as lost sheep: their shepherds have caused them to go astray, and have turned them away to the mountains." Christ telleth the Pharisees, they have made his Father's house a den of thieves. He speaketh thus of them: "All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers." Notwithstanding their stout learning and shew of holiness, they were nothing else but thieves and robbers: Jer. l. John x.

---

[3] Kerned: formed into corns.]

[4] See before, page 679, note 5.]

[5] Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. v. 11. Tom. II. p. 214.]

[6] Καὶ οἱ μὲν σανίδας ἑαυτοῖς ἐφιλοκάλουν σπιθαμῆς μόνης τὸ πλάτος.... ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ἀκάνθας στρωμνὴν εἶχον.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Adv. Hær. Lib. I. Hær. xvi. Tom. I. p. 34.]

they did rob men's souls, they stole[1] the sheep out of the fold, they spoiled God of his glory.

When they saw the people follow thick after Christ, and to have him in reverence, they cried out, None of the princes and great holy learned men believe in him; but these rascals that thus run after him are accursed, and ignorant, and know not the law. The unlearned sort said of Christ, He casteth out unclean spirits by the power of God: the great learned men said, No, "he throweth out devils by the power of Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." The unlearned marvelled, and were astonied at the wonderful works that he did: the learned said, "He hath a devil, he is out of his wits." The unlearned said, No doubt "a great prophet is risen amongst us:" the learned said, "He deceiveth the people." The unlearned said, "God hath visited" and sent comfort amongst "his people:" the learned said, "Behold a glutton and a companion of publicans and sinners." The great learned shepherds persecuted Christ, and chased him from place to place: the poor sheep followed him into the desert. They that were the guiders of the flock crucified Christ, and shed his blood: the poor flock set their whole affiance in his death, and so drank his blood to the relief of their souls; they believed in him, they knew the time of their visitation.

And therefore, notwithstanding there were gross and damnable errors amongst the people as well as amongst the learned, yet Christ challenged not the people for them, but only the priests and the Pharisees, that took upon them to lead the people; for that he saw the Pharisees and priests offended even
Matt. xxiii. of malice, and the poor people only of ignorance and simplicity. "Wo be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, that have taken away the keys, and shut up the kingdom of God before the people; and neither will you enter in yourselves, nor suffer others that would gladly enter."

But as for the people, he had compassion on[2] them, for that he saw they were forsaken, and perished even as sheep without a herd; that they had a certain zeal of God, although not according to knowledge; that they fell into the pit, not of wilful malice, but only because they followed the blind guides that fell before them; that they were God's harvest, and lay abroad and were lost; and no man would take the pains to fetch them in.

St Paul was not only led away by ignorance, but also was a most earnest persecutor of the church of Christ; yet was he a portion of God's harvest. And therefore, as soon as God had stricken him down from his horse, he knew he had
Acts ix. done amiss, and cried out: "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" and after he writeth of himself: God hath had mercy and taken me to his grace, because I knew not what I did.

Many there were that cried out upon Christ, "Crucify him, crucify him;" and after, when he hung upon the cross, nodded their heads upon him, and made mowes at him, and did him all manner of spite and villany; and yet pertained they to God's harvest, and afterward, as it is credible, were crucified for him and shed their blood for him themselves.

Even so are there even at this time many that of ignorance persecute the gospel of Christ, and as it were crucify Christ again; which if they felt indeed that it were the gospel of God, they would not so little regard their own salvation. God make them to be of his harvest, and send out labourers to fetch them in!

Whensoever we begin to feel a lack within ourselves, and can suffer ourselves to be informed and taught by the Spirit of God, then may we be assured God will take us for his harvest. Plato the old philosopher imagineth that the god Love was born of the lady Πενία, that is to say, "madam Lack or Necessity[3]." For no man loveth a thing before he feel himself stand in need of it; so love is the child, and lack or need is the mother.

St Augustine writeth of himself, that, before he became christened, a friend of his offered him the scripture to look upon; but he, after he had read a little, because he felt in himself no lack of it, he despised it and flung it from him.

[1 Stale, 1583.] [2 One, 1611.] [3 Plat. Conviv. § 29.]

Afterward he began to find much folly in himself, and, because he could see no redress, he fell to weeping and prayer. In the midst of his mourning and groaning he heard a voice: *Tolle, lege; tolle, lege:* "Take up and read, take up and read." He marvelled much what it should be. At the last he took up a book that lay by him of Paul's epistles; and the first words that he set his eyes upon were these: *Induimini Dominum Jesum Christum*[4]: "Put ye on[2] the Lord Jesus Christ." August. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. xii.

St Hierome, writing upon the prophet Nahum, saith: *In adventu Messiæ,... populus, qui fuerat consopitus sub magistris, [excitabitur,] et ibit ad montes scripturarum*[5]: "What time Messias shall come, the people, that were lulled asleep in ignorance by such as should have been their teachers, shall awake and get them forth to the mountains of the scriptures." In Nahum, cap. iii.

And Chrysostom upon Genesis[6]: *Si desit ministerium hominis, ipse Dominus superne illustrabit mentem nostram*[7]: "If the ministry of man be wanting, the Lord himself will lighten our mind from above." And Christ in the gospel of St John saith: "My sheep hear my voice, and follow me," "and they will not follow a stranger, but fly from him." And, to conclude, whosoever feeleth a lack within himself, and can suffer himself to be informed and taught by the Spirit of God, he may be assured God will take him for his harvest. Thus was the harvest great, the labourers very few, the scatterers and wasters almost infinite. This was the state of the church at the coming of Christ. Hom. 36. John x.

Even likewise in these our days Christ our Saviour hath gone abroad in progress, and done marvellous cures, and shewed strange miracles among his people, and hath caused his gospel to ring throughout the world. And, as he said then, even so may it now be said: *Messis multa:* "The harvest is great," and marvellous forward; yea, even there where as no worldly hope of harvest could have been. Many there are that hunger and thirst after the kingdom of God, which is the knowledge of his gospel; many there are yet green and ignorant, many that lie by the way-side, and yet have gathered no root, many that as yet are but tares and darnel, I mean blind and obstinate; but, when God's holy will shall be, may be turned into good corn and pertain to his harvest.

But the labourers are few. I say not, there be but few cardinals, few bishops, few priests that should be preachers, few archdeacons, few chancellors, few deans, few prebendaries, few vicars, few parish priests, few monks, few friars; for the number of these is almost infinite. Gregory Nazianzene in his time complained at the multitude of priests, and said they were almost as many as the rest of the people[8]. And Justinian the emperor in his time was fain to restrain the number of them, and to give commandment that in one cathedral church there should never be above sixty priests and one hundred deacons[9]. The like order was taken in a general council for the abating of the multitude of monks and friars[10]. And in the book called *Opus tripartitum*, joined to the council of Lateran, these words were written: *Totus fere mundus obloquitur, et scandalizatur de... multitudine religiosorum pauperum, qui introierunt in mundum, qui non jam religiosi sed trutannii vocantur*[11]: "Well-near the whole world crieth against and is offended at the great multitnde of begging monks and friars which are entered into the world, and now for their behaviour are called, not religious men, but varlets." These be the words of the council. Concil. Tom. III. Concil. Delect. Card. Concil. Tom. II.

The number of these is great; but, alas! the number of labourers is very small. And yet they give a shew to the world that they be pastors and feeders of the flock, that they be the fathers of the people, that they be the teachers of the

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. cap. xii. 29. Tom. I. col. 156; where *induite*.]

[5 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Naum Proph. cap. iii. Tom. III. col. 1590. See before, page 688, note 4.]

[6 Upon the Genesis, 1583.]

[7 ...οὐδένα ἔξωθεν ἐσχηκὼς διδάσκαλον... τῆς θείας ἀπέλαυσεν ἐπιφανείας.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xv. Gen. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. IV. p. 362.]

[8 Gregor. Nazianz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. ii. 8. Tom. I. p. 15. See before, page 197.]

[9 Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Collat. I. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. cap. 1. Tom. II. p. 7.]

[10 Suggest. Delect. Card. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. III. pp. 820, 2.]

[11 Opus Trip. in eod. Lib. III. cap. iii. Tom. II. p. 1000.]

multitude, that they be the labourers in the harvest, that the whole catholic church stayeth altogether upon them.

They give the bishop of Rome these titles, that he is the only key of christian faith, that he is greater than the apostles, for that they could err, and he cannot: they say he is Christ's vicar; whereas indeed to any man's sight Christ may be contented to be his vicar. They say he is no bare man, but a god, as it is written in the decretals of Nicholas pope[1], and many other the like, which I leave.

The pope calleth the cardinals *cardines mundi, &c.*, "the very hooks and stays of the world, upon whom the door of the church militant must be turned." Another saith: As a door turneth upon the hook, even so the church of Rome is ruled by the cardinals[2]. Therefore they have pillars and poleaxes carried afore them, in token that they be the pillars and stays of the church; and poleaxes to beat down all evil doctrine.

And what shall I speak of bishops? Their cloven mitre signifieth perfect knowledge of the new testament and the old. Their crosier's staff signifieth diligence in attending the flock of Christ. Their purple boots and sandals signify that they should ever be booted and ready to go abroad through thick and thin to teach the gospel. And thereto they applied the words of the prophet: *Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona*[3]*!* "How beautiful are the feet of them which bring glad tidings of peace, which bring glad tidings of good things!" But, alas! in what kind of things[4] do they bear themselves for bishops? These mystical titles and shews are not enough to fetch in the Lord's harvest: they are garments more meet for players than for good labourers. St Bernard writeth thus to Eugenius the bishop of Rome, who sometime had been his scholar:

De Consid. ad Eug. Lib. iv.

"Thou which art the shepherd jettest up and down shining in gold and gorgeously attired; but what get thy sheep? If I durst speak it, these things are not the fodder for Christ's sheep, but for devils[5]." Whatsoever apparel they have upon them, unless they will fall to work, Christ will not know them for labourers.

How then can the bishop of Rome be taken for the chief pastor of Christ, which these nine hundred years hath not opened his mouth to feed the flock? These nine hundred years, I say, since Gregory, the first of that name, it can hardly be found that ever any bishop of Rome was seen in a pulpit. One of themselves, Adrianus the fourth, a bishop of Rome, was wont to say: *Succedimus non Petro in docendo, sed Romulo in parricidio*[6]: "We succeed not Peter in teaching, but Romulus in murdering."

And in the[7] canon of the apostles it is decreed that the bishop that teacheth not his flock should be deposed[8]. To which purpose they allege St Augustine:

August. de Civ. Dei, Lib. xix. cap. xix.

Episcopatus, ... nomen est operis, non honoris: ... ut intelligat se non esse episcopum, qui vult præesse, non prodesse[9]. "A bishop's office is a name of labour, not a name of honour; that he which coveteth the place of pre-eminence, and hath not a desire to do good, may know he is not a bishop." Thus saith Origen, thus saith Chrysostom, thus say divers others of the old fathers, whom it were long and needless to rehearse. *Multi sacerdotes, ... pauci sacerdotes,* saith Chrysostom;

Chrysost. Hom. 43. in Op. Imperf. in Matt.

multi nomine, pauci opere[10]: "There are many priests, and few priests; many that bear the name, but few that be priests indeed." Thus the harvest is great and plenteous; but the labourers are but few.

The labourers are but few; but the destroyers and wasters are exceeding many; yea, such as should be the harvest-men most of all destroy the corn. I

---

[1] Nicol. Papa in Epist. ad Michael. Imp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xcvi. can. 7. col. 467. See before, page 438.]

[2] ...inde dicti sunt cardinales: per quos tota ecclesia sicut ostium per cardinem gubernatur.—Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. II. cap. i. 17. fol. 46.]

[3] Id. ibid. Lib. III. cap. viii. 2. fol. 69. 2. See before, page 15, note 7. See also ibid. cap. xiii. 1. cap. xv. foll. 74, 6.]

[4] Thing, 1583, 1609.]

[5] Inter hæc tu pastor procedis deauratus, tam multa circumdatus varietate. Oves quid capiunt? Si auderem dicere; dæmonum magis, quam ovium pascua hæc.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. IV. cap. ii. 5. Vol. I. Tom. II. col. 437.]

[6] Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. *fol. 108.* See before, page 993, note 17.]

[7] A, 1583.]

[8] Can. Apost. 35. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. I. col. 32.]

[9] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700, De Civ. Dei, Lib. XIX. cap. xix. Tom. VII. col. 563; where *non se esse episcopum qui præesse dilexerit.*]

[10] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Op. Imperf. *in* Matt. Hom. xliii. ex cap. xxiii. Tom. VI. p. clxxxiii.]

will not here report that I am well able, that your eyes have seen, and that many of you have felt; the state of our time hath been such. St Bernard saw it in his time, and therefore saith: *Omnes amici, et omnes inimici: omnes necessarii, et omnes adversarii*[11]: "All are friends; and all are enemies: all are helpers; and all are adversaries or hinderers." Again: *Heu, heu! Domine Deus... ipsi sunt in persequutione tua primi, qui videntur in ecclesia tua primatum diligere, gerere principatum*[12]: "Alas, alas! O Lord God, they are the chiefest in persecuting thee that seem to love the highest rooms, and to bear rule in thy church." Serm. 33. in Cant. Bernard. Serm. 1. in Convers. S. Pauli.

The time being so short as it is appointed me will not suffer me to speak of them that even now hinder God's harvest, and, being such men as should stay the people, as much as they may do by their example, disquiet and disturb them; that withstand at this time and resist your grace's doings, not in dark and[13] doubtful matters, wherein something may be said on both sides, but in such things as they themselves do know were appointed by Christ, published by the apostles, received by the old doctors, and used and frequented in the primitive and catholic church. Why then will they not receive them? Christ himself giveth the reason: *Quia dilexerunt magis gloriam hominum quam gloriam Dei*: "Because they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God." They know they should endanger[14] their credit if they should once again turn. Why would not the Pharisees suffer the people to believe in Christ? Cyrillus maketh answer: *Quia quicquid Christo credentium accesserit, sibi detractum putabant*[15]: this was the cause, saith he, "for that they thought, how many soever faithful came unto Christ, so many were lost from them." And therefore they had lever keep the traditions of their elders than hazard their estimation. And Chrysostom upon the same matter saith: *Cum timerent ne principatum amitterent, ceu legum latores, ut majores esse viderentur, multa innovabant; quæ res ad tantam pervenit nequitiam, ut præcepta sua custodirent magis quam mandata Dei*[16]: "Lest they should lose their authority, as if they had been law-makers, men able to stablish and ordain laws, to the end they might seem greater, they altered much; which thing (in the end) grew to such a wickedness, that they kept their own commandments more than the commandments of God." Thus even now the Lord's harvest is great, the labourers few, and the destroyers and hinderers above number. O lift up your eyes, and consider how the hearts of your poor brethren lie waste without instruction, without knowledge, without the food of life, without the comfort of God's word; such a misery as never was seen among heathens. The Turks have teachers sufficient for their people: the Jews, albeit they have no stated country, but live in banishment and wander about, yet have they their teachers: the Christians which this day live in India, Æthiopia, Barbary, Moorland, and other places under the persecution of heathen princes, yet have their instructors in true religion. The Christians in old time, when they lived under tyrants, and were daily put to most shameful death, and were hated and despised of all the world, yet never lacked ministers to instruct them. It is therefore most lamentable that Christians, living under a christian prince, in the peace and liberty of the gospel, should lack learned ministers to teach them and instruct them in the word of God: this is the greatest plague that God doth send upon any people. John xii. Cyril. in Joh. Lib. viii. cap. i. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 52.

Contrariwise, the greatest blessing which any people can receive at God's hands is to have prophets and preachers, by whom they may be instructed. When the prophet declareth the mercy of God towards Israel, that he would put an end to their afflictions, and bring them home again from Babylon, he saith thus: "Behold," saith the Lord, "I will send out many fishers; and they shall fish them." In like sort saith Esay: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that declareth and publisheth peace, that declareth good tidings, and publisheth salvation, saying unto Sion, Thy God reigneth! The voice of thy Jer. xvi. Isai. lii.

[11] Bernard. Op. In Cant. Serm. xxxv. 15. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1393.]

[12] Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956.]

[13] Or, 1583, 1609.]

[14] Danger, 1583.]

[15] Cyril. Opus Insig. in Evang. Joan. Par. 1508. Lib. VIII. cap. i. fol. 52. 2; where *quicquid igitur Christo*, and *putant*. This is one of the books added to Cyril by Judocus Clichtoveus.]

[16] Chrysost. Op. In Matt. Hom. li. Tom. VII. p. 520.]

watchmen shall be heard; they shall lift up their voice, and shout together." And
Bar. iii. Baruch: "Nor the Agarens that sought after wisdom upon the earth, nor the merchants of Nerran and Theman, nor the expounders of fables, nor the searchers out of wisdom, have known the way of wisdom." "There were the giants, famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in war. Those did not the Lord choose, neither gave he the way of knowledge unto them; but they were destroyed because they had no wisdom, and perished through their own foolishness." "He hath found out all the way of knowledge, and hath given
Bar. iv. it unto Jacob his servant, and to Israel his beloved." And again: "O Israel, we are blessed; for the things that are acceptable to God are declared unto us."
Psal. cxlvii. "He hath not dealt so with every nation; neither have they knowledge of his judgments," saith the prophet David.

But, when God taketh away his ministers which should preach peace, and open unto the people the will of God, and make known his judgments, it is a token
Prov. xxix. that God is highly displeased with his people. "Where there is no vision, the people decay:" they know not what to believe. Of this misery speaketh Jeremy:
Lam. iv. "The young children ask bread; but no man breaketh it unto them." Of this
Isai. xli. speaketh Esay: "The poor and needy seeketh water; and there is none." They would have some counsel, some comfort; and there is no man to give it them.
Ezek. xxxiv. "My sheep wandered," saith God, "through all the mountains, and on every high hill: yea, my flock was scattered through all the whole earth; and none did seek or search after them." They were full of diseases, they were pined for hunger, and taken up by the wolf; but none had care to deliver them.

In such state as the flock is in which hath no shepherd; or the ship which is tossed by the tempests amidst the surges and rocks of the sea, and hath no skilful pilot to guide it; or the young sucking child that hath no nurse to feed it; even in such state are your souls, if you have not the ministry of God's word abiding with you. You are children; the preacher is your nurse: you are a ship in danger of many wrecks through the boisterous tempests of this world; the preacher is your pilot to guide you safely towards the haven of rest: you are the flock; the preacher leadeth you from dangerous places to feed upon the wholesome pastures of God's holy word. Whosoever they be which rejoice not in the increase of the Lord's harvest, he forsaketh them, and leaveth them comfortless, and giveth them few or no labourers.

"Wherefore pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send forth labourers into his harvest." It is the Lord which casteth the first seed into the earth, which doth moisten the ground, and maketh it fruitful, and giveth forth his sun, that it may come to ripening. All the soil, field, corn, and the husbandry thereof is the Lord's. Let us pray to him to send forth labourers to travail and take pains.

Notwithstanding we ought to pray to God, that he will stir up and set forth men to instruct his people; yet that nothing embarreth the authority of princes. For, as God calleth him inwardly in the heart whom he will have to be a minister of his word, so must he be authorised of his prince by outward and civil calling; as I could shew at large, if time would suffer it.

So Salomon the king deposed Abiathar the high priest, and set up Sadoc. So Justinian deposed two bishops of Rome, Silverius and Vigilius, and authorised others[1]. And the same Justinian was wont to say, that he had no less regard to the church of God than he had to his own soul. So Constantinus, Valentinianus, and Theodosius called themselves *vasallos Christi*, "the vassals of Christ." And
Socrat. Lib. v. in Procem. Socrates in his story saith: "We have also herein comprised the emperors' lives; for that, sithence the emperors were first christened, the affairs of the church have depended of them, and the greatest councils both have been and are kept by their advice[2]." It pertaineth therefore also to kings and princes to send out labourers into the harvest.

Labourers they must be, and not loiterers. For Christ compareth the teaching of his people to things that be of great labour, as to ploughing and fallowing of the ground, to planting of a vine, to rearing of a house, to threshing of corn,

[1 See before, page 406, note 8.]
[2 Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. Procem. p. 212. See before, page 411.]

to feeding of sheep, to leading of an host, and keeping of war; in which things is required much diligence and labour.

Cato, in his books of husbandry, saith, it was an old saw among husbandmen: *Qui terram colit, ne sedeat; est enim aliquid semper quod agat:* "He that plougheth the ground must not sit still; for he hath always somewhat to do." The work of the husbandman is never ended: he falloweth, stirreth, soweth, harroweth, weedeth, and tendeth his land.

Therefore, if they be pastors, let them feed the flock: if they be doctors, let them teach the people: if they be watchmen, let them stand upon their watch: if they be messengers, let them do their errand. This is the way to build up the church of Christ. This commission Christ gave unto his disciples: *Ite in mundum universum, &c.:* "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature." Thus by twelve poor apostles all the world was conquered: princes and kings and emperors were subdued to the faith of Christ. This is the key that openeth the conscience, this is the two-edged sword which entereth through, even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit. Therefore the apostle saith: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down holds, casting down the imaginations and every high thing that is exalted against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ." This is the only instrument wherewith we may cut down and have in the harvest of God.

Mark xvi.

2 Cor. x.

For all men's devices, acts, laws, or commandments, be the authority thereof never so great, yet are not sufficient to content one man's conscience. For the wisdom of man is but folly before God; and God knoweth the fancies and cogitations of men, that they be but vain and foolish.

Aristotle, the great wise philosopher, on a time being sick, when the physician came to him to minister him a potion, and shewed him not what was in it, began to chafe and take on with him: "Why," said he, "heal not me as thou wouldest heal an ox or a horse, but shew me what thou givest me, what are the ingredients, and wherefore thou givest it me." Even so must the people be healed of their errors: they must know what is given them, and wherefore.

Fides, saith Bernard, *suadenda est, non imponenda*[3]: "Faith may not be compulsed by force or rigour, but gently brought in by persuasion;" for forced faith is no faith. St Paul saith: "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." And therefore it is well observed by the wise and politic father St Ambrose, that "the church of Christ was not gathered by the law, but by faith[4]." Basil saith: "If you will have God's wisdom take place, all your worldly wisdom must be set apart[5]." And in like sort Hilarius: *Humanis operibus extructa non permanent: aliter ædificanda ecclesia, aliter custodienda est, &c.*[6]: "Things that be set up with man's workmanship," saith Hilary, "will not endure: the church of God must otherwise be builded and preserved; for the foundation of it must be laid upon the apostles and prophets. The church being thus built by God, that is to say, by the doctrine of God, shall never fall."

Rom. x.

I speak not this against all civil and honest lawful policy; for I know it is the gift of God, without the which nor common state nor the church can be maintained. But this seemeth to have been the meaning of these old fathers, that in the building of God's church the preaching of God's word must go before, to quiet men's consciences; and wisdom and policy, like handmaids, must follow after. For this honour and prerogative God claimeth only to himself, that his church must be built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Which if it be otherwise built; *Nisi Dominus ædificaverit domum, in vanum laboraverunt, qui ædificant eam:* "Unless God himself build up the house, they sweat and labour but in vain that set it up."

[3 Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 12. Vol. I. Tom. IV. col. 1499.]

[4 Non lex ecclesiam congregavit, sed fides Christi.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Epist. Class. I. Serm. contr. Auxent. 24. Tom. II. col. 870.]

[5 These words have not been found; but for ideas nearly similar see Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xlviii. 5, 6. Tom. I. p. 182.]

[6 Humanis enim operibus extructa non permanet. ...Extruenda aliter est, custodienda aliter est...fundamentum ejus super prophetas et apostolos locandum est....Hæc ita a Deo, id est doctrinis ejus ædificanda, non concidet.—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Tractat. in Psalm. cxxvi. 8. col. 417.]

Thus Christ at the beginning gathered his church, not by laws of men, but, against all law and policy, by the preaching of his word. God might have instructed Cornelius by the angel that appeared to him, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles; but he would not so, but sent Peter to him, that he might be instructed by the mouth of a preacher. He might have taught Paul after he had stricken him down from his horse, when he appeared to him, and said: *Ego sum Jesus quem tu persequeris:* "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest:" but he would not so, but rather left him to be taught by Ananias. And, as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, at the preaching of Peter three thousand people were converted and won in one day; that it might appear by what tools and with what workmen God would have his harvest set forward.

Now let us behold the present state of our country. These words of Christ our Saviour were never more true than we find them now in these our days. The harvest is great, and the labourers very few: the poor people lieth forsaken, and left as it were sheep without a guide: the afflicted in conscience have no man to quiet them: they grow wild and savage, as it were a people that had no God: they are commanded to change their religion, and for lack of instruction they know not whither to turn them: they know not neither what they leave nor what they should receive.

Some other defy and spit at the holy gospel of our Saviour Christ, and refuse the covenant of everlasting life. Some other for lack of knowledge follow after wilful and blind masters, and become Arians or Pelagians, and thus they blaspheme the Son of God. Some other give themselves over to their own affections, and, as he saith, rejoice and triumph in their filthiness, without fear of God, without conscience of sin, and so tread down the blood of the testament under their feet; and this do they for lack of teaching, because they have not learned men and preachers to shew them what they should do.

O, saith our Saviour Christ, the good Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, my harvest is beaten down and lost; and there is none that will go abroad and save it. My people run headlong to their own destruction, not of malice, but of very simplicity, only because they are not taught, because they know not my Father nor me. Alas! it is not my Father's will that any of them should be lost.

They be our brethren, they be the flock of God, they be the harvest, they are bought with great price: I beseech you, even for that blood that was shed and spent for them and us all, let us not despise them.

If the kingdom of God be not worthy to be promoted, yet the kingdom of Satan is worthy to be overthrown. Now is that acceptable and joyful time come amongst us, even now God hath visited his people: now the harvest is great and plenteous. All the world this day longeth and groaneth after the gospel. Let us therefore all together direct our prayers to the Lord and Master of the harvest.

We beseech thee, most merciful Father, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake, as thou hast plentifully increased thy harvest, and brought it to a ripeness in these our days, so send out labourers to get it in, that it be not spilt. Gather in all thy sheep that lie straying without a herd. Lighten the hearts of thine adversaries; that they may know the time of their visitation, and see that blessed hope whereunto thou hast called them; that all the world with one mouth and one mind may know and glorify thee, the only true and living God, and thy Son Jesus Christ; to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen.

LUKE XI.

Ver. 15. *But some of them said, He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils*[1], *&c.*

THAT it may please God so to order both my utterance and your understanding, that whatsoever shall be spoken or heard may turn to the glory of his holy name and to the profit and comfort of his church; before I enter into the exposition of these words, I desire you to call upon our gracious God with your earnest and hearty prayer. And here I commend unto you the good estate of God's holy and catholic church, and therein the queen's most excellent majesty, by the especial grace of God queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the true, ancient, and apostolic faith, and the highest governor, next under God, of this church of England, &c.; that, as God of his mercy hath marvellously preserved her to the possession of her right, to the great comfort of all our her subjects' hearts, and to the reformation of the church; so it may please him to aid and increase her with his holy Spirit, to the continuance and performance of the same; the queen's most honourable council, with the residue of the nobility; the miserable state of both the universities, and all other schools of learning, the only nurseries of this realm; the bishops and preachers, that the number of them may be increased, and that they may have grace to set forth the truth of God's gospel, as their duty is, diligently, soberly, sincerely, truly, and faithfully; and the whole commons of this realm, especially such as speak ill or think ill of God's holy word, that they may have grace to regard the salvation of their souls, to lay aside all blind affection, to hear the word of God, and so to come to the knowledge of the truth.

Whoso list to peruse either the whole course of the scriptures, or other stories and records of antiquity, shall find that the messengers of God, such as have been sent of purpose to give knowledge of his holy will, have at all times been unkindly received of the more part, and slanderously reported of; and whatsoever they have said or done hath been falsely depraved, and turned to the worst.

Moses, that godly captain, notwithstanding he were purposely called and sent from God, and in his name wrought many and strange wonders before the people; yet were there some that said he was a sorcerer, and whatsoever he did he did by way of conjuration.

The religion of the Jews was the true worship of the only God; yet Pliny saith it was *contemptus omnium numinum*, "the despising of all the gods." The Jews suffered no images to be in their churches, because God had forbidden them; yet Cornelius Tacitus saith, they worship their God in form of an ass[2]. Others said, they worship a god whom they call *Sobaoth*, in the shape and fashion of a hog; and that therefore they were forbidden to eat swine's flesh. Others, that they worship Saturnus, because they were commanded to keep holy the Saturday.

The wicked and cruel Aman, to bring the people of God into hatred with the king Assuerus, made his complaint of them in this wise: May it please your majesty, saith he, to understand, you have a people here in your realm that useth a new kind of religion, and will not be ordered by your grace's laws.

When the godly prince Cyrus[3] had given Esdras and Nehemias leave to build up again the church of God at Hierusalem, there came divers to him, and bade him take good heed; for that the Jews were his enemies, and ever had been traitors to his crown.

Likewise, after that Christ our Saviour had ascended into heaven, and the Holy Ghost was poured down upon the apostles, and they began to speak divers tongues that they never had learned, the enemies disdainfully scorned at the gifts of God, and said: *Musto pleni sunt isti:* "These men be drunken, and full of new wine;" and therefore they talk they know not what.

When Paul and the other apostles taught free remission of sins, without any

[1 Of devils, 1583.] [2 C. Corn. Tacit. Hist. Lib. v. 4.] [3 This appears to be an error for Artaxerxes.]

goodness or desert of our parts, only of God's mercy, and in the blood of Christ, the enemies jested at that kind of learning, and said: *Faciamus mala*
Rom. iii. 8. *ut veniant bona:* Then, if God's mercy be declared by forgiveness of sins, "let
Rom. vi. 1. us do evil, that good may come thereof:" "let us continue in sin, that grace may abound."

Because the Christians in the ministration of the holy communion used bread and wine, some said they worshipped not Christ, but Bacchus and Ceres, gods of the heathens.

Whereas the christian men, soon after the apostles' time, used to resort together in the night-time, or in the morning before day, into some private house, there to call upon the name of God, and to receive the sacrament together, for fear of the cruelty of tyrants; the enemies reported that, being thus together, they killed a child amongst them, and so devoured up his flesh, and drank his blood, and after put out the lights, and so committed incest and adultery one with another.

But what needeth more examples? Because we say that justification standeth only upon the free grace and mercy of God, the adversaries report that we forbid good works. And because we speak against superstition used in fasting, as before us did Esay, Paul, and Christ himself, they report that we would have no fasting. And because we reprove the errors and abuses in the manner of prayer, they say we would not have the people to pray. And because we restore the sacraments to the first institution of our Saviour Christ, and the example of the primitive church, they say we take away the sacraments.

This is God's holy will, that for our exercise, whatsoever we say or do, be it never so well, it shall be ill taken.

Julian the apostata found fault with the simplicity and rudeness of God's word.

Tertullian saith, the heathens, in the time of the primitive church, were wont to paint out in mockery the God of the Christians, with an ass's head and a book in his hand[1]; in token that the Christians professed learning, but indeed were asses, rude and ignorant. And do not our adversaries the like this day against all those that profess the gospel of Jesus Christ? O, say they, who are they that favour this way? none but shoemakers, tailors, weavers, prentices, such as never were in the university, but be altogether ignorant and void of learning. Thus have you been borne in hand, that you might be brought to mistrust the gospel.

And, as the Pharisees upbraided those that heard the doctrine of Christ,
John vii. "Doth any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believe in him? But this people which know not the law are cursed;" even so this day they say by you: They understand not their *Pater noster*, they know not their creed; ye be ignorant. O miserable men! do they advance themselves of your ignorance? If you know not your belief, if you understand not your *Pater noster*, if you be so ignorant, through whose fault are you so ignorant? why were they your pastors? why did they not teach you? why take they from you the holy scriptures? why will they have you be ignorant and unlearned still?

This do they that they may the more discredit and deface the gospel, which God of his mercy hath in our days restored unto us, and caused the beams thereof to shine over all countries in such sort that now the simple and unlearned, the rich, the learned, the worshipful, the honourable, the states and princes of the world, be become professors and maintainers of it, as our eyes do see this day. Blessed be his holy name therefore!

They say that the preachers of the same are unlearned, as men that read nothing but a few English books, and never studied or saw the old doctors.

We find not such fault in their learning, neither do we speak those things by them, that the most part of you doth know we might justly and truly speak. For we seek not to confound them by such means: it is not our profession. We malice them not, we are not enemies unto them. And that thou, O Lord, that knowest all things, knowest best.

[1 ... quidam ... mercenarius picturam proposuit cum ejusmodi inscriptione, Deus Christianorum Onochoetes. is erat auribus asininis, altero pede unguIatus, librum gestans, et togatus.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 16. p. 17.]

Let them have the commendation of learning: God give them grace to join it with truth, and to use it to his glory, and not to their own! Yet they must needs be very well learned, that will charge all their adversaries with ignorance.

Albeit in contention of learning I may be worst heard to speak, being the unworthiest of all my brethren; yet this dare I be bold to say, because it is true, we are not so far to seek in learning as they would have us appear to be. St Paul, being driven to answer in his own defence in a like matter, in comparison between him and the false prophets, writeth on this sort: *Hebræi sunt, et ego: Israelitæ sunt, et ego: semen Abrahæ sunt, et ego: ministri Christi sunt, et ego:* "They are Hebrews; so am I: they are Israelites; so am I: they are the seed of Abraham; so am I: they are the ministers of Christ; so am I." 2 Cor. xi.

So will I say, and truly say, between us and them. They are seen in the tongues, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; so are we: they have studied the arts; so have we: they have read the doctors, the general councils, and the scriptures; so have we. If they can be learned doing this, O what unfortunate and unhappy men are we, that are so unlearned, and yet do the same! This luck commonly followeth all them that be professors of the truth.

St Paul was counted and called a rebel, and accused that he was an Egyptian, and had gathered a number of men of war to disquiet and trouble the country. "We have found," saith Tertullus, "this man a pestilent fellow, and a mover of sedition amongst all the Jews throughout the world." Acts xxiv.

So saith Tertullian, that in his time the Christians were called *hostes publici*[2], that is, "enemies and destroyers of all common states."

And those reports the enemies not only scattered among the common people, but also dropped them into the magistrates' and princes' ears, that they might have an ill opinion of christian religion, and suppress the ministers and preachers of it; so unkind commonly many have been towards the messengers of God's word.

When Christ himself came down from heaven from the bosom of his Father, and began to utter and to teach the gospel of everlasting life, and to confirm the same with many a strange miracle, the poor people gave ear unto him, and believed his doctrine, and by his wondrous works knew him to be the Son of David, the very Messias that was promised them. But the scribes and Pharisees, that bare the name of doctors, and had been evermore brought up in learning, and were the instructors of the people, made light of Christ's miracles, and said to the people: "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils." The miracle was such that no reasonable man would have thought it to be wrought by the devil. The poor man, that before had been deaf, was now able to hear; that before was possessed of the devil, was now delivered; that before was sick, was now restored to his health. The poor people marvelled at the doing, and glorified God. But the Pharisees cried out against him: *In Beelzebub, principe dæmoniorum, ejicit dæmonia:* "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the chief of the devils:" not because it was true, nor because it was likely to be true, nor because they in their conscience thought it to be true; but only to bring Christ in hatred with the people, and to deface his doctrine. And therefore they blasphemed that that indeed they could not deny; and that they knew to be the workmanship of God, they said it proceeded from the devil.

Christ our Saviour putteth back these slanders with divers reasons, whereof at this time for shortness sake, I will touch but two. The first reason is: "Every kingdom that is divided in itself shall be brought to desolation:" "if Satan be divided against himself, then must his kingdom needs be dissolved," and that by his own working. But that is not likely. For all the angels of Satan agree and conspire together to the upholding of their kingdom; therefore must you needs confess that I have removed this devil by some other greater power, and not by the power of Beelzebub, the chiefest of the devils.

Here perhaps some man will reply, that witches and conjurers oftentimes chase away one devil by the mean of another. Possible it is so; but that is wrought not by power, but by collusion of the devils: for one devil, the better to attain his purpose, will give place, and make as though he stood in awe of another

[2 Id. ibid. 35. p. 32.]

devil. And by the way, to touch but a word or two of this matter, for that the horrible using of your poor subjects enforceth thereunto; it may please your grace to understand that this kind of people (I mean witches and sorcerers) within these few last years are marvellously increased within this your grace's realm. These eyes have seen most evident and manifest marks of their wickedness. Your grace's subjects pine away even unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benumbed, their senses are bereft.

Wherefore, your poor subjects' most humble petition unto your highness is, that the laws touching such malefactors may be put in due execution. For the shoal of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intolerable, the examples most miserable. And I pray God they never practise further than upon the subject. But this only by the way: these be the scholars of Beelzebub, the chief captain of the devils.

This first reason that Christ useth is taken of common experience. For, notwithstanding there be nothing so puissant as the force of a kingdom; yet, if it be divided in itself, it will perish and come to confusion. For concord and agreement is the strength and maintenance of all states. Break the hoops of a vessel; and all the boards will fall asunder. The examples hereof are too rife. The mightiest kingdoms that ever were by such means have been conquered, and fallen into the power of their enemies.

Therefore Esay, prophesying the destruction of the kingdom of the Jews, saith, first the people shall fall at dissension within themselves, and then should follow their confusion.

When Vespasian the emperor and his son Titus came with an army against Hierusalem, the whole nation of the Jews was divided into three factions, each of them ready to undo the other. Then followed the overthrow of the[1] kingdom. Then was Hierusalem rased to the ground: then were there slain of the Jews to the number of 1,100,000. Once again I will say it, because it is marvellous and most true, as Josephus (who was then a captain in the field) writeth, there were then slain of the Jews, of men, women, and children, no less than 1,100,000[2].

Of late years, the dissension between two brothers brought all Græcia and Asia, and all the east parts of Christendom, into the possession of the Turk[3].

But what needeth us to go to Hierusalem or to Turkey for examples? This kingdom of ours, the mightiest, the noblest, the richest, the blessedest land that is or ever was under heaven, could never yet be conquered by any enemy, but only at such time as the people were at variance within themselves. Then was Julius Cæsar with a small number, then were the English Saxons, then were the Danes, then was the duke of Normandy, able to overrun us, and to possess our country.

Therefore the prince that desireth to be a conqueror laboureth not so much to furnish his own men, and to make himself strong, as to set discord among his enemies. For that is a manifest token of their undoing, and that God's vengeance is at hand. And for that cause Herodian, an old writer, pronounceth that, as much as war is worse than peace, so much is civil sedition worse than war. And Titus Livius, in his story, saith: *Hæc res sola facit, ut magna imperia sint mortalia:* "Dissension only," saith he, "causeth that great empires cannot continue, but have an end." For, if the one part conquer and have the victory, it is even as if a man with his right hand would maim himself, and chop off the left. This example Christ useth to confound the malice of the Pharisees.

The second reason is this: "If I cast out devils by the power of Beelzebub, by what power do your children," my disciples, John, James, Peter, Andrew, and the rest, "cast them out?" They granted that Christ's disciples wrought miracles only by the name of God: and yet, that they allowed in the scholars, even of malice and hatred, and contrary to their conscience, they reproved and blasphemed in the Master. Hereof Christ concludeth: "If I cast out devils in the power of God, then doubtless the kingdom of God is among you:" your own children shall be judges over you.

---

[1] That, 1583.]

[2] Joseph. Op. Amst. 1726. De Bell. Jud. Lib. VI. cap. ix. 3. Tom. II. p. 398.]

[3] Perhaps Isaac and Alexius Angelus are meant. See Gibbon, chap. lx. Or it may be Cantacuzene and John Palæologus. Ibid. chap. lxiv.—In either case the statement in the text is not exactly accurate.]

Now to apply these words unto this our present time, wherein, under a most godly and gracious prince, the truth of Christ's gospel is freely preached; God's holy name therefore be praised for ever.

As Moses in his time was counted a sorcerer; as the Jews were called despisers of all religion, seditious and heady against their princes; as the apostles were counted drunken, and full of new wine; as all Christians were called idolaters, worshippers of Bacchus and Ceres, murderers, incestuous, and adulterers; as St Paul for his preaching was judged a rebel; and all Christians were taken for enemies of all common estates; even so in these latter days all these or other the like crimes have been laid to preachers[4] and professors of Christ's gospel; that they have been godless, seditious, rebels, despisers of good orders, incestuous, adulterers, masters of all sin and wickedness.

But this is our comfort, that nothing can be devised to be spoken against us, but the same aforetime hath been devised and spoken against Christ himself. For he himself was called a Samaritan, a companion of publicans and harlots, a glutton, a liar, a blasphemer, a subverter of the whole nation, a seducer of the people, a rebel against Cæsar, a sorcerer, a worker by the devil, and a breaker of the sabbath-day.

We are set up, saith Paul, as a mark for men to speak against; and whatsoever be spoken of us, be it never so untrue or unlikely, yet are there some that will believe it. Yea, such things as would not be believed spoken of a thief or a murderer, will soon be believed of him that professeth the name and gospel of Jesus Christ. "Wo is me, my mother," saith Jeremy, "that thou hast borne me a contentious man, and a man that striveth with the whole earth: I have neither lent on usury, nor men have lent unto me on usury: yet every one doth curse me." Jer. xv. The untrue[5] report of these things caused such extremity as this day you may hear of in other countries, and sometimes have seen presently before your eyes.

Princes and noblemen hated the doctrine of the gospel before they knew it. They hated it, and thought ill of it, not of malice, nor against their conscience, nor against the testimony of the Holy Ghost, but only of ignorance, because they lacked instruction: they had a zeal and a feeling of God, but not according to knowledge; and therefore, doing as they did, they thought they did God high service.

This courtesy had Christ our Saviour shewed him when he was in the world. The same courtesy must they look for, that will become Christ's disciples. They said of Christ, that whatsoever he did he did it in the name of Beelzebub the chief of the devils. Even so, whereas it hath pleased almighty God to bless us with the true preaching and light of his holy gospel; yet there are some that condemn it, and call it heresy, and bear the people in hand that all this doctrine is nothing else but a renewing of old heresies.

It is a grievous matter for a christian man justly to be accused of heresy. For whosoever is an heretic is an enemy of God, and a waster and destroyer of all true religion. And therefore, unless the crime be marvellous evident, he doth great wrong that calleth any man heretic; and, though a man be falsely charged, yet may he not dissemble it. Ruffinus would say that man were not a Christian, whosoever would abide to be called an heretic. All other injuries may be borne withal; but this is such and so heinous a crime, that, unless it be manifestly evident, no man may suffer to be so judged; and it should not be believed when it is laid to the charge of any Christians.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the cause is God's, and pertaineth to the conscience of a great many, let it be as lawful for the poor man, that is unjustly hurt, to make his salve, as others think it lawful for them to give the wound.

Christ our Saviour, when he was thus charged, made answer: *Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio dæmonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt?* "If I through Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out?" So may we say to such as this day be adversaries to this cause, and speak against us: If we be heretics that teach this doctrine, what are the ancient fathers, the doctors, and the apostles, that have taught the same? If they were catholics, and have been evermore

[4 To the preachers, 1583.] [5 True, 1611.]

so taken, writing as they did; how is it that only we are not catholics, writing and saying as they did? they shall judge on our side against you. And would God in the greatest and specialest points of our controversies all parts would be contented to stand to their judgment; so should all contention be soon at an end.

For I call heaven and earth to witness, and speak it before God and his holy angels, and before the consciences of all them that speak against us, that, touching the very substance of religion, we teach nothing this day but that hath been taught before by Christ himself, set abroad by his apostles, continued in the primitive church, and maintained by the old and ancient doctors.

And in one or two words only to give a taste of the same, that thereby ye may the better judge of the rest:

We say that in the sacrament after the consecration remaineth the substance and nature of bread and wine. The same saith St Augustine, St Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and others[1]. Gelasius' words are so plain as no man can deny them: *Non desinit esse substantia panis et vini:* "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread and wine." Thus wrote they, and were catholics.

We say that Christ's last supper must be used as a communion, and frequented with more than one. So Christ ordained it, so the apostles, the primitive church, and all the old doctors practised it; and never was there any of them that ever made mention of a private mass. Thus did they, and yet were they catholics.

We say the holy communion or sacrament of the breaking and shedding of the body and blood of Christ ought of necessity to be used under both kinds: thus did all the doctors use it. And Gelasius, an old father, saith that "otherwise to use it is open sacrilege[2]." And for the space of a thousand years after Christ there can no example be found to the contrary. Thus did they, and yet were catholics.

We say the public prayers ought to be in the common tongue; that the bishop of Rome ought not to take upon him to be the head of the universal church; that the prince is of right, and by the authority that God hath given him, the highest ruler of his church and realm, as well of the ecclesiastical officers as of the temporal.

And all these things be avouched[3] and confirmed by the examples of the primitive church, by the old general councils, and by the doctors. And the contrary hereof shall never be proved, nor by old father or doctor, nor by ancient council, nor by example of the primitive church, nor by any sufficient authority of the scriptures. I leave the rest; for it were an infinite labour to say as much as might be said.

Thus they taught, thus did they, and were catholics; and, alas! are we, saying the same, only because we say the same, become heretics? that was once true, is it now become false? that was once catholic doctrine, is it now at last become heresy? O merciful God! was it thy will that thy truth should be true but for a season, until there should come men to decree the contrary? If we be heretics that teach the same that the old doctors of the church taught, what then are they that teach contrary to the doctors? Christ our Saviour, to reprove the Pharisees, thought it sufficient to say to them: *Hoc Abraham non fecit:* "This thing Abraham never did." Therefore are you not the children of Abraham. Even so may we truly say to such as hold not themselves contented with this doctrine: These things that you do St Augustine never did, St Hierome never did; none of the ancient fathers ever did; the apostles in the catholic primitive church never did: therefore ye are not the children of St Augustine; ye are not the children of St Hierome; ye are not the children of any of the old catholic doctors; ye are not the children of Christ's primitive, catholic, and universal church.

It may not become me to set order in these things: yet, if it were lawful, I would wish that once again, as time should serve, there might be had a quiet and a sober disputation; that each part might be required to shew their grounds without self-will and without affection; not to maintain or breed contention (for I trust it should be the way to take away all contention), but only that the truth

[1] See before, page 776, notes 8, 9, 10, 11.]
[2] See before, page 9, note 8.]
[3] Advouched, 1583.]

may be known, many consciences quieted, and the right stone tried by comparison of the counterfeit. For, at the last disputation that should have been, you know which party gave over and would not meddle. Some will say the judges will not be indifferent. And, alas! what man that doubteth his own matter will ever think the judges indifferent? Let the whole world, let our adversaries themselves be judges herein (affection put apart), let our adversaries themselves be judges. What can we offer more? if this be not sufficient, what can there be sufficient?

Pompeius, a noble gentleman of Rome, at what time he should go into the field against Cæsar, that then was his enemy, and some of his council told him he lacked men and should never be able with so small a number to stand in field against Cæsar, being well furnished: "Tush," quoth he, "whensoever I shall but beat the ground with my foot, I shall by and by raise up a swarm of soldiers." Afterward it befell that Pompey was vanquished and glad to flee. Then Marcus Cato, an old gentleman and one of his army, said to him: "O sir, remember your promise, you lack men; now let us see your swarm of soldiers[4]."

It is well known that it hath been spoken, both in this place and in other like, that all the doctors and all the general councils were against us. Now the army is discomfited, now they stand in need of men, now let them call for their doctors and councils; if they come but with one sufficient doctor or council, they may have the field.

I speak not this to boast myself of any learning; but the goodness of the cause maketh me the bolder. Neither would I have in this behalf said so much as I have, saving that the matter itself and very necessity enforced me so to do. Alas! it were great pity that God's truth should be defaced with privy whisperings. It were great pity that whole houses should be overthrown, men's consciences wounded, the people deceived, God's truth and the love thereof pulled from your hearts, his work blasphemed, as if it came from Beelzebub, without any good ground, without any authority of the scripture, without any example of the primitive church, without council, without any ancient doctor or father.

But they have another kind of learning, which because we have not, therefore they say we are unlearned. For, if controversies might have been tried by learning, you should never have seen the mass again after it was once down.

If there ever come another change, as I pray God we may never see, nor surely ever shall we unless our unkindness pull down God's plague upon us; but, if a change come, such a one as they look for, you shall see with what argument they will prove their mass. We read that Christ did put the Pharisees to silence; yet afterward, when their time came, they said, "We have a law; and by our law he must die." But, God's name be praised! no persecutions, no torments, no fire, no fagot, have ever weakened the cause of the gospel. Tertullian saith: *Plures efficimur, quoties metimur*[5]: "The more we be cut down, the more we increase." These be their arguments, this is their logic: they have no liking to try the matter by scripture, by doctors, by council, or by the practice of the most ancient churches; and, if they make any pretence of liking such trial, they do it for some other hidden purpose, to move mutinies and disquiet, that they may work their practices whiles men's heads are occupied and busied with talk of such matters. Tertul. in Apolog.

Pyrrhus, a lusty gentleman and king of Epirus, when he first took counsel with his nobles to wage war against the Romans, heard say he might soon conquer them, for that they were nothing else but a sort of wild and barbarous people; but afterward, when he came to the view of the Romans' army indeed, and saw their captains and soldiers well appointed, and their flags and standards in good order, "Marry," quoth he, "whether these men be barbarous or no I cannot tell, but well I wot their behaviour and the order of their camp is not barbarous."

So what account soever men make of this doctrine, that (God be thanked!) is taught this day, yet whosoever shall come near and view it well and try it

[4 See before, page 50, note 6.] [5 Tertull. Op. Lut. Par. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 50. p. 45.]

to the uttermost, and shall find that all things are done seemly and orderly according to the old doctors, to the apostles, and to the primitive church of Christ, shall fall down to the ground and confess that the order and manner thereof, or any thing that is taught therein, is not heretical.

St John Baptist sent his disciples to Christ to know whether he were the true Messias or no, or else whether they should look for another: Christ made them
Luke vii. answer: "Go and shew John what things ye have heard and seen: the blind receive sight, and the halt go, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor receive the gospel." For these tokens were sufficient to make John understand that Christ was the true Messias.

Even so, if a man stand in doubt of this religion, whether it be of God or no, let him but consider and think with himself thus: Great numbers[1] of errors are now revealed, superstition is removed, idolatry is taken away, the sacraments are rightly and duly used, the dumb speak, the blind see, the poor afflicted minds receive the gospel, the prayers are in such sort as the people may take profit and comfort by them. God give us grace to know how great need we have to pray, that in all places we may lift up clean hands and hearts unto God, and call upon him in spirit and truth!

If this be heresy, then, alas! what is true religion? Can these be done by the power of Beelzebub? Can the devil reform errors, remove superstition, take away idolatry, cause the sacraments to be directly used, the dumb to speak, the blind to see, the poor to receive the gospel, the people to take fruit and comfort by their prayers?

O good brethren, this is the work of God's right hand; the kingdom of God doubtless is come upon us, the prince of error is put to silence, the readiness of the people universally and in all places is marvellous, kings and princes suffer themselves to be led captives to the obedience of Christ. They that before were enemies and persecutors of this doctrine are now contented to yield their bodies and lives for the defence of the same; and, to be short, all the world this day crieth and groaneth after the gospel.

And all these things are come to pass at such time as to any man's reason it might seem impossible; when all the world, the people, priests, and princes were overwhelmed with ignorance; when the word of God was put out of sight; when he that took upon him the general rule of all together was crept into the holy place, and had possessed the conscience of man as if he had been God, and had set himself above the scriptures of God, and gave out decrees that, whatsoever he should do, no man should find fault with him; when all schools, priests, bishops, and kings of the world were sworn to him, that, whatsoever he took in hand, they should uphold it; when he had chosen kings' sons and brothers to be his cardinals; when his legates and espies were in every king's council; when nothing could be attempted any where but he by and by must have knowledge of it; when whosoever had but muttered against his doings must straightways have been excommunicate and put to most cruel death as God's enemy; when no man could have thought there had been any hope that ever these days should have been seen that God of his mercy hath given us to see; when all things were void of all hope and full of desperation.

Even then, I say, even then, contrary to all man's reason, God brought all these things to pass. Even then God defeated their policies, not with shield or spear, but only with the spirit of his mouth, that is, with preaching of the gospel. There is no counsel against the Lord: the devils were cast out by the power of God.

This is the day which the Lord hath wrought: to thee, O Lord, the praise hereof is due: thou hast turned our mourning into joy: thou hast put to silence the spirit of error: thou hast inflamed the hearts of thy people: thou hast brought princes and kings to the obedience of thy Son Jesus Christ: thou hast opened the eyes of the world to espy out and to cry for the comfort of the gospel. When all things were in despair, yet thou didst reserve unto thyself one little spark[2], that should enkindle again light in thy church, that should remove

[1] A great number, 1583.] [2] Sparkle, 1583.]

rubbish and filth out of thy temple, whose heart should ever be in thy hand, who should do that that good is in thy sight, and should walk in the ways of her father David. This is the hand and power of God; "this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." God give us grace to have these things ever before our eyes, that we never be unthankful! Now for all these graces that God hath so plentifully poured upon us, let us consider what kindness ought to be rendered on our part. O Israel, O my people, saith almighty God, what thing is it that I require of thee, but only that thou love me and walk in my ways? This is our homage, this is our duty, this shall be looked for at our hands. "The grace of God," saith Paul, "that bringeth salvation unto all men, hath appeared, and teacheth us that we should live soberly and righteously in this present world, looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." Tit. ii.

Such in old times was the life of all them that professed the name of Christ. Tertullian of his time saith, a christian man could be known by nothing so well as by the changing of his life[3]. Cyprian of the Christians in his time saith: *Veniunt ut discant, ... discunt ut vivant*[4]: "They come that they may learn, they learn that they may know how to live." St Paul commendeth the Philippians, "that they shine as lights in the world," that their life doth testify what they be. Eusebius saith: *Valeriani aula erat referta piis, et ecclesia Dei facta*[5]: "They that were of the court of Valerian were become Christians; and then was the court not like a court, but like unto the church of God." Ad Jubaian. Phil. ii. Eccles. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. ix.

Justinus the martyr saith, he was first turned to Christ for the admiration that he had of the innocent and godly life of christian men[6].

Such then was the life of them that bare the name of Christ: they came to learn, they learned to live. You might have known their profession by the only changing of their manners. The court wherein they lived was so reverently kept, without notable sin or wantonness, as if it had been the temple of God.

O almighty God, how fares it now with them that would be called Christians, and be reckoned among professors of the gospel? how many are there that come to learn? how many are there that learn to live? how many are there that may be known by changing of their manners?—unless it be for that they make a mockery of God's holy gospel, and so become more dissolute, more fleshly, more wanton than ever they were afore.

What court can we find, that any part may be like the temple of God? Seldom is it that almighty God may be heard to speak his mind: but, when he hath spoken, who is he that thinketh upon it? who is he that doth not despise it? who is he that spurneth not at it?

If our life should give testimony and report of our religion, sorry I am to speak it, but, alas! it is too true in too many, it crieth out, *Non est Deus:* the very course of our life beareth witness against us, that in our hearts we think there is no God, and that there is no fear of God before our eyes. I amplify not, nor enlarge the matter: I would to God it were no more than I make of it.

Thus we do withhold the truth of God in unrighteousness: thus the grace of God is abused to the contenting of our pleasures: thus we become the vessels of God's wrath, and heap up vengeance upon our heads. Therefore will God take away his holy Spirit from us; therefore will God give us over to a reprobate mind; therefore shall the end of us be worse than was the beginning.

O good brethren, let us not abuse the mercy of God, let us not receive the grace of God in vain. Remember how many eyes are set upon us; let us take occasion away from them that seek occasion to slander our profession: let not, let not our life cause the gospel of Jesus Christ to be ill spoken of and blasphemed: let us walk so as becometh them that are called and indeed are *filii lucis*, "the children of light."

---

[3] Tertullian frequently insists on the superior purity of a Christian's life. See Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. 3, 44, &c. pp. 4, 39, &c.]

[4] Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist. lxxiii. p. 199.]

[5] Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. VII. cap. x. p. 209.]

[6] Just. Mart. Op. Par, 1742. Apol. II. 12, 3. pp. 96, 7.]

The truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ hath now shined over the whole world: if it be yet hidden from any, it is hidden from them that perish: he that perisheth now shall perish in his own blood. Now if any believe not, he is inexcusable. The wisdom of God in publishing his word, contrary and against the course of man's policy; the continual preaching of it in all places; the ashes of so many learned fathers and godly men and women, who have yielded their bodies to the cruel torments of tyrants, to be consumed in the fire for the testimony thereof, are yet so fresh in your eyes, and spoken of in your hearing, and witnessed in your hearts and consciences, that you cannot deny but the kingdom of God is come amongst us. But, if there be any that is not persuaded in his religion (forasmuch as it is a matter of life and death, of salvation and damnation), I beseech you before God, and before his Christ, let us not be careless, let us not be negligent. If we mislike it, let us read the scriptures, and know wherefore we mislike it.

Despise not, good brethren, despise not to hear God's word declared. As you tender your own souls, be diligent to come to sermons; for that is the ordinary place where men's hearts be moved, and God's secrets be revealed. For, be the preacher never so weak, yet is the word of God as mighty and as puissant as ever it was. If thou hear God's word spoken by a weak man, an ignorant man, a sinner as thou thyself art, and yet will[1] believe it and hear it with reverence, it is able to open thine eyes, and to reveal unto thee the high mysteries of thy salvation.

Remember, we are the sons of the prophets. The kingdom of God is come amongst us. Let us not withstand the Spirit of God: let us not tread down the blood of the everlasting testament. The hand of God hath wrought this: let us not arm ourselves against God, and say, they are wrought in the name of Beelzebub.

It is not our doctrine that we bring you this day; we wrote it not, we found it not out, we are not the inventors of it; we bring you nothing but that the old fathers of the church, that the apostles, that Christ our Saviour himself hath brought before us. O condemn it not before you know it: in the mean while think well of them that labour for you, that do you service, that pray for you, that shall give their life for you.

Let us lay aside all blind affection, let us labour to know the truth, let God have the victory. And then, when we know God, let us glorify him as our God; let us so live that our words, our deeds, and our whole life may testify that the kingdom of God is amongst us. Let our light so shine before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven. So shall God pour down his blessings upon us, so shall God bless whatsoever we take in hand; so shall we be blessed in peace, so shall we be blessed in war; so shall God go forth before our armies; so shall we be the children of God; so shall God be our God, and remain with us for ever.

And thou, most merciful Father, as thou hast sent us thy heavenly kingdom, that is, the most comfortable tidings of the gospel of thy Son Jesus Christ; so, we beseech thee for thy mercy, bless that thing that thou hast begun, that it may continue among us, and remain with us for ever. Open the hearts of them that of ignorance think ill of it, that they may see that blessed hope whereunto thou hast called us, that all the world may know thee, and thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent for the redemption of the world. Amen.

[1 Wilt, 1583.]

ROMANS XIII.

Ver. 12. *The night is past, and the day is at hand: let us cast away the works of darkness*[2], *and let us put on the armour of light.*

THIS little portion of the scripture hath been often expounded and opened in your hearing; yet shall it not be unprofitable once again to entreat thereof. For, albeit the proportion and ground of matter be one, yet some difference may be in the manner of utterance.

The word of God is the water of life; the more ye lave it forth, the fresher it runneth: it is the fire of God's glory; the more ye blow it, the clearer it burneth: it is the corn of the Lord's field; the better you grind it, the more it yieldeth: it is the bread of heaven; the more it is broken and given forth, the more remaineth: it is the sword of the Spirit; the more it is scoured, the brighter it shineth. The voice of God cannot be unpleasant to their ears which are the children of God: the oftener they hear it, the more comfort they receive: they can never have overmuch who never have enough.

St Paul in these words stirred up the Romans, and awaked them out of the slumber of death, that they might behold the clear light of the gospel, and know the time of their visitation, and shake off the works of darkness, and apparel themselves with the righteousness of Christ our Saviour.

But before I proceed further[3] to declare that which is to be spoken at this present, let us turn our hearts to God, even the Father of lights, that it may please him to open the eyes of our understanding, and to direct all our doings to his glory, &c.

In worldly business it is reckoned a great point of wisdom to do things in due time, and to choose the fittest season to speak or to hold silence, to buy or to sell, to build or to pull down. Salomon therefore said: "To all things there is an appointed time, and a time to every purpose under the heaven." Whoso doth not weigh the season, and take his convenient time, he is unwise, and defeateth himself, and bewrayeth his folly. But of all wisdoms this is the greatest, that a man lift up his eyes to the throne of God's mercy, and know the time of his blessing, and direct his life to the service of God; as he warneth: "Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day; for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord break forth; and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed." If the goodman of the house were wise, if he knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and stand in readiness, and not suffer his house to be digged through. Of this wisdom in taking the vantage of time spake the prophet David: "This day if you hear his voice, harden not your hearts." Foreslow not the time, lose not this good occasion, hear his voice now this day. Of this wisdom spake St Paul: "We, as workers together, beseech you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain. For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee. Behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of salvation."

Eccles. iii.

Eccius. v.

Psal. xcv.

2 Cor. vi.

Whoso knoweth not this time is not wise. Of this blindness and heaviness of the people God complaineth in many places of the prophets. In the eighth chapter of Jeremy: "Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow observe the time of their coming; but my people knoweth not the judgment of the Lord." Of this their blindness and folly our Saviour reproveth Hierusalem: "O if thou hadst (even now at the least in this thy day) known those things which belong unto thy peace! but now are they hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall make thee even with the ground, and thy children which are within thee, and they shall not leave in thee a

Jer. viii.

Luke xix.

[2] The night is passed, the day is come, let us therefore cast away the deeds of darkness, 1583.]

[3] Farther, 1583, 1609.]

stone upon a stone; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." Therefore the apostle calleth upon the Romans, telleth them that the sun is up, and the day open, and warneth them not to lose the season; for now, even now (saith he), it is time to rise.

That we may the better discern the light, let us behold the darkness of that time which was before. The whole world was divided into the people of the Jews and the heathens; and besides these there were no other people. The heathens were forsaken of God: the Jews were his chosen people. The heathens worshipped the works[1] of their own hands, and gave the glory of God unto creatures which are not God. They went after idols, even as they were led: they had many gods, according to the number of their cities: they delivered up their bodies to all manner filthiness: God gave them over to follow their lusts. The fathers amongst them slew their own children, and offered them up in sacrifice to devils. So strongly did the prince of darkness possess them, they had not the ark of the testimony; they lived without prophets, or covenant, or Christ, or God: they lived without hope, or light, or comfort. In such a night and such a darkness lay the heathen.

The Jews, God's chosen people, they were also bereft of knowledge: there was no prophet left among them, nor any to teach them the will of the Lord. The law did perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancient: light was turned into darkness, and judgment into wormwood: they were bitter and grievous to the poor: they slew the prophets which were sent unto them; they did forsake the fountain of living waters, and followed Baal and Astaroth. "Like
Isai. i. 6. people, like priest[2]:" "from the sole of the foot unto the head there was nothing
Mal. i. whole in them." Of them God spake by the prophet: "I have no pleasure in
Isai. i. you, neither will I accept an offering at your hand." Of them he said: "When you shall stretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; and though you make many prayers, I will not hear you." In such a darkness lay the Jews, in such a darkness lay the gentiles. All had sinned, they were all corrupt and abominable in their ways, they were the children of wrath, and the vessels of destruction. So were they wrapt in the cloud of ignorance, and covered in the shadow of death. Such was the night St Paul spake of, so ugly, so dark, so void of comfort.

But God gave forth his light to shine upon them; he sent the patriarchs and prophets and holy fathers, he sent unto them Moses and Aaron, and angels from heaven, to give out sparks of this light. He made it appear by his prophet Esay:
Isai. vii. "Behold, the virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and she shall call his name Emmanuel." "In him shall all Israel be saved:" he is "the light to lighten the gentiles:" "his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace:" "in him shall all the ends of the world be blessed." This light they beheld when it was not clearly opened unto them; they did see it coming, and rejoiced in it: they were under a school-master, and had not the perfect knowledge of this light.

But now God hath scattered all these clouds; and we behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face. Our elder fathers in the old testament had only a dim candle to guide their feet; we have the bright sun-beams: they had only the green blade of the corn; we have the plentiful increase, even as in the time of harvest: they had the shadow; we have the light: they had only a drop to refresh themselves; we have the whole stream of God's mercy poured out upon us.

Now hath God remembered his holy covenant, and the oath which he sware to our father Abraham: now the Word was made flesh, and dwelt with us. The day-star is sprung up in our hearts: the Spirit of God hath filled the whole world: the earth is full of his glory. The idols of the heathen are fallen, and are put to silence: their greatest mysteries appear to be follies, and are laughed to scorn: the children make games of them in their streets. Satan, the prince of this world, which is the accuser of our brethren, is now cast forth.

Now is it known that salvation, and power, and glory belongeth to our God.

[1 Workers, 1583.] [2 Priests, 1583, 1609.]

He hath raised his Christ, and hath established his kingdom: the kings and nations of the world shall walk in his light; and his light shall not be put out; and his kingdom shall have no end. Now is that new Hierusalem, the glorious city of our God, revealed from on high: now hath God made the heavens new, and a new earth, and hath fixed his tabernacle and dwelling-place among men. The fulness of time is come: the sound of the apostles is gone through all the earth: the Sun of righteousness hath appeared: he is the light and comfort of the whole world. This is the gracious year of mercy, this is the day which the Lord hath made. Now is the mercy of the Lord shewed more and more towards us; and his truth endureth for ever. When Balaam the false prophet beheld the glory of this time, he brake out and said: "Who shall live when God doeth this?" Num. xxiv. Who shall live and see and enjoy these things?

Awake, therefore, or arise from sleep, the time so requireth: "For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed it." Of those few words have grown divers senses, all good and godly; yet in my judgment the simplest and plainest sense is this: When we were heathen and sat in darkness, we thought we did well, and that we should be saved in that way in which we walked, and that there was no hope of salvation but only in that; and we had a great liking in our doings. This is the vanity and misery of man: oftentimes[3], where he thinketh himself most sure, he is deeply deceived.

The Turks and the Jews at this day, and others the enemies of the cross of Christ, think there is no other true religion but theirs; and in that they are wonderful zealous, and stand in it unto death: no persuasion nor force can remove them. When the people of Ephesus heard of the preaching of Paul, they raised uproar, and filled the city full of tumult: they caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, and Paul's companions in his journey, and would have slain them: they made an outcry, saying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians:" she is Acts xix. a goddess, she hath made heaven and earth: we have put our trust in her, we will call upon her; and she will hear us. Christ sheweth his disciples: "The Matt. x. brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause them to die; and ye shall be hated of all men for my name." For zeal to their god the priests of Baal cut them- 1 Kings xviii. selves with knives and lancers. Through zeal many fathers slew their own children, and burnt them quick in fire, in the honour of the idol Moloch. Circumcelliones, which were a sort of heretics sprung out of the Donatists about four hundred and twenty years after Christ, through zeal murdered one another; they threw themselves down from high rocks and destroyed themselves[4], and thought that the only way to please God; so hot and fervent was their devotion. The children of light have seldom suffered more, or more willingly, or with more affiance, than the children of darkness; so strived they for God, but against God, and abused his name against himself, and wittingly and willingly went down to hell. They have great zeal and earnest desire of the glory of God, but not according to knowledge. They contented themselves with that they had received of their fathers, and would seek no further; they thought they did serve God, but they blasphemed the name of the Son of God. In such sort did God suffer them to walk in the blindness of their heart. In the latter day many shall say unto Christ: "Lord, Lord, have we not by thy name prophesied, and by thy Matt. vii. name cast out devils, and by thy name done many great works?" We have prayed and given alms for thy sake: was it not done of zeal and devotion towards thee? So well shall they be persuaded of their doings, they shall press boldly to the throne of God's majesty, and require their meed.

But Christ shall answer them: "I never knew you:" you served your fancy, you served not me: your alms and miracles and your prayers shall condemn you. Therefore Christ said to the woman of Samaria: "Ye worship that which you John iv. know not." You are led with a zeal, and follow your fathers, but are deceived. Even so he prayed his Father for them that crucified him, and stood by, and reviled him: O Father, thou art full of mercy, forgive them: they are moved of

[3 Oftetimes, 1583.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Lib. de Hær. Ad Quodvultd. Hær. lxix. Tom. VIII. col. 22.]

zeal, and think they please thee; they know not what they do, they know not thee, nor me thy Son whom thou hast sent. St Hierome saith: *Nomine unitatis et fidei infidelitas scripta est*[1]: "Infidelity hath been written under the name of faith and unity." For herein they thought themselves good, and holy, and catholic, if they departed not from the unity of the world. Therefore they followed the general consent of others, they thought themselves (saith he) the true church, and seemed to follow unity, though indeed they fell to infidelity. "Whatsoever is not of faith is[2] sin:" whatsoever it be, be it never so holy, never so glorious, it is sin, it displeaseth God: the end thereof is destruction. Therefore Christ saith: "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." So spake almighty God to his people: "Take heed that you do as the Lord your God hath commanded you: turn not aside to the right hand nor to the left." Thou shalt not do the thing that seemeth right in thine own eyes: thou shalt not follow the zeal of thine own heart. Think that thou mayest be deceived: dispose thyself to hearken to the voice of the Lord: whatsoever he shall command thee, that only shalt thou do. "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts." The will of the Lord is the only measure whereby all truth must be tried. Hereunto the prophet David humbleth himself, and speaketh unto God in this manner: "Lighten mine eyes, O Lord," O teach me to do thy will, teach me to follow it and to practise it. Hereof St Paul speaketh: "Understand what the will of the Lord is." Leave the pretence of zeal, leave the devotion of your own heart, rest not upon the will of your forefathers, nor of flesh and blood. Learn to feel and taste the will of God: it is good, and gracious, and merciful: thereby direct your steps, therein shall you find the possession of life.

Hieron. contr. Lucif.
Rom. xiv.
John viii.
Deut. v.
Isai. lv.
Eph. v.

We were drowned in darkness (saith the apostle), yet thought we had the light. I myself (saith he) was "a blasphemer, and did persecute the church of God." I followed the way of my fathers, I had a great zeal, and thought I did well; but the way wherein I walked was slippery, the light was darkness. I delighted in vanity, and had pleasure in leasings. I was blind, yet perceived it not; and therefore was my blindness and misery so much the more.

But now is our salvation come near unto us: our bodies are made the temples of God; and his Spirit dwelleth within us. We have the word of life put both in our mouth and in our heart: the kingdom of God is in the midst amongst us. The Son of God calleth unto us: "Come unto me, all ye that travail and be heavily laden; and I will refresh you." St John saith: "We have looked upon, and our hands have handled the Word of life." And again: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, (and we saw the glory thereof as the glory of the only-begotten Son of the Father,) full of grace and truth[3]." So near is the Lord to them that seek him; so near unto us is our salvation.

1 John i.
John i.

When David heard the voice of the Lord, he awaked and rose up, he gave thanks unto God, and poured out his heart before him, saying: "O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world!" And again: "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name." When the apostles heard this voice of the Lord, they were awaked, they forsook all they had, they took up their cross, and went over all the world preaching the gospel of salvation. When Paul heard the voice of Christ from heaven above, he fell flat on the earth, and, being astonished[4], said: "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" I am thy servant and the son of thy handmaid; make me to do that thou commandest me to do.

Then could "neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature separate" Paul "from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord:" then he esteemed "not to know any thing, saving Jesus Christ, and him crucified."

[1 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 299.]
[2 In, 1611.]
[3 And of truth, 1583, 1609.]
[4 Astonied, 1583.]

He brake his sleep, rose up, and went forward. In like manner the prophet Esay stirreth up Hierusalem: "Arise, be bright; for the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." Know thy time and the day of thy visitation: "awake, thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead;" for the Son of God hath shined over thee. Isai. lx.

The apostle therefore saith: "It is now time that we should arise from sleep." We are the children of God, we are the children of the truth, we are the sons of the prophets, we are they whom God hath chosen out of the world. "Whosoever putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is unmeet for the kingdom of heaven." These things are sent for our understanding; God hath given his word unto us. We have seen the works of God, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to go, the dead to rise and come out of their graves, the sun to be darkened, the earth to quake, rocks to rent, and the devil to confess the Son of God; for he was forced to say: "Thou art Christ the Son of God." Now "doth the kingdom of heaven suffer violence." "The night is passed: the day is at hand:" we have slumbered enough in ignorance: it is now time we know the blessings which God hath bestowed upon us: it is time we should be thankful and awake out of the sleep of forgetfulness; that we humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and dream no more of our own strength: our conscience is charged: we cannot plead ignorance: it is time that we rise: the mercy of God, the abundance of his blessing, the fear of his judgment, the regard of our salvation so requireth.

"Let us cast away the works of darkness;" they be unfruitful, loathsome and horrible. They darken the heart and blind the conscience; he that doth them shall be cast into utter darkness. Let us be afraid, let us be ashamed hereof: such things are not fit for the children of light.

"Let us put on the armour of light." God hath chosen us to be his soldiers, and hath called us forth into the field. Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against the devil, the prince of this world, and the father of darkness: he rampeth like a lion, and lieth in wait, and seeketh whom he may devour. All the vanities of this life, our bodies, our own hearts conspire against us; the fight is terrible, the danger is great[5]. Let us not be unprovided, let us not stand open to the stroke of the enemy. Let us take unto us the whole armour of God; let our loins be girded with verity, let us put on the shield of faith, the breastplate of righteousness, the sword of the Spirit, and the helmet of salvation. These be the weapons of righteousness, these be the armour of light. Let us not fear to declare the truth, though thereby we should danger our life. Let us be faithful unto the end; let it appear that "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down holds, and imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against God:" so shall our armour be complete; so shall we shew glorious in the field, and be terrible to the enemy; so shall we stand strong and boldly against sword, and fire, and death; so shall we, like faithful soldiers of our captain Christ, manfully stand against the gates of hell, and resist all the assaults and quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; then shall we eat of the fruit in the midst of paradise, and shall receive the crown of everlasting glory.

"Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying." He setteth down three things as three botches and carbuncles of the soul: they oppress the body, defile the mind, and break the bond and unity of the church of God.

The first is "gluttony and drunkenness," the root and mother of all evil: nothing standeth safe where wine prevaileth. This was the iniquity of Sodom, abundance and fulness of bread: they abused the gifts of God to the dishonour of God. This was the cause of all her filthiness; and her filthiness was the cause of her destruction. Hereof God speaketh: "My chosen people, my darling is waxed fat: therefore he forsook God that made him, and regarded not the strong God of his salvation." And again by the prophet Esay: "The harp and viol, timbrel and pipe, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither Deut. xxxii. Isai. v.

[5] Danger great, 1583, 1609.]

Isai. xxii. consider the work of his hands." And in the one and twentieth[1] chapter: "Behold joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine, eating and drinking; for to-morrow we shall die." So through gluttony and drunkenness they despised the threatenings of God, and entered not into the way of repentance, but continued in their sins, and made scorn of the prophets of Exod. xxxii. God. "The people of Israel sate them down to eat and drink, and rose up to play." They forgat God and the mercies he had shewed upon them, and worshipped a golden calf; so gross and so deadly are the clouds of drunkenness. Our Saviour Christ saith: Towards the latter day the people shall eat and drink, and be void of care, as in the days of Noah; and destruction shall suddenly fall upon Luke vi. them: therefore Christ saith: "Wo be to you that are full! for you shall hunger."

Many have been slain in the field; but many more have taken their deadly wound by surfeiting: many have been drowned in the sea; but many more have perished by the strength of wine. It is not set down that the rich glutton was an oppressor, an extortioner, an usurer, or that he came unjustly by his goods; but that he abused the same, that he fared deliciously, and became unthankful; and therefore was punished in hell-fire. Then he, which before had abundance, and did swim in wine, had not one drop to quench his thirst. Many make their belly their god. They have more comfort in the taste of sweet fare than in the consideration of the works of God. Their table is turned into a snare: their glory is to their shame. Here will I speak nothing of forcing and quaffing; God keep it[2] far from christian tables, it is too too wild and barbarous: the heathens hate it: nature abhorreth it; the horse and mule would not use it. St Augustine saith: *Ebrius non peccatum facit, sed ipse totus est peccatum*[3]: "A drunken man doth not commit sin, but he is altogether sin." And therefore his reward is 1 Cor. vi. death. St Paul saith: "Drunkards shall not *inherit* the kingdom of God." They shall drink the cup of the wine of the Lord's wrath. Therefore Christ saith: Luke xxi. "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness and the cares of this life; and lest that day come on you at unwares." Therefore saith the apostle: "Let us not walk in eating and gluttony:" it will drown our senses, it will oppress our nature.

"The kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink:" our meat is to do the will of our Father. Let us not abuse the creatures of God: let us eat and drink, that we may live, only to the sustenance of our bodies; that we by the moderate and sober use of those things may be the better able to follow and please God in our vocation. "The meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats; but God shall destroy both it and them." Let us think of the cup which Christ had on the cross: his cup was eisel, and tempered with gall: at his hand let us "take the cup of thanksgiving, and call upon the name of the Lord." Let us, whether we eat or drink, remember who it is that hath bestowed his gifts upon us; and, whatsoever we do, let us do it to the glory of God.

Another botch and carbuncle is "chambering and wantonness." Of this also the apostle warneth us; for "adulterers and fornicators God shall judge;" "they shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death:" "the Lord is the avenger of all such." It is the will of God that our bodies be kept in holiness: they are the temples of God: he hath called us to be vessels of honour; that we should be holy in body and holy in spirit, "that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life."

The last is "strife and envying." We are one body in Christ Jesus, we are endued with one Spirit, we are members one of another. The gospel of Christ is the gospel of peace: he hath broken the stop of the partition-wall, he hath set all things at peace. He hath taught us: "Learn of me; for I am humble and Gal. v. meek." "Let us not," saith St Paul, "be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another." Let not one of you say, I am Paul's, and another,

---

[1 An error for two and twentieth: 1583 has *xxi.*]

[2 If, 1611.]

[3 Augustine frequently censures drunkenness; but the exact words here cited have not been found in his writings. They occur, however, in another author, as follows: *hanc [ebrietatem] qui habet, non peccatum facit, sed est ipse peccatum.*—Chrysolog. De Fid. Dispens. Serm. xxvi. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623, col. 68.]

I am Apollo's; the body of Christ is one, it is not divided. "If you bite and devour one another, take heed lest you consume one another." If there be envying, and strife, and dissensions among you, you are yet carnal, you savour not of the Spirit of God. You are but a little flock: the world hateth you: join together, love one another; "bear you one another's burden, and so fulfil the law of Christ." "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperancy." "Love suffereth long, it is bountiful: love envieth not: love doth not boast itself: it is not puffed up: it disdains[4] not: it seeketh not her own things: it is not provoked to anger: it thinketh not evil: it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth: it suffereth all things: it believeth all things: it hopeth all things: it endureth all things:" "love is the bond of perfection." "The servant of Christ is not quarrellous:" let us "keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Let not dissension or malice trouble our hearts; let us walk after this manner, and so let us glorify God in our mortal bodies. Let us avoid these things, gluttony, drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife and envying. They be the unfruitful works of darkness: the way of them leadeth unto damnation.

But put you on the Lord Jesus Christ.

If we behold ourselves, and consider our own nakedness, we shall find that by nature we are nothing else but the children of wrath. Who can call that clean that is conceived of unclean seed? David saith: "Behold, I am conceived in sin:" "my sins have gone over[5] my head:" "there is no health in my flesh." "None that liveth shall be justified in thy sight." "Who can understand his faults? Cleanse me from my secret faults." Job saith: *Verebar omnia opera mea:* "I stood in fear of all my works, knowing that thou wilt not judge me innocent." Again: "The stars are unclean in his sight; how much more man, a worm, even the son of man, which is but a worm!" In like sort saith Esay: "We have all been as an unclean thing; and all our righteousness is as filthy clouts." Our virtue, our holiness, our fasting, our prayers are filthy when they come to his sight. We cannot say our heart is clean. We cannot say we have not sinned. "God hath shut up all in unbelief; that he may have mercy upon all." "That is born of the flesh is flesh." "The Spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the Spirit." "Open shame belongeth to us, and to our fathers." "Cursed is he that abideth not in all things that are written in the book of the law." And "whosoever offendeth in one is made guilty of all" the commandments. When the miserable and wretched soul boasteth itself, saying, "I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing;" the Spirit of God maketh answer: "Thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." Thou hast nothing to put upon thee to cover thy shame. "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried by the fire, that thou mayest be made rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that thy filthy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see." The same Spirit in the apostle giveth this counsel, that we put on us Jesus Christ. Let him cover us with his body and with his blood, as with a garment: his blood hath cleansed us from all our sins. He is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." "He is become unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." St Hierome saith: *Si merita nostra consideremus, desperandum est*[6]: "If we weigh our own deservings," if we appear in our own apparel, "we must despair." And Basil saith: *Qui non fidit recte factis, nec sperat ex operibus justificari, solam habet spem salutis misericordias Domini*[7]: "He that trusteth not to good deeds, nor hopeth to be justified by his works, hath no other hope of salvation but by the mercies of the Lord."

Job ix. Job xxv. Isai. lxiv. Rev. iii. Hieron. in lxiv. Esai.

Let us therefore put on us Jesus Christ. Let us cover us under his apparel, as Jacob covered himself under the coat of his brother Esau, and so let us pre-

[4] Disdaineth, 1583.]
[5] Over gone, 1583.]
[6] Si nostra consideremus merita, desperandum est.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. XVII. in Isai. Proph. cap. lxiv. Tom. III. col. 476.]
[7] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. De Humil. Hom. xxii. Tom. II. p. 158.]

sent ourselves before our heavenly Father. The phrase of putting on is usual; whereby he meaneth, we must be wholly clad and possessed with Christ. In
Rev. xii. like phrase it is said in the twelfth of the Revelation: "There appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun." And in the hundred and
Psal. civ. fourth psalm: "My soul, praise thou the Lord. O my God, thou art exceeding great, thou art clothed with glory and honour:" and, "Which covereth himself
Col. iii. with light as with a garment." And to the Colossians: "Put on tender mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering." Chrysostom saith:
Chrysost. Serm. 24. in xiii. Rom. *Dominum ipsum, quod horribile est, vestimenti loco tradit*[1]: "Behold, he giveth us Christ to be put on as a garment, which is a heinous thing to be spoken." It passeth all sense of nature, it passeth the judgment of flesh and blood.

Here remember, these words may not be taken as if Christ were a material and earthly coat made of cloth to cover our bodies: they are spiritual words,
Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 21. and have a spiritual understanding. Chrysostom saith: *Omnia tibi factus est Christus, mensa, vestimentum, domus, caput, et radix*[2]: "Christ is become all things for thee, thy table, thy garment, thy house, thy head, and thy root." Origen
Orig. in Exod. cap. xv. Hom. 7. saith: *Verbum Dei et caro dicitur, et panis, et lac, ... et olera*[3]: "The word of God is called flesh, and bread, and milk, and herbs." Nazianzene also saith:
Nazianz. in Psal. xliv. *Quemadmodum Dominus Jesus appellatur vita, via, panis, vitis, lux vera, et mille alia; ita etiam appellatur gladius*[4]: "After the same manner as our Lord Jesus Christ is called the life, the way, the bread, the vine[5], the true light, and a thousand things else; so is he also called the sword."

He is spiritually a table, a garment, a house, a root, a head, flesh, milk, herbs, the way, the light, a sword, bread, or drink: we dwell in him spiritually, we are clothed with him spiritually. We grow out of him, and walk upon him, and are made one with him, even members of his body, spiritually. We do spiritually eat him and drink him, we live by him spiritually; we eat him by hearing, and digest
Hom. 2. in Cant. him by faith. Origen saith: [*Appellatur*] *panis vitæ, ut habeat gustus animæ quod degustet*[6]: "He is called the bread of life; that the soul may have whereon to feed."

O brethren! O that we had senses to feel this food, that we could savour of the bread of life, and taste and see how sweet the Lord is! He that thus tasteth of this bread shall live for ever.

Chrysost. in Encæn. Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. Chrysostom saith: *Dentes inserimus in carnes Christi*[7]: "We thrust our teeth into the flesh of Christ." And Cyprian: *Intra ipsa vulnera Redemptoris nostri linguam figimus*[8]: "We fasten our tongue within the wounds of our Redeemer." These be vehement and spiritual kind of speeches, to raise up our senses, and to teach us to feel the unspeakable sweetness of this heavenly feeding.

Bernard. de Amore Dei, cap. i. Likewise said Bernard: *Desidero totum Christum videre et tangere; et non* [*id*] *solum, sed accedere usque ad sanctum vulnus lateris ejus, ostium arcæ quod factum est in latere, ut intrem totus usque ad cor Jesu*[9]: "I desire to behold whole Christ, and to touch him; and not so only, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door that was made in the side of the ark, that I may enter wholly, and go in even unto the heart of Jesus." Thus are we taught to lift up our hearts, and to "seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God." Why should we then follow the fleshly error of the Capernaites? why should we be so insensible in heavenly things? Let us have some
Eccles. ii. feeling hereof in our heart. Salomon saith: "The wise man's eyes are in his
John vi. head; but the fool walketh in darkness." Our Saviour therefore saith: "The words that I speak[10] unto you are spirit and life." To eat the body of Christ,

---

[1 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xxiv. Tom. IX. p. 696.]

[2 Ad Illum. Catech. ii. Tom. II. p. 236. See before, page 526, note 3.]

[3 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Exod. Hom. vii. 8. Tom. II. p. 155.]

[4 See before, page 526, note 6. Conf. page 762, note 4.]

[5 Wine, 1583.]

[6 Orig. Op. In Cantic. Canticor. Lib. II. Tom. III. p. 66. See before, pages 451, 2, note I.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. In Johan. Evang. Hom. xlvi. Tom. VIII. p. 272. See before, page 608, note 4.]

[8 ... intra ipsa Redemptoris nostri vulnera figimus linguam.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 41.]

[9 Guillelm. Abbot. Lib. de Contempl. Deo, cap. i. 3. in Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. Vol. II. Tom. v. col. 235. See before, page 608, note 9.]

[10 Spake, 1583.]

and drink[11] his blood, is not the part of the body: it is rather a work of our mind. And therefore St Ambrose saith: *Non ... corporali tactu Christum, sed fide tangimus*[12]: "We touch not Christ by bodily touching, but we touch him by faith." And again: *Stephanus, in terris positus, Christum tangit in cœlo*[13]: "Stephen, being in the earth, toucheth Christ being in heaven." By faith therefore we eat Christ, and by faith we drink Christ: by faith we are apparelled and clothed with Christ. And this is that the apostle saith: "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." Let us be incorporate in him. Let God see nothing in us but the image of his Son; so shall he dwell in us and we in him.

In Luc. Lib x. cap. xxiv.

Serm. 58.

Rom. xiii.

Take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

The sons of God rest upon the providence of God their Father. He giveth them water out of the rocks: he raineth down bread from heaven: he openeth his hands, and filleth every living thing with his blessing. The prophet saith: "The Lord is my shepherd: I shall not want." The things of this world shall have an end, they fade away and will not continue. If riches abound, we must not set our heart upon them, but rather be careful for the life to come. We must seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof: then all these things shall be ministered unto us.

Psal. xxiii.

He doth not forbid honest and moderate forecast and provision; as if it were not lawful for Christians to deal in matters appertaining to the good estate of this life. For he hath said unto Timothy: "If there be any that provideth not for his own, and namely for them of his household, he denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Again he saith: "No man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it and cherisheth it." Again, writing to Timothy: "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities." In which speeches he sheweth we are bound[14] to nourish, and feed, and be careful for our bodies.

1 Tim. v.

Eph. v.

1 Tim. v.

Though the conversation of the faithful be in heaven, and they seek after the things which are on high, yet, whiles they pass the pilgrimage of this life, they must needs have the fellowship and company of their natural bodies; the which they must not so weaken that thereby they shall become unprofitable, and not able to do service in the church of God; and yet so keep them under, that they may be made obedient to the spirit.

Only we may not be over-careful. To take great care for the body is to cast away all care for the soul. For "they that will be rich fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction: for the desire of money is the root of all evil; which whiles some lusted after, they erred from the faith, and pierced themselves with many sorrows." Of this care speaketh our Saviour: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

1 Tim. vi.

Matt. xix.

No care can satisfy the uncontented mind. "The righteous eateth, and is satisfied; but the belly of the wicked ever wanteth." He hath "enlarged his desire as hell, and ladeth himself with thick clay; he increaseth that which is not his, and cannot be satisfied." "The horse-leech hath two daughters, which cry, Give, give. There be three[15] things that will not be satisfied; yea, four that say not, It is enough." They care not by what means they make their gains; they live in usury, a most filthy trade, a trade which God detesteth, a trade which is the very overthrow of all christian love. "They eat up the people as they eat bread." "Such are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain: he would take away the life of the owners thereof." They have hardened their heart against God; they do not serve God, but mammon.

Prov. xiii.

Prov. xxx.

Prov. i.

But their gain shall be to their loss, and their money to their destruction. He that giveth his money unto usury shall not dwell in the tabernacle of the Lord, nor rest upon his holy mountain.

---

[11] And to drink, 1583.]

[12] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxiv. 155. Tom. I. col. 1537.]

[13] Maxim. Taur. Hom. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Sep. Dom. et de Mar. Magdal. Hom. iv. col. 612. See before, page 499, note 10.]

[14] Bonde, 1583.]

[15] There, 1583.]

We have here no continuing city; we are strangers, as were all our fathers before us. If we gather riches to ourselves, and be not rich in God, he shall say unto us: "O fool! this night will they fetch away thy soul from thee; then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?" Let him therefore that hath this world's goods be as if he had them not. They are the gifts of God. The Lord giveth them, and the Lord taketh them away. Settle not your hearts upon them. As they come, so will they fade away: they be uncertain, they will deceive you. Set your desire upon heavenly things, seek after the life which is to come in the land of the living: when we shall see those unspeakable joys, we shall perceive that all the pleasures of this life in comparison of them were nothing.

Now somewhat more specially to apply the words of the apostle to this present time. "It is now time also that we should arise from sleep." God hath delivered us also from the night. We may say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made: let us rejoice and be glad in it;" we may say, "He hath shewed his mercies towards us; and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever."

Let us look back to the time late past, and behold the night of error and ignorance. What shall I say? Where should I begin, or how may I end? The matter is of great compass: the time I have to speak is but short; and I have no delight to speak of darkness. After God had delivered the people of Israel, and given them passage through the Red sea, Mary the prophetess, sister of Aaron, looked back into Egypt. There she remembered Pharao and his cruelty, how he plagued the children of God: she remembered how by a mighty hand and outstretched arm he delivered them, and wrought his wonders upon Pharao and all the land of Egypt. She looked back upon the great darkness, and upon the frogs, and flies, and botches: she beheld the waters turned into blood, the killing of the first-born of man and beast, the overthrow of Pharao and all his chariots in the midst of the sea. And therefore she answered the men: "Sing ye unto the Lord; for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he overthrown in the sea."

Exod. xv.

Even so let us cast back our eyes, and make a view of the church. Loth I am to speak of it: yet it is needful to say somewhat thereof, that we may rejoice in our deliverance. All things were done in a strange tongue: the priest spake; and the people heard they know[1] not what. No man could say Amen to their prayers. The matters were such, that he might be reckoned happy which heard them not. They abused the church of God with vain fables. If you doubt hereof, read their legends and festivals. They know this, they acknowledge it. It might well be spoken of them which Hilary said: *Sanctiores* [*sunt*] *aures populi quam corda sacerdotum*[2]: "The ears of the people are more holy than the hearts of the priests."

Hilar. contr. Auxent.

I beseech you, mark the form and fashion of their prayers. To the blessed virgin they said: *Ave Maria, salus et consolatrix vivorum et mortuorum:* "Hail, Mary, the saviour and comforter both of quick and dead." And again: *O gloriosa virgo Maria, libera nos ab omni malo, et a pœnis inferni:* "O glorious virgin Mary, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell." Again: *Monstra te esse matrem:* "Shew that thou art a mother." They call her *regina cœli, domina mundi, unica spes miserorum*[3]; "queen of heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of them that be in misery." It were tedious and unpleasant to recite the like their blasphemies. How did these men account of the cross and passion of Christ? What leave they to be wrought by the price of his blood? To speak nothing of the multitude of their intercessors and patrons, of their false miracles, of their deceivable merits and works of supererogation; how foul a kind of idolatry was it to worship the image with the self-same honour wherewith they worship the thing itself that is represented by the image! As, if the thing itself be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image thereof be worshipped with godly honour.

The holy scriptures, which are the light to direct our ways, and the power of God to save our souls, were hid under a bushel. Whosoever built himself and his faith upon them was adjudged an heretic. Marriage was forbidden, and fornication suffered. They did not only devour widows' houses, but drew to

[1 Knew, 1583, 1609.]

[2 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 6. col. 1266. See before, page 777, note 15.]

[3 See before, pages 899, 900.]

themselves the fat of the land, by pretence of their long prayers. I spare your chaste and godly ears; otherwise I were able to rehearse many their foul abuses and works of darkness.

Yet will I shew you one of their night-birds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the *Agnus Dei:* here it is. It was lately consecrate by the holy father and sent from Rome. They teach that, by the virtue of their consecration (or rather conjuration) and blessing, these little things have power to defend the faithful from lightning and tempest.

O merciful God! what hath the pope to do with the lightning? what can a piece of wax prevail to the staying of a tempest? The Lord of heaven and earth, it is he that sendeth forth lightnings, and raiseth up tempests. "Fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind, execute his word." God will send forth his lightning, and consume them. "Behold," saith Jeremy, "the tempest of the Lord goeth forth in his wrath; and a violent whirlwind shall fall down upon the head of the wicked." Psal. cxlviii. Jer. xxiii.

O what a shepherd is he, that now in this light of the day thus mocketh and deceiveth the lambs and sheep of Christ! Is this to worship Christ in spirit and truth? Is this the hope we have in Christ? Is this the profession of the gospel? Is this the will of God, to commit our lives to so vile a cake? Howbeit, there is no cause why any man should marvel hereat. For ignorance, which is the mother of error, by their own confession is become the mother of devotion; and these be the fruits and children of blindness and ignorance. I will speak nothing of that man from whence this gear cometh. Would God he were the man he would seem to be! But if the light itself be darkness, how great then is the darkness! Yet they say of him, his voice must be received as the voice of Peter; and the word of God himself must take authority and credit of him. Thus hath he come between like a cloud, and eclipsed the sun of God's glorious gospel.

If we behold either their schools or their churches, their quire, their pulpit, their prayers, their sacraments, their clergy, their people, their doctrine, or their life; we may truly say, as the prophet said: "Surely our fathers have inherited lies and vanity, wherein was no profit." We may truly say: "The law hath perished from the priest, and counsel from the wise, and the word from the prophet:" the blind did lead the blind, they have turned silver into dross, and fed the people with chaff instead of wholesome and good meats. Blessed be the name of God, who hath given us eyes to espy their dealings, and hath revealed unto us his word, to guide our feet into the way of peace. Jer. xvi.

I know these things are defended boldly and obstinately; no marvel. For the apostle saith: "They have not all obeyed the gospel." There have been that have called the light darkness, and the darkness light. "If our gospel be hid," saith he, "it is hid in them that perish, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds." Rom. x. 2 Cor. iv.

I will not here make answer to any particular, albeit occasion be offered, and happily it be looked for. Contention and quarrels have no end: all doctrine shall be brought to trial: the day of the Lord shall reveal errors, and give witness for the truth. God will turn all to his glory. Whatsoever stir is raised up against the truth, it is but a smoke, it will soon fade and come to nothing.

There are this day many, to all appearance, godly men, of good life, of righteous dealing, of great zeal and conscience; but yet have not eyes to see these things. I protest in their behalf, as did Paul, they have a great zeal of God's glory; would God it were according to knowledge! We may say with the prophet: "O Lord, thy judgments are like a great deep." "Who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who is of his counsel?" God knoweth his time. "He hath the key of David, he openeth, and no man shutteth:" he is "the Father of lights." We are in his hand, both we and all our counsels: God grant we may put off all fleshly affections, and put on Jesus Christ, and that all the earth may see his glory. Psal. xxxvi.

Now, on the other side, let us consider how mercifully God hath dealt with us. He hath restored unto us the light of his gospel, and hath taught us the secrets of his heavenly will. We hear him talk with us familiarly in the scrip-

tures, as a father talketh with his child. Thereby he kindleth our faith, and strengtheneth our hope; thereby our hearts receive joy and comfort. We have the holy ministration of the sacraments; we know the covenant of baptism; we know the covenant and mystery of the Lord's supper. We fall down together, and confess our life before God; we pray together, and understand what we pray. This was the order of the primitive church: this was the order of the apostles of Christ. If we compare this with the former, we shall soon see the difference between light and darkness. The kingdom of God now suffereth violence. The sound of the gospel hath gone over all the world; and the whole world is awaked therewith, and draweth to it. The sun is risen: the day is open: God hath made his kingdom wonderful among us. It is now time, now is it time that we should arise from sleep; for now is our salvation near. Now it is in our mouth: we can speak of it: God grant it may be nearer us, even in our hearts. The night is past: God grant it be past for ever; that we be never again thrown into the darkness of death, that the word of life, the truth of Christ, be never again taken from us. And it shall never be taken away, if we be thankful. Unkindness can never scape unplagued. Let us wake, let us wake: our sleep is deadly. Let us pray God to awake us: he is able to raise the dead. Our Saviour saith: "The hour shall come when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live." Lazarus was dead, yet he heard the voice of Christ, and rose up again, and came abroad.

John v.

Let us put on Jesus Christ; let it appear upon us that we wear him, let us not be ashamed of his gospel: it is the power of God to salvation. If we be ashamed of him and of his words, he will be also ashamed of us when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

"Let us cast away the works of darkness," and all doctrines of superstition and ignorance. Let us behold the troubles and miseries of other countries. Heaven and earth, our brethren, the care of our salvation, the Son of God himself put us in mind, that it is now time. Whiles we have time, let us do good: let us seek God whiles he may be found. The Lord waiteth when he may shew his mercies: let us turn unto him with an upright heart. So shall he turn to us: so shall we walk as the children of light; so shall we shine as the sun in the kingdom of our Father: so shall God be our God, and will abide with us for ever.

And thou, O most merciful Father, we beseech thee for thy mercy sake, continue thy grace and favour towards us: let the sun of thy gospel never go down out of our hearts; let thy truth abide, and be stablished among us for ever. Help our unbelief, increase our faith, give us hearts to consider the time of our visitation: apparel us thoroughly with Christ, that he may live in us, and so thy name may be glorified in us in the sight of all the world. Amen.

---

1 CORINTHIANS IV.[1]

Ver. 1. *Let every man esteem us, even for the ministers and stewards of the secrets of God.*

2. *Now is there no more required of the stewards, but that they be found faithful.*

DEARLY beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the people of the city of Corinth, to whom St Paul wrote this epistle or letter, were at great strife, contention, and variance among themselves, as touching the preachers of Christ's gospel, and ministers dwelling among them. For, whereas God had sent them store of preachers, as Peter, Paul, Apollo, Cephas, and such other, which were notable in the ministry of God; they of these great gifts and benefits of God

[1 This and the following sermons are not in the edition of 1583. They were first published in 1607 with this title: "Seven godly and learned sermons preached by John Juel, Bp of Salisburie, never before imprinted." The editor has not been able to meet with the original edition; but has used for this reprint only the two folios of 1609 and 1611.]

took occasion of strife, took (I say) occasion of great contention and debate among themselves. For whosoever liked Peter best would say, I hold of Peter; whosoever thought Paul's doctrine better than Peter's would say, I stand of Paul's side; whosoever again thought that Apollo excelled the rest would say, I hold with Apollo. And thus of their own fancies they took occasion of strife, and found fault with the preaching of Christ's gospel. As for Peter, as for Paul, as for Apollo, they all preached one thing, they taught one doctrine; there was no strife, no debate, no dissension among them. Yet notwithstanding, though the school-masters agreed, the disciples and scholars could not be at one: though they all preached one and the same doctrine, yet could not the people fancy their preachers alike. And therefore Paul concluded before, and said: "Let no man rejoice in men; for all is yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, whether it be Cephas or the world, all is yours." And hereupon followed these words of his, that you heard read unto you: "As for us," saith St Paul, "esteem us as the ministers of Christ:" whatsoever they be that preach unto you the gospel of God, regard them as "the stewards of the secrets of God."

So it happeneth oftentimes, that either the people judge too much of the preachers of God's word, or else they judge too little: sometime they attribute unto them too much honour, sometime again they give them too little honour: sometime they credit them too much, sometime they believe them nothing at all. So are the people always inconstant, so are they moved on either side. When Acts xiv. Paul and Barnabas at Lystra began to preach, by and by the whole multitude of the people thought them to be gods, and no men: forthwith they erected altars, they brought their sacrifices, their oxen, their calves, their sheep, minding to have sacrificed unto them, and Paul they called Mercurius, Barnabas Jupiter. This was too great an honour: and therefore, when Paul and Barnabas understood the same, they rent their clothes, tore their own garments, ran in among the people, cried out, and said: "Ye men and brethren, why do ye this?" So likewise Peter being appointed by God to go to Cornelius the Acts x. captain, so soon as he came in unto him, by and by Cornelius met him, fell down at his feet, and worshipped him; he thought him a god, and no man. And thus, as ye see, sometimes the people offended too much on that hand, and gave more honour and reverence unto God's ministers than God himself required, or they looked for; sometimes again, on the other hand, they gave them no reverence, they attributed no honour unto them, they did set too little by the preachers of God's word; and this was a fault on the other side.

When Christ in our nature began first to preach and set abroad his Father's will, and the glad tidings of the gospel, the people forthwith found fault with him: He is, said they, but a carpenter's son: we know his father, we know John vi. his mother: he was never set to school: how can this man have learning? Afterward, when the disciples and apostles of Christ preached and taught the people, and began to speak with strange tongues, insomuch that every man Acts ii. marvelled to hear his own speech and language, both Medes, Persians, and they of Mesopotamia; yet said the people: "These men are full of new wine." And this was too little honour. Therefore, if the preacher be too much honoured, then is God dishonoured: if he be despised, and nothing set by, then is Christ himself despised, and not regarded. They that said Christ was a carpenter's son, a man unlearned, and such a one as never went to school; they that said the apostles of Christ were full of new wine, spake not this of any private malice or hatred that they bare either unto Christ or his apostles, but only to bring God's word to shame, only to bring Christ's holy gospel out of credit with the people: this was their intent and purpose, and nothing else. Therefore St Paul in this place sheweth the Corinthians how they should esteem the teachers of God's holy word, how they should think and judge of them. For the people sometime esteem most a politic man, such a man as by his great wit is able to conclude peace and leagues between princes; they regard him that is of stout courage and learned in the laws; they set most by him that is eloquent and able to persuade; yea, and they regard him not that is not excellently learned, and seen in all sciences: but here St Paul sheweth them, that they should not esteem the preachers of God's gospel as men po-

litic, as men of great wit, as men of stout courage, and learned in the law, as men eloquent, and excellently well seen in sciences; but as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the secrets of God.

Thus should the ministers of Christ be esteemed, and thus ought the teachers of God's word shew themselves as ministers of Christ, and dispensers of God's
2 Cor. iv. secrets. And therefore St Paul in another place saith: "We come not to preach ourselves;" but all our preaching, all our teaching, all our doctrine, is that you know Jesus Christ: as for ourselves, we are but your servants. So
John vii. Christ himself: *Qui de se loquitur gloriam propriam quærit:* "He that speaketh
1 Cor. iii. of himself seeketh his own glory," saith Christ. So Paul likewise: *Quid Petrus, quid Paulus, quid Apollo, nisi ministri?* "What is Peter? what is Paul? what is Apollo?" Think you them any other than the servants and ministers of God? "Paul hath planted, Apollo watered; but God hath given the increase." The increase came not from Peter, not from Paul, not from Apollo, but from God alone. Apollo, Paul, and Peter, are nothing else but the ministers and servants of God; God is he that giveth the increase; God alone is he that giveth the increase. When the great city of Hierusalem understood of John the Baptist, and began to seek unto him, they asked him: "What art thou?" He answered
John i. them: *Ego vox clamantis in deserto, Parate viam Domini:* "I am," said he, a man not worthy to be esteemed, I am but a messenger sent unto you: "I am nothing else but a voice to cry, Prepare you the way of the Lord." So Moses and Aaron, that had the conducting of the people of God, when the whole camp was in a tumult and uproar, and the people ran in rage against them, like to have slain them, they stretched out their hands and said: *Non*
Exod. xvi. *contra nos, sed contra Dominum; nam nos qui sumus?* "This stir, this hurly-burly, this tumult, that you make, is not," said they, "against us, but against God; for, alas! what are we?" We are but God's servants, God's messengers, appointed to lead and guide you. Thus therefore ought every man esteem the preachers of God's gospel, as messengers, as servants, as ministers of Christ; thus ought every man think and judge of them.

But what kind of servant is this preacher, what manner of minister is he? St Paul saith: "He is the steward and disposer[1] of God's secrets:" he setteth forth and sheweth abroad the mysteries of his holy gospel. And these mysteries that St Paul here meaneth (to conclude in one word) are none other than the articles of our faith; that Christ is the Son of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the virgin Mary; that he was crucified, dead, buried, descended into hell, rose again, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father; that by his blood our sins were washed away; that our bodies shall at the last day arise, and we possess eternal life. These be the secrets, these be the mysteries, that the ministers of Christ, the servants and stewards of God, do utter and declare to God's people: no wisdom of man is able to compass this, no learning of this world able of itself to expound these hidden secrets.
1 Cor. ii For, saith St Paul: *Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt ex Deo:* "The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God:" he understandeth not such things as are of God. "It is foolishness unto him; and he cannot per-
John i. ceive it; for it must be spiritually discerned." Christ himself also: *Non ex hominibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, sed ex voluntate Dei:* They which are God's children, and able to understand his mysteries, "are such which are not born of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." When Christ had asked of Peter what he thought of him, and Peter had said,
Matt. xvi. *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi,* "Thou art Christ the Son of the living God;" he answered: "O happy art thou, Simon the son of Jonas; for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father that is in heaven." These mysteries therefore are only opened by the Spirit of God, by God's only working, not by any wisdom of man, not by any cunning and great learning of this world.

Now therefore, saith St Paul, think thus of us; judge us to be the ministers and servants of God, and mark well whether we reveal unto you God's mysteries and his holy gospel; consider with yourselves, and see whether we open unto

[1] Dispenser, 1609.]

you God's hidden secrets: by this shall you know whether we be the servants and dispensers of God's mysteries.

But, like as in St Paul's time there was dissension, strife, and great debate, even amongst the Christians, and such as professed the name of God; so likewise in our days, good brethren, even in the time that we ourselves have seen, there hath been discord and parts-taking among us. Some have said, I will believe the old learning; some again have said, I will believe the new: some have said, I will credit this man; some, I will believe that man. And thus the father hath fallen out with the son, the mother with the daughter, the brother with his brother, and one neighbour with another; each man defending that part which he himself best liked. But, alas! good brethren, this is no new thing: this hath been from the beginning, and even in Christ's time. For, at what time Christ himself walked here on this earth, and began to preach the glory of his Father, some said he was a good man, some other said, no; some said he was a prophet, some other said he was none, but one that deceived the people; some rejoiced that it pleased God to send such a preacher as Christ was, some again despised his doctrine, and said "he had a devil." These words the people then spake of Christ; these words, I say, they spake of Christ himself. He was called "a Samaritan," "a wine-bibber," "a friend of publicans and sinners," "a seducer of the people." Therefore it is the less marvel if such words be now at these days spoken as were spoken in the beginning of the church; if such words be spoken against us as were spoken against Christ himself. But St Paul hath here given us a rule whereby to know the true servants of Christ and stewards of God's secrets.

John vii. Luke vii. John vii. Luke vii.

Christ was the true prophet; and why so? Because he preached his Father's will. "Whatever I have heard of my Father," saith Christ, "the same have I declared unto you." St Paul was the true servant of Christ and steward of his secrets; and why so? because he laboured in God's vineyard, he preached, he taught more than all the rest of the apostles of Christ did: *Laboravi plus quam ceteri omnes:* "I have laboured more than all the rest of the apostles have done." Therefore was he the true and faithful minister of God's mysteries, because he thus diligently always taught God's gospel and the glory of his name; for this cause, I say, and none other, was he the steward and dispenser of God's secrets. So were the patriarchs and the prophets the true servants of God, because they declared the will of God. And here have we to consider that Christ, which was the true prophet; the apostles, which were the true ministers and stewards of Christ; the patriarchs and prophets, which were the true and faithful servants of God, were all grievously afflicted, persecuted from place unto place, and lastly put to most cruel death. This, I say, happened to Christ himself, and all his apostles, St John the evangelist only excepted. And yet was Christ God's own Son[2]; the apostles were the true ministers and stewards of God's secrets. And therefore, if we shall in our time see the preachers of God's word afflicted, the teachers of the gospel of Christ persecuted, the stewards of God's secrets miserably tormented, yet let not us, good brethren, let not us give over and shrink from God's gospel: let us consider that this is no new thing, no strange hap, but such as happened to the patriarchs, to the prophets, to the apostles, yea, and to Christ himself.

John xv. 1 Cor. xv.

Now then let us take this rule of St Paul's, and thereby let us try whether the preachers in times past, the popes, the cardinals, the bishops, were the true servants of God, stewards and dispensers of his holy secrets. There are at this day some that be called bishops, some that be called cardinals; and they say that they carry up the church of Christ, and are the props and pillars of the same; and therefore, in token thereof, they have always pillars borne before them[3]. At this day the bishop of Rome calleth himself a general bishop, an universal bishop, not over this part or that part, but over all Christendom; yea, and he saith he is the head of Christ's church: he saith that he hath power over kings, over princes, he hath power over purgatory, over souls departed, over devils, over angels, he can pardon not only sins already done,

[2] Sons, 1611.]

[3] See before, page 1120, note 2.]

but such also as shall be at any time hereafter committed; and that he cannot mistake the scriptures of God, that he cannot err and be deceived, whatever he doth, all is well done, no man can judge him and sit upon his doings[1]. I speak not this of malice, I speak it not for any grudge or hatred I owe to his person, God is my witness, I neither know him that now is, nor any of them that have heretofore-time been bishops of Rome. But all these their doings are written, all these words which I have here spoken are written, I say, even in their own laws and decrees: the places may be alleged and brought forth. Alas! these are glorious titles, to be called universal bishop, and head of Christ's church, to have dominion over kings and princes, to have power over purgatory, over souls departed, over devils, over angels, to have authority to pardon sins past, and sins hereafter to be committed, not to err, not to be deceived: all these are glorious and triumphant titles, as you well see. But let us now take Paul's rule, the rule, I say, that St Paul hath here given us; and let us by the same try whether the bishops, the cardinals, the popes, have heretofore-time or at this time do dispense unto us the mysteries of the gospel, as stewards of the secrets of God; whether they do preach and teach the gospel of Christ, as the servants and ministers of Christ. Alas! we see they do nothing less, they do, we see, nothing less than set forth the gospel of God and the glory of his holy name. How then can they call themselves pastors, when they feed not God's sheep? how can they call themselves watchmen, when they have no regard to God's flock? how can they call themselves pillars of the church, yea, and the head of the church, when they shew themselves rather destroyers of the church of Christ, and not members of the same? Alas! if they be not God's servants, whose servants are they? if they be not dispensers and stewards of God's secrets, of whose secrets are they stewards? if they be not so much as members, how are they then the pillars and head of Christ's church?

St Paul goeth further, and saith it is not sufficient to be called servants, to be called ministers, to be called stewards of God's secrets; but it is "further required at the steward's hand, that he be found faithful." In this world the master committeth the order of his house to the governance of his steward: the disposing of his whole living, and order of all other things, he committeth only to his steward's wisdom; and he looketh that he be found faithful in all his doings. And, if this be in worldly things, if the master here in this world will look for and require faithful dealings at his steward's hands, in such things as are but transitory, and of little value; how much more then will God require faithfulness in his stewards as touching things eternal, things heavenly, and the disposing of his secrets! But from the beginning, even from the first beginning of the world, there have been always untrusty and wicked stewards. For, at what time God framed man, and placed him in paradise in great joy and pleasure, the devil, envying this his felicity, became a wicked steward,
Gen. iii. and said unto Adam: Tush! "ye shall not die:" eat of this fruit, ye shall not die: God doth but mock with you; "for he doth know that, in whatever hour ye eat of it, your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as God, knowing both good and evil." And thus he became a most wicked steward. Jeremy also the prophet saith that in his time there were wicked and untrusty stewards:
Jer. xxiii. *Currunt*, saith he; *at ego non misi: loquuntur; at ego non sum loquutus illis:* "They run," saith God; "but I sent them not: they have spoken; but I speak[2] not unto them." So Christ himself said that in the latter days there should
Matt. xxiv. come false stewards, false prophets, false preachers, and say: *Hic est Christus, illic est Christus:* "Lo, here is Christ, there is Christ;" and should "do great wonders and tokens, insomuch that, if it were possible, the very chosen should be brought into error also." Antichrist in like wise shall come, saith Paul:
2 Thess. ii. "The man of sin, the son of perdition, he shall exalt himself above all that is called God; he shall sit in the holy place, in the temple of God," in the conscience of men; and, when he cometh he shall not say, I am antichrist, I am a false prophet, I am a wicked steward; but he shall rather say, I am

[1 See before, page 93, note 2; also pages 442, 3.] [2 Spake, 1609.]

a true prophet, I am a faithful steward; I am Christ, the Son of God, yea, I am God himself. Now therefore how will you know the true servant from the false minister? how will you try the faithful steward from the unfaithful? Marry, saith St Paul, if he doth[3] his Master's will and commandment, if he doth[3] all those things faithfully that his Master requireth at his hands, if he this doth, then is he a faithful minister and a trusty steward. By this shall you know him, by this token and none other shall you soon discern whether he be a faithful steward: this is the point of a trusty servant. And therefore God unto Ezechiel his prophet, and so by him to all such as shall become his stewards and preachers of his gospel, saith: "I have appointed thee a watch- Ezek. iii.
man over my house of Israel, to cry unto my people; therefore take good heed to the words of my mouth, and give them warning at my commandment: thou shalt hear it at my mouth," saith God, "and then shalt thou pronounce it unto my people." So Paul was bold to say: *Quod accepi a Domino, tradidi* 1 Cor. xi.
vobis: "That which I delivered unto you, received I of the Lord:" what thing soever I received of the Lord, that have I delivered and shewed unto you, without adding any thing thereto, or diminishing any thing therefro. Even so Christ himself said: *Sermo quem audistis non est meus, sed Patris mei qui* John vii.
misit me: The doctrine which you hear is not mine, but his that hath sent me: "these words that you have heard are not mine, but my Father's that sent me:" I do but my Father's message, saith Christ; all that I teach, all that I preach unto you, is nothing else but the will of my Father. By this therefore, my bre- John vii.
thren, shall you soon try whether they are true servants of God: for, if they shall only disclose unto you the will of God, if they shall preach unto you the secrets of God's gospel, and the glory of his holy name, then are they true servants, then are they Christ's ministers, and faithful dispensers of God's secrets. But, if they teach you not the sincerity of God's gospel, if they preach not unto you the mysteries of God's word, if they disclose not unto you the will of God; if they do not this, then are they not God's servants, then are they not Christ's ministers, nor stewards of God's secrets. And therefore saith St John in his epistle: "If any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him 2 John, 10.
not into your house, neither salute him:" if any man, saith he, come unto you, and teach you any other gospel than this that I have preached, let him not enter into your house, do not so much as bid him God speed. So Esay the prophet: "If they speak not according to this word, they shall have no morning-light." Isai. viii.

Now, as touching the variance and diversity of opinions now-a-days, as touching the dissension and controversy that is at this time among us, I would to God that all such as defend and maintain the pope's authority and power would be content to be judged by this rule, to be tried by this only rule that St Paul here giveth. These are the most and the greatest controversies, whereupon hath risen all the contention and variance that we have seen; whether we should have a communion or a private mass; whether the communion should be ministered under both kinds or not; whether we ought to have our prayers in our vulgar tongue; whether we should have and set up in our churches any graven images; and whether we may lawfully have the scriptures in our common tongue, that every man may read and understand them. These are, I say, the controversies whereon hangeth all our debate. But now let us see and consider, whether such as taught you to have a private mass, such as would have the communion ministered under one kind alone, such as taught you to worship images, such as would you to pray in an unknown tongue, such as would not suffer you to have the knowledge of God's word and his gospel; let us, I say, according unto St Paul's rule, see whether they were the true ministers of Christ, and faithful stewards of the secrets of God; let us weigh whether they disclosed unto you the mysteries of God's word, and whether their doctrine agreed with the gospel of Christ.

Christ at his last supper ordained a communion for the comfort of all our Luke xxii.
souls; but they turned this into a private mass, that one should receive alone. This was contrary to Christ, contrary to that he ordained. And how then

[3] Doeth, 1609.]

should we esteem them as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the secrets of God? Christ ministered the[1] communion to his disciples in both the kinds; yet they, notwithstanding, ministered it under one kind alone, they robbed the people, and took the cup from them. And this was contrary to Christ and his institution. And how then should we esteem them as the ministers of Christ and stewards of the secrets of God? God gave us in commandment to make no graven image: they taught that we should make ourselves graven images, that we should kneel, that we should bow, that we should creep unto them, and that we should offer and stick up candles before them.

This they taught to be necessary doctrine, and that our salvation depended thereupon. This have they done, you all right well know, and this contrary to the express commandment of God. And how then should we esteem them as the ministers of Christ and stewards of the secrets of God? St Paul willeth our prayers in the congregation to be such, to be read and sung in so plain a tongue, in so distinct and known a language, that the common people may understand them, and so all together may answer the minister, and say, Amen. And this was used in the patriarchs', in the prophets', in the apostles', in the old doctors' times, in the primitive church; and yet there have been men, and now are, that would have the prayers in Latin, in a tongue to us strange and unknown, and in a tongue that few or none understand. And how then can they say they are the ministers of Christ and stewards of God's secrets? God in the old law gave in charge to his people, that they should have his law always before their eyes, "that they should have his commandments written in their hands, on their sleeves, on their door thresholds, in the skirts of their garments." This God himself commanded. And Christ in the new law: *Scrutamini scripturas,* saith he; *illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me:* "Search ye the scriptures; for they do bear witness of me." And yet, this notwithstanding, notwithstanding Christ commanded us to search the scriptures; yet you yourselves have known men, and such as were preachers, forbid you to have God's gospel in your hands, would not suffer you to have the holy testament of Christ in your houses, no, nor in the churches for all men to read. This was contrary to God's commandment, and the mind of our Saviour Jesus Christ. And how then can they say they are the ministers of Christ and stewards of God's secrets? Christ said unto Peter: *Amas me? pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos, pasce gregem meum:* "Peter," said Christ, "lovest thou me? feed my sheep, feed my lambs, feed my flock." But our great clerks, our popes, our cardinals, our bishops, would seldom or never make a sermon; they fed not God's sheep, they fed not God's lambs, they had no regard to God's flock; and how then could they say, they were the ministers of Christ and stewards of God's secrets?

1 Cor. xiv.

Num. xv. Deut. xi.

John v.

John xxi.

I leave out much of purpose, good brethren, I wittingly overpass here many things else that I could say herein: the time would fail me if I should rehearse unto you all those things wherein they have most shamefully abused themselves. But judge you, my brethren, by these things only which I have here shewed unto you, whether they should be esteemed as the ministers of Christ and stewards of the secrets of God. Christ willed them not only to be stewards, but faithful stewards, faithful ministers, faithful dispensers of his secrets. If to do nothing be the faithfulness that God requireth in them, if this be the charge that Christ demandeth of them, then may we well call them the servants of God and ministry[2] of Christ: otherwise how can we say that they are the stewards of God's secrets, and faithful dispensers of his hidden mysteries?

St Paul goeth forth and saith: "It is but a small thing that I should be judged of you." St Paul, notwithstanding he was an elect vessel of God, to bear abroad the glory of his name, notwithstanding he was the greatest of the apostles, and a faithful dispenser of God's secrets; yet some men said that he was unlearned, some said he was no minister of Christ's, some said that there were many other preachers better than he. And this was spoken of him even by the Christians, and such as professed God's name. And thus a great number of the people judged that St Paul was not the servant of God, was not the

[1] This, 1609.] [2] Ministers, 1609.]

minister of Christ, was not a steward of God's secrets. But St Paul appealed from them, he appealed from their judgments, and said: "It is but a small matter for me to be judged of you, or of man's day," &c. Here may we see what a bold courage, what a stout stomach was in St Paul, when he durst thus openly, and as it were to their faces, appeal from the people's judgment, and so bring them before the dreadful majesty of the eternal God. This was a great courage of his, this was a sign that he little or nothing feared the force of the people. But this he did, because he well knew that, whatever befel him in this world, whatever punishment he suffered in this life, he could not miscarry before God, he could not do other than well in the life to come. And therefore likewise in another place he boldly said unto the people: "I am pure from the blood of all men: I have kept back nothing that was profitable: I have hid nothing from you, but have shewed you all the counsel of God." [Acts xx.] And so, where at this day some men there are which say that this doctrine which is now preached unto you shall again have a change; that this religion shall be taken away and once again altered, that it cannot long stand and continue; to such we boldly answer here, as St Paul to the Corinthians did, that it is but a small matter for us to be judged of you, that we much force not what you judge and deem of us: for we have kept nothing back from you, we have disclosed unto you all the counsel of God. But, if such change doth happen, if any alteration of our religion doth chance, as possible enough it is so to come to pass; yet is it not, good brethren, a thing to be rejoiced at, it is not a thing whereat we should triumph and be glad.

For oftentimes when God seeth his benefits misused, when he perceiveth his gospel little regarded, when he espieth his holy word neglected and nothing set by; then he pulleth from us again his benefits erst bestowed, then he taketh his word from out of the congregation, then he will not suffer the light of his holy gospel any longer to shine upon them. And this when he doth, he doth it only for our sinfulness, only for our own sins and wretchedness. For so in times past he said by Ose his prophet: "For the wickedness of my people I will get me away: they shall not see me." [Hos. v.] So Christ himself also said: *Auferetur a vobis regnum Dei:* "The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to the heathen; which shall bring forth the fruits of it." Matt. xxi. But, alas! when God's kingdom is taken away, in whose kingdom and dominion do the people then live? when God's gospel and his word is no longer preached, what learning, what doctrine, what discipline is there left to be taught? And this oftentimes cometh to pass by means of our own sin and wickedness; that, for the misusing of God and his gospel, we neither have God's kingdom nor his gospel among us. But then, alas! in what great misery, in what wretchedness, in what woful case shall we stand! For if God's kingdom be shut from us, whither shall we fly? If the light of his gospel be taken from us, what light shall be left us? If God will get him away from us, who shall be our succour? And therefore no man ought to rejoice hereat, no man ought to be glad of such a change. But, though God's kingdom be taken away from us, though God's gospel be no more preached unto us, though God fly from us, and will hide himself away, yet is God and his gospel nothing thereby altered: God is still one and the same God: his gospel is the same gospel that it was before: his kingdom continueth in one stay and estate, it is not changed nor altered. For saith Christ: *Cœlum et terra transibunt; verbum autem meum non transibit:* "Heaven and earth shall perish; but my word shall not perish." Matt. v. And again: *Portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adversum illud:* "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Matt. xvi. And therefore St Paul, having on[3] his side this word of God, which never changeth, but always continueth one and the same; having, I say, this word of his, which shall never perish, and against which the very gates of hell shall not prevail, he was bold to appeal from the slanderous judgment of the people, and say: I pass not what you think of me: "it is but a small matter for me to be judged of you, or of man's day," &c.

Good people, you have heard declared unto you, and thereby you may well

[3 One, 1611.]

perceive, that St Paul, notwithstanding he was the servant of God, an elect vessel of the Holy Ghost, and the chiefest apostle of Christ, yet was evil spoken of and misliked even of the Christians and such as professed the name of God: notwithstanding he was indeed the true servant of God, the minister of Christ, and a faithful dispenser of the secrets of God, yet could not all men speak well of him, all men could not give him a good report. And therefore, to cause them to conceive a better opinion of him, and report of him none other than he deserved, he here willeth them that they should first weigh well and consider his doings; they should examine his doctrine, and the gospel that he had preached amongst them; they should mark well and see whether he had been a faithful dispenser of the mysteries of God's gospel, and then so esteem him as the minister of Christ and steward of the secrets of God. And therefore "judge you nothing," saith he, "before the time that the Lord come; which shall bring that to light which is hid in darkness, and open the counsels of the hearts; and then shall every one have praise of God." And so in these days, as Paul in his time was misliked of many; so, I say, in these our days the ministers of God and preachers of his gospel are evil spoken of amongst all men: some say they are unlearned, they know nothing, they are craftsmen, they were never set to school. This they have said, and do yet report of them. Some men say they preach they cannot tell what, they speak against prayer, against fasting, against almsdeeds, and all other good works, they allow nothing that good is, they disallow in manner all things. This you know hath been spoken, and yet is reported of such as now are ministers in God's gospel. But hereunto have I none other thing to say, than that which St Paul in this place writeth to the Corinthians: "It is sufficient for us to be found the servants of God, the ministers of Christ, and faithful dispensers of God's secrets." In the mean season do not you, good brethren, think evil of the preachers of God's word, report not amiss of the ministers of Christ, account not them your enemies that bring unto you the glad tidings of the gospel. When Paul came to Berea from Thessalonica, and began there to preach the gospel of Christ, the people ran to their books, searched the scriptures, conferred his doctrine with the word of God; and, when they found that in all points it agreed therewith, then they believed Paul, then they embraced his doctrine, then with willing hearts they clave to his discipline. And as they did, even so let us do, good brethren: let us not judge rashly of God's ministers, let us not over hastily give sentence of them, let us not report evil of God's servants; but let us well weigh and consider what thing they teach us: let us examine and try their doctrine with the touch-stone of God's word: let us confer their preaching, their teaching, their discipline, with the scriptures of the Holy Ghost. And this when you have done, then be you our judges; then, if you see that we teach you nothing but the mysteries of God, if you perceive that we only disclose unto you the will of God, if you see that we preach unto you none other thing than the secrets of God's gospel, esteem us to be the servants of God, "the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the secrets of God."

Acts xvii.

PSALM LXVII.

Ver. 3. *Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee:*
4. *O let the people rejoice and be glad, that thou judgest the folk righteously, and governest the nations upon the earth, &c.*

At what time the Jews had grievously offended God their Lord, forgotten their obedience towards him, and betaken themselves to strange gods, every man wandering after his own lust and fancy; and thereupon God began to plague and punish them with sundry and divers plagues and with unseasonable weather, so that their grass, their corn, their fruits, and whatever other commodities sprang out of the earth, were all in great danger; then David the prophet, seeing all these miseries at once fall upon the people, called them home again, shewed them how they should return from their wickedness, and come unto God. For God

desireth not our destruction, he is loth to work revengement upon us when we anger and displease him: "In whatever hour the sinner shall return from his sin, and come unto me," saith the Lord, "I shall be ready to receive him. As for all his sins that he did before, they shall not be thought upon; but in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live." In whatever time a man shall hold up his hands, acknowledge God's mercy, and be sorry for his offences from the bottom of his heart, God asketh no more, he craveth no more at his hands, he is pleased only with his humble repentance. And therefore David in the beginning of this psalm shewed the people how they should in this wise come unto God, and desire mercy at his hands, saying: "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and shew us the light of his countenance, and be merciful unto us." Ezek. xviii.

And now therefore, when David perceived that this grace of God, this mercy, this blessing of his was not given in vain, was not frustrate and void, he caused all the people to say: "Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee." This is a short sentence, but such a sentence it is as shall endure and continue for ever. This is our profession, this is our baptism, this is our religion: it is not sufficient to know the gospel, to know God, to know Christ; but we must confess the gospel, we must confess God, we must confess and acknowledge Christ. The gospel that Christ left us is not a song to delight our ears, it is not an harmony to content and please our hearing; but it is a squire[1] to direct our lives by, it is a rule to frame all our doings by. St Paul saith: "To this end hath the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, appeared unto us, that we should deny ungodliness and worldly lusts; and that we should live discreetly, righteously, and godly in this world." Therefore hath God given us his gospel, therefore hath he given us his word, that we should according thereunto live a sober, a discreet, and modest life, saith he. And in another place: "That we by the same gospel may serve and please him in newness of life." And so Zachary, that holy father, being filled with the Holy Ghost, said: "That we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him all the days of our life in such holiness and righteousness as is accepted before him." For like as our profession is, so should our lives be. If we profess the name of Christ, we should live like Christians: if we profess God, we should live as becometh the servants of God. St John saith: "For this purpose appeared the Son of God, to loose the works of the devil;" to this end, that all sin and wickedness should be left and forsaken. "By this are the children of God known from the children of the devil." St Paul in his epistle to the Romans saith: "Before God they are not righteous which hear the law; but they that do the law shall be justified." God reckoneth no man just for hearing of the law, he accounteth no man righteous for knowing of his gospel, but for the keeping of his law, for the observing of his gospel; though no man indeed be able thoroughly to fulfil and keep the same. St James also saith: "See that ye be doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves. For, if any hear the word, and do it not, he is like unto a man that beholdeth his bodily face in a glass; for, as soon as he looketh on himself, he goeth away and forgetteth immediately what his fashion was. But whoso looketh in the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein (if he be not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work), the same shall be happy in his deed." If ye therefore hear the word of God preached unto you, if you know the gospel of Christ never so well, if ye daily and hourly read and study the same; yet, if you live not according to the word of God, if you walk not after the gospel of Christ, you do nothing else but deceive yourselves; you do, I say, nought else but deceive your own selves. St John the Baptist, when he preached and prepared the way of the Lord, he began with this lesson: *Pœnitentiam agite:* "Do you," said he, "the works of repentance;" for hereunto are we all called, not only to know God's way, but also to walk in God's way; not only to know God and his name, but also to confess God and praise his holy name. Therefore do we receive Christ's holy sacraments, therefore are we baptized, therefore eat we the sacrament of Christ's body, and drink his most holy blood. But, O merciful God, how many are there that say they know God's way, and yet walk not in that way! how Tit. ii. Luke i. 1 John iii. [Rom. ii.] James i.

[1] Squire: rule, or measure.]

many, that say they know their faith and promise made in baptism, and yet forsake the same! how many, that receive the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and yet continue in their old sin and wickedness! But God saith; God, I say,
1 John iii. that cannot lie, saith: *Qui manet in peccato non novit me:* "He that continueth in sin knoweth not me." Ezechiel, declaring the folly of the people in his time,
Ezek. xxxiii. saith: "O these come unto thee after the manner of a great people: yea, my people sit down before thee, and hear thy words, but they do not thereafter; for in their mouths they shew themselves as though they were fervent; but their heart goeth after their own covetous lucre." They have my word in their mouths, they speak ever of my name, saith God; but their hearts are far from
Jude, 1. me. And so likewise Jude, the apostle of Christ: *Veritatem Dei verterunt in luxum,* saith he: "They have turned the truth of God's word into riot: they are ungodly, and turn the grace of our God into wantonness, and deny God." Paul,
Rom. i. complaining of the misliving of the people in his time, said: "Whereas they know God, they glorify not God;" where they know his name, they glorify not his name. Whosoever he be that taketh upon him to know God's way, and walketh not in God's way, whosoever taketh upon him to know God and his gospel, and directs not his doings according unto God's will and his holy commandments, he doth not confess God and glorify his holy name. St Paul found fault with the
Rom. ii. Jews, and said: "For your sake is the name of God evil spoken of among the gentiles;" for your sake, for your evil and corrupt living, said St Paul.

Good brethren, let us consider, that as many of us as say we know God's way, we know God's word and his gospel; if virtue follow not, if honest conversation and upright living follow not this our profession, we shame God, and dishonour his
Tit. i. holy name. *Dicunt se nosse Deum,* saith St Paul, *sed factis negant:* "They say they know God," saith he, they say they know his holy word and gospel; "but in their deeds they deny God," they deny his gospel. An horrible thing it is to deny God. The Turks, the Jews, the heathen, and infidels, do not deny God; and yet St Paul said that in his time christian men, such as professed the name of God, in their deeds denied God and his gospel. If thou say thou knowest God, if thou say thou knowest his gospel; if thou live not as God commandeth thee, if thou live not as it becometh a professor of God's gospel, thou blasphemest
Isai. xxix. God's name, and dishonourest his gospel. *Ore suo appropinquant ad me,* saith God by his prophet Esay; *corda autem illorum longe absunt a me:* "This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouths; but their hearts are far from me." They honour me with their mouths; but with their hearts they deny me. And
Psal. l. in another place God by his prophet David saith: "O thou man, why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my covenant in thy mouth?" for with the sinful thou art sinful, with the thief thou art a thief, with the adulterer thou art an adulterer.

Therefore, if we have the word of God as a song to delight our ears; if we turn the truth of God's gospel into riot and wantonness; if we confess God with our lips, and deny him in our deeds; if we say we know God's law, we know his commandments, and yet live not thereafter; we do not praise God and confess his name, but we shame God, and dishonour his holy name: we cause the people to think evil of God's word, and slander his gospel. And this is the cause why the common sort of people judge that not to be the gospel, which is this day preached and taught unto them; because such as profess the gospel live not after the gospel; because such as say they know God's way walk not in God's way. And thus, through our own folly, through our own evil and corrupt living, we offend our brethren, we offend ourselves, and so in them offend Jesus Christ; and their blood shall be required at our hands. Let us remember what God by the
Isai. xxx. prophet Esay saith: *Hæc est vera via, ambulate in ea:* "This is the true way; walk in the same." Chrysostom saith: "If ye hear God's word preached unto you, and ye follow it not, ye learn," saith he, "but your own damnation, ye learn nought else but your own destruction[1]:" the words that you hear preached unto
Exod. xx. you shall accuse and condemn you. God saith: "Thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt bear no false witness," &c. These words,

[1 Passages not unfrequently occur in Chrysostom nearly to this effect. See Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Gen. Hom. i.; in cap. xxii. Hom. xlvii. Tom. IV. pp. 2, 479, 80.]

this law of God written unto us, shall accuse, yea, and condemn us, I say, if we to our powers follow not the same, if we walk not and continue in them accordingly. Alas! the[2] very age of the world, the profession that we have taken upon us, is, or should be, enough to put us in remembrance of another life, of another world to come. Let us not take the name of God in vain; let us all praise and extol God; let our mouths, our hands, our hearts, and all other our members praise and confess his name for ever. *Lætentur et exultent populi, &c.:* "O let the people rejoice and be glad, that thou judgest the folk righteously, and governest the nations upon the earth." Thy way, O Lord, is known, said David, thy way is known upon the earth; therefore let all people, all nations, yea, all the whole world rejoice and be glad thereat.

Divers people set their minds on divers things; some in conquest, some in great power and force of men, some in heaps of money and treasures of this world, some others that they are able to make other men fear, and they fear nothing themselves. But all these things are vain; both conquest, power, and heaps of great treasure are transitory and fade away: but the man of God, that dreadeth God, and hath a delight in his law, setteth his joy and delight in those things which have no end, but continue for ever. And therefore David here saith: "Let all the people rejoice and be glad" in this thing alone, "because thou judgest the folk righteously, and governest the nations upon the earth."

Let us consider, if there were a whole christian nation brought in captivity under the Turk, in thraldom and subjection unto him, in such sort that they should never hear the scriptures, never receive the sacraments, never come to the church to pray, but always be where God should be despised, and his name dishonoured; consider, I say, with yourselves, in what misery, in what wretchedness, in what great thraldom should they be. With what conscience should they be able to abide this? But, if it would then please God to deliver them standing in this state, if it would please God to restore unto them his scriptures, if it would please God that they might receive again his holy sacraments, and might come and pray together; if God would thus much do for them, O what joy, what triumph, what mirth would they make! Let us therefore here consider the estate of God's church before the time of the prophet David, and as it was in his time. Before the reign of David the tabernacle of God was broken, the ark lost, 1 Sam. v. the scriptures taken from them, the priests slain: God made them no answer by prophet, angel, nor by dream: every man ran whither himself best liked, without any fear of God, or dread of his law; so had Saul that wicked king miserably tossed and turmoiled the same. But it pleased God by the hands of king David his prophet to restore again his church so overthrown to her former estate and condition: it pleased God by him to make up the tabernacle again, to find out 2 Sam. vi. the ark that before was lost, to set up all other things in good stay and order: and this was as much as if he had called them from death unto life, from bondage to freedom, from hell to heaven. Therefore when all these things were thus restored again by the might and power of God, this prophet David comforted his heart, and said: *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, lætemur et exultemus in ea:* Psal. cxviii. "This is a joyful day which the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad therein." And so likewise in another place: *Dominus regnavit, moveatur terra:* Psal. xcix. "The Lord beareth the rule, the Lord is king, be the people never so unpatient." Let the whole world conspire, saith he, let it be moved and do what it can against God; for God ruleth and reigneth over all. Zachary, when he saw the comfortable time that should ensue the birth of Christ, he fell down and cried out, saying: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel; quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem* Luke i. *plebis suæ:* "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people." So Simeon, that old and holy father, so soon as he beheld Christ, and had received his Redeemer into his arms, by and by his heart brake out for joy and said: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace, &c.:* Luke ii. "Now lettest thou thy servant, O Lord, depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have beholden thy salvation, mine eyes have seen thy Saviour, whom thou hast prepared for all people." Even so in this place the prophet

[2 Them, 1611.]

David, considering the great mercy that God had shewed, the wondrous work that he had then wrought, and how that in his time all the whole people knew God's way, he said: *Lætentur et exultent populi, &c.*: "Let the people rejoice and be glad, yea, let all the people rejoice; because thou judgest the folk righteously, and governest the nations upon the earth."

Now, good brethren, forasmuch as we have here seen and considered the state of God's church before David's time, and the state whereunto it was restored again in David's time; even so let us in like consider the state of Christ's church before our time, and the state and condition of the same in our own time, in those days that we ourselves have seen. Let us consider how horrible darkness, what error and confusion hath of late time been in the church of God; let us weigh and consider, I say, the deformity and great abuses that were in the same. For, alas! we had the sacraments, we had the holy gospel and word of God; but we had them all in vain. Baptism we had; but we knew not the principles of our faith. The sacrament of the body and blood of Christ we had; but we understood not why Christ left us this sacrament: we knew not why he said, "Take, eat: this is my body," &c. It is the greatest sacrament; and yet we perceived not what it meant. We had prayers, we had psalms, we had supplications unto God; and yet we understood them not, we understood no word of them. We worshipped things made with men's hands, images of blocks and stones, such as had eyes, and saw not; ears, and heard not; neither had any breath in their mouths: such things we worshipped, and this contrary to the express commandment of God. The scriptures were rent, were torn, were trodden under foot, were burnt before our eyes. "We groped our way in the midst of the day;" as said the prophet Jeremy. And as the same prophet of his own time
Jer. xi. spake, saying, *Secundum numerum civitatum tuarum sunt dii tui*, "According to the number of the cities are thy gods, O Juda;" so might we of our own time have said. For look, how many cities we had, so many gods had we also: every borough, every town, yea, every village, in a manner had his proper and peculiar
Isai. v. saint. It was then come to pass that Esay prophesied, saying: "Hell hath opened her mouth marvellous wide." Hell hath gaped, saith he; because they have no knowledge of God, because they have no understanding. And so likewise
Prov. xxix. Salomon: "When prophecy faileth, the people must needs be scattered." This is the word of God. The old father Toby, when God had stricken him with blindness, and so taken his sight from him, and therefore his friends and acquaintance resorted unto him to comfort him, and somewhat, if they might, ease
Tob. v. [Vulg.] him of his great grief: "Alas!" said he, "what comfort can I receive, that cannot see the light the sun[1]?" Thus said he only because he could not behold the light of this world. Alas! what comfort then, what joy, what consolation, could we have, when God took from us the knowledge of his gospel, the light of his word, yea, the knowledge of God himself? when every man ran whither himself best liked, and followed that way which pleased his own fancy? Therefore were we carried away, therefore were we led into error, therefore lost we the knowledge of God; because prophecy failed, because God's word was not taught and preached unto us.

But now it hath pleased God to reveal himself unto us: now we know what is what, now can we discern light from darkness, good from bad: now we understand and know this, I say: now we have the scriptures in our mother tongue, that every man may read and understand them; the same scriptures that Christ hath sealed with his own blood. And these scriptures Jeremy, that
John v. old father, calleth the prop of our faith. So Christ himself: *Illæ sunt quæ testimonium perhibent de me*: "They bear witness of me," saith Christ, and they shall lead you into all truth. Hilary saith, "The scriptures are the squire
John v. and rule of our life[2]." "In the scriptures," saith Christ, "you shall find ever-
Rom. i. lasting life." And Paul, writing unto the Romans, saith: "The gospel of Christ

[1 Light of the sun, 1609.]

[2 Hilary repeatedly dwells on the authority of the scripture. See Hil. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. VII. 33, 8. cols. 939, 41, 2. But the exact expression here quoted may be found in Chrysostom: ...καὶ ταῦτα ἀκριβῆ ζυγὸν ἁπάντων ἔχοντας, καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ κανόνα, τῶν θείων νόμων τὴν ἀπόφασιν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. II. ad Cor. Hom. xiii. Tom. X. p. 537.]

is the power of God to save all that believe thereon." The scriptures were written, saith he, that we thereby should know our salvation. All these things God hath now restored unto us. Now are we able to know our profession, now are we able to know our religion, to know God, to know Christ, to know our salvation. Now have we the use of the primitive church, the communion under both kinds: now have we prayers in our known tongue, as in the apostles' time, as in the fathers' and doctors' times they were used. Tertullian, that old doctor, speaking of his time: "We come together," saith he, "and hear the scriptures read unto us[3]." We may now do as St Basil writeth the people in his time did: *Sonus virorum, mulierum, et parvulorum, in orationibus clangorem edit, tanquam fluctus ferientes littora*[4]: "The sound," saith he, "of men, women, and children praying together, maketh a noise like the waves of the sea beating on the shore." Thus, saith that old father, they did in his time; and thus may you now do. Now may we say as Athanasius said: "If I be deceived, thou hast deceived me, O Lord." For thy word is plain, thy gospel is true; and therefore, if we be now deceived, it is thy word, it is thy gospel that deceiveth us: God hath so plainly shewed unto us the light of his gospel, the knowledge of his word.

Therefore have we most just cause to say with the prophet David: *Lætentur et exultent populi:* "Let the people rejoice and be glad." And therefore let us not be unkind, let us not be unthankful, let us say: "Thou, O Lord, judgest the folk righteously, and governest the nations upon the earth." Thou hast now restored unto us our prayers in our known tongue, thy sacraments as they were used in the apostles' time, in the primitive church, in the old fathers' and doctors' times. And let us say with Zachary, that holy father: *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel:* "Blessed is the Lord God of Israel." Let us say with David: *Hæc est dies, lætemur et exultemus in ea:* "This is the joyful day; let us rejoice and be glad therein." Let us with Simeon the prophet say: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace:* "Now lettest thou thy servant, O Lord, depart in peace, according unto thy word." Let us say as the prophet here saith: *Lætentur et exultent populi:* "Let the people rejoice and be glad; because thou rulest the nations upon the earth. O let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee." "And God, even our own God, give us his blessing; that the earth may bring forth her increase."

Thou hast, O Lord, sent unto us thy measure, thou hast given us thy squire, whereby to measure and rule our lives: thou hast sent, I say, unto us thy gospel, thy holy word, the light of thy dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ, whereby we may guide ourselves, and direct our ways upon the earth. And, when we shall thus live, when we shall once begin so to direct our doings as God's gospel teacheth, and his holy word commandeth us; then shall the earth bring forth her increase, then shall she yield us her fruit in due season. For, like as God, when we turn from him, following our own lusts and desires, plagueth and punisheth us; so, when we repent and return unto him, he is good, he is loving, he is merciful unto us. "Turn unto me," saith God by his prophet Jeremy; "and I will turn unto you." "Whensoever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, I will forget his iniquities," saith the Lord. It is the Lord that giveth us fruit: it is the Lord that maketh the ground fertile: it is not the ground of itself that bringeth forth fruit; it is not the corn that feedeth us: it is the blessing of God; the blessing, I say, of God alone. And therefore said[5] the prophet David: "If thou, O Lord, wilt open thy hand, then all things shall be filled with thy blessing." It is the Lord that maketh the sun to shine, the moon to give light, the rain to fall on the earth. I am the Lord that doth this, saith God. David also in his psalm saith: *Sciant quod manus tua fecit hæc:* "Let them know, O Lord," saith he, "that thy hand alone hath done these wonders." It is God, I say, that causeth the earth to be fruitful, and bring forth increase; it is God that causeth the heavens to

Jer. iii. Ezek. xxxiii. Psal. cxlv. Psal. lxiv. Psal. lxxxv.

[3] Coimus ad *literarum divinarum commemorationem*.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 34.]

[4] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. *In Hexaem. Hom.* iv. Tom. I. p. 39.]

[5] Saith, 1609.]

hear the earth, the earth to cry unto the heavens. Your hearts shall be full of my blessing, saith the Lord. If we shall forsake our sins, if we will leave our wickedness, and turn unto God, our hearts shall be full of his blessing; and then shall the earth bring forth her increase: the earth, this dead thing, this unsensible thing, this mass of clay, at God's commandment, at his will and pleasure, it shall bring forth corn, it shall bring forth grass, and all other kind of fruits, to serve them that never think upon him that bestowed them.

O that we were kind, that we were not unmindful, that we would remember God! But, alas! we are unkind, we are unmindful, we neither think on God nor his works; and therefore God closeth up his hand, therefore he giveth not unto us his blessing, therefore is the earth barren and unfruitful. And this our own sins causeth, this our own wickedness and sinful living causeth. Ose the prophet unto the people of Israel (when they had forsaken God their
Hos. xiii. Lord, and therefore were grievously punished) cried out and said: *Malum tuum ex te, O Israel:* "Thy evil is come of thyself, O Israel." All this scarcity, all this dearth, all this plague cometh of thyself alone. Thou art, saith he, the cause, thou thyself art the cause hereof. And, even as they were the cause of their plague, so are we the only cause of all this our punishment; and yet we see not nor know God's anger. "I have stricken thee," saith God by his prophet; "and yet thou feelest not; and where shall I strike thee once again?"
Isai. i. *Filios educavi*, saith God by his prophets[1]: "I have bred up, I have nourished up children; and they despise me," they set nought by me, they will not acknowledge me their Father.

Good brethren, let us turn unto God, let us amend our sinful living, let us submit ourselves wholly to his mercy; so shall the earth bring forth her increase, so shall she yield us her fruit in due time and season. Let us consider the dignity that God hath given us: he made us in paradise, he fashioned us to his own likeness, he breathed life into us; and, lastly, where we, by the fall of our first parent Adam, were all adjudged to eternal death, he redeemed us again by the blood of his dear Son, and passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Behold these things, and be not unthankful. Let us, good brethren, behold ourselves, let us behold our own vocation, our own profession, let us behold Christ our Saviour. We are the children of God, the brethren of Christ, and heirs of the everlasting kingdom, we are christian men, we profess God's gospel: let us therefore remember that we must walk as becometh the servants of Christ, we must live like the professors of God's holy gospel. Let us remember how many ways God calleth us, how diversly he allureth us unto him, by what sundry means he provoketh us to come unto him. "O thou proud soul," saith God by his prophet, "thou earth and ashes, when wilt thou forsake thy sinful living, and come unto me? when wilt thou repent, and turn unto me?" Alas! do we look that the stone in the streets, the very stones under our feet should rise up and call us to repentance? The heavens drop down tears for our sake, they weep and are sorry for us; and wilt not thou, O man, burst out in tears, and bewail thy sinful life? God looketh when we will come, he waiteth when we will return unto him, he daily and hourly watcheth when we will submit ourselves and receive his mercy: so loving, so good, so gracious a Lord is he. Why should you perish? saith Christ: give me thy heart, O thou man; and I am contented.

Let us all therefore, my brethren, let us all return unto God, let us all together come forth and confess God's holy name: let our hands, our mouths, our hearts praise and laud him for ever: let all the people rejoice and be glad, that God judgeth the folk righteously, and governeth the nations upon the earth. So shall the earth bring forth her increase, so shall she yield us her fruit in due season; so shall we be blessed in our houses, blessed in the fields, blessed in our comings in and our goings out; so shall our corn, our cattle, our sheep, and oxen be always blessed; and so shall God's blessing be upon us and our children; and God, even our own God, shall bless us, and remain with us for ever. Amen.

[1 Prophet, 1609.]

ROMANS VI.

Ver. 19. *Like as ye have given over your members to the service of uncleanness, from one wickedness to another; even so now also give over your members to the service of righteousness, that ye may be holy, &c.*

FOR the better understanding of these words, written by the apostle St Paul, we must consider that there be two princes, of contrary dispositions and natures, which have the rule and governance of this world; that is to wit, God and the devil; and that never was there man sithence the first foundation of the world but was in subjection and under obedience either of the one or of the other. And, as God is the Father of light, the God of all good men; so is the devil the father and prince of this world, the lord of darkness, the king of this age, as saith St Paul, and ruler of the wicked; and, like as all good men fight under the banner of God their Lord, so all ungodly fight under the standard of the devil their prince; and, even as the just man hath his reward of God, so hath the wicked man his stipend of the devil. And thus be infidels, Turks, Jews, and all heathen people under the power and dominion of the devil, under the standard of Satan; and therefore are they not able to think any good, to conceive one good thought, because they fight under his banner, because they have given over all their members to be ordered of the devil, without any feeling of good, without any fear of God. And thus, as I said, do the Turks, thus do the infidels, thus do all heathen people at this day, and so did the Jews in the time of Paul: *In umbra mortis ambulaverunt*, saith he: "They walked in the shadow of death." Eph. vi. Psal. cvii. Eph. iv.

But, after that it pleased God the Father, by the coming of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to reveal himself unto them, to open and declare his gospel among them; then began the people to renounce the devil, to forsake his law and service, and to betake themselves wholly to the governance of God. And therefore St Paul, the further to encourage them thereunto, willeth them in this epistle of his, that, "like as beforetime they gave over their members to the service of uncleanness, from one wickedness to another, so should they now give over the same their members to the service of righteousness." For to this end was Christ born into this world, to this end lived he here among us, to this end preached he and taught the people God's holy word, that we by his example and the doctrine of his gospel should live an upright and holy life. And therefore Zachary, that holy prophet, being filled with the Holy Ghost, prophesied, and said before Christ's birth that Christ should for this cause appear in this world: "That we, being by him delivered from the fear of our enemies, might serve him in pureness and holiness all the days of our life." And St Paul likewise saith: "Ye were darkness, but now ye are light: walk therefore as becometh the children of light." Therefore are we delivered from the power of darkness, saith St Paul, that we should walk in the light, and "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness." And so in like: *Vocavit nos Deus, non ad immunditiem, sed ad sanctitatem:* "God hath not called us to uncleanness, but to holiness and sanctity of life." Thus hath he called us; that we not only in body, but in soul, should be pure and unspotted. And therefore St Paul unto the Romans: "Know you not," saith he, "that all we which are baptized into Jesus Christ are baptized into his death? Therefore are we buried with him by baptism into death, that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead, even so also should we walk in a new life." And for this cause this same Paul likewise saith: *Exhibete vos tanquam viva membra:* "Shew yourselves as quick and lively members." And in another place: *Exhibete corpora vestra sacrificium sanctum et acceptatum Deo:* "Give over your bodies for a sacrifice holy and acceptable before God." And also: *Nescitis corpora vestra esse templa Dei?* "Know you not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" Luke i. Eph. v. 1 Thess. iv. Rom. vi. Rom. vi. Rom. xii. 1 Cor. iii.

These and such other many lessons hath St Paul given us, to call us unto pureness and holiness of life. Let us therefore, good brethren, live holily;

1 Thess. iv. consider that God hath not called you to uncleanness, but to purity of life; consider, if ye be baptized with Christ into death, you must also walk with him in a new life: let our[1] bodies be a sacrifice holy and acceptable unto God: shew yourselves lively members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost: *Vocavit nos Deus*, saith St Paul, *ut viveremus sobrie:* "God hath called us," God hath appointed us, "to live in soberness," to live in pureness, to live in holiness; and this not in one part of our bodies, not in one part of our souls, but in our whole bodies, in our whole souls. For Christ our Saviour suffered not his body to be
Matt. xxvii. crucified in one part; *sed a planta pedis usque ad summum capitis;* "but even from the sole of the foot to the crown of his head" was he beaten, rent, and torn, and miserably tormented in his whole body. His body was scourged with whips, his head pricked with thorns, his hands and feet nailed to the cross, his
Psal. xxii. side pierced with a sharp spear. For Christ, speaking of himself, saith: *Foderunt manus meas et pedes meos:* "They have digged my hands and my feet," they have made holes through them. And thus, sithence Christ suffered all his whole body to be tormented for us, sithence he suffered all his members to be crucified for our sakes, let us apply ourselves and all our members to serve and please him in holiness and upright living all the days of our lives. And therefore saith St Paul here: Ye have now betaken yourselves unto Christ; therefore let your conversation be according, live as becometh the servants of Christ; "for, even as before this time ye gave over your members to uncleanness, from one wickedness to another; so now give over your members to the service of righteousness."

And such, good brethren, was the life of all christian men in the beginning of God's church; such was, I say, their life and living. They subdued their flesh, they mortified their members, and gave them over wholly unto Christ, and so made them members unto righteousness. When Christ walked here on this earth, and was conversant in our flesh and this nature of ours; at what time he entered into the house of Zacheus, which was a ruler of the publicans, and desired to see Jesus, by and by Zacheus was turned into a new man, and
Luke xix. by and by he stood forth, and said unto the Lord: "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor; and, if I have defrauded any man, I restore him four-fold." Thus was he only by the presence of Christ turned into a new man; thus he of an uncircumcised publican was made the child of Abraham, and of a sinful and wretched creature he became forthwith a Christian. And so in like,
Matt. ix. when Christ had but once called unto Matthew, and bade him follow him; immediately he left the toll-gathering, he left the receipt of the custom, he left his own proper gain and profit, and ran after Christ. Of such force was the presence of Christ unto Zacheus; of such power was the commandment of Christ with Matthew the toll-gatherer.

St Augustine, a little before he returned unto Christ, and embraced his truth, he feared, he trembled, and always stood in doubt; but, so soon as Christ had once inspired him with his holy Spirit, and revealed his truth unto him, forthwith, without any further doubt or delay, he renounced his errors and became a perfect Christian[2]. There was once a christian man whose name was Eusebius, and, being demanded what he was, answered, "A Christian:" being asked what countryman, said, "A Christian;" who was his father, "A Christian;" where he dwelt, "A Christian;" and so to each other demand he answered, A Christian; as who would say, Whatsoever I be, I am nothing else but a Christian. In the beginning of God's church all good men were called christian men; and yet was it not one thing to be a Christian and a good man. The christian men, for that they considered they were called to salvation, to redemption by the death of Christ, and to the inheritance of heaven, they had their delight and only felicity in heavenly things: they esteemed not the vain pleasures of this world; and, because they thus carried Christ in their bodies, because they had their members crucified unto Christ, therefore were they called Christians. And so should we do, good brethren; so should we consider our redemption; so should we mortify our members, and, renouncing the vain delights of this world, we should

[1 Your, 1609.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. VIII. capp. viii. xii. Tom. I. cols. 152, 4-6.]

fix our eyes, our minds, and all our doings on heavenly things alone. St Cyprian saith: "The people come to learn the gospel, to hear the word of God; and wherefore? that they might work according unto the gospel[3];" that they might bring forth fruits worthy the word of God: that they may thus do, therefore they hear God's word, saith St Cyprian. And thus if we do not, whatever we brag of our redemption, whatever we brag of our profession, whatever we boast of the knowledge of God's gospel, it is to no end, it is not to effect or purpose.

And therefore, if we have heretofore-time given over our members unto uncleanness, from one wickedness unto another, now let us give over the same our members unto the service of righteousness. For saith St Paul: "What profit, what fruit had ye at that time in those things whereof you are now ashamed? for the end of such things is death." It is the part of a wise man, and the office of a discreet man, in such good order to dispose all his business, and to bring all his doings to so good end, that he take no foil, nor have any shame therefore. Ye have committed sin, saith St Paul, ye have given over your members from one wickedness to another, and now ye be ashamed, now are ye sorry for those your misdoings; "but what profit then had ye of those things whereof you are now ashamed?"

This is an horror, and the greatest horror that may be, that no man can commit sin without a great burden of conscience, without great torment and disquietness of mind. Judas, when he had betrayed his Master Christ, by and by Matt. xxvii. his conscience accused himself, and was so great a burden unto him, that, to be delivered and eased thereof, he went immediately and hanged himself. When Cain had slain his own brother, and committed that execrable murder, God said unto him: "Why dost thou lour?" Such a thing is sin, that, whosoever com- Gen. iv. mitteth it, it will forthwith appear in his face, it will appear and shew in his countenance. But happy is that man that soonest cometh to repentance; happy is he that is soonest sorry for his sins and misdoings. Adam so soon as he had eaten of the forbidden fruit, and so transgressed the commandment of God, God called unto him, and said: *Adam, ubi es?* "Where art thou?" He answered: "I Gen. iii. am fled away, Lord, I hide myself." And why fled he away, why hid he himself from the sight of God? because he was ashamed. The prodigal son spoken of in the gospel, after he had riotously consumed his whole substance, and so brought to extreme poverty, he returned again, came home to his father, fell down before his feet, and said: "O father, I have sinned against heaven and Luke xv. against thee." And why said he thus? because he was ashamed. The people in the time of Daniel the prophet, when they saw their own wickedness, and repented them thereof, cried out and said: "Shame is come upon us, shame and Dan. ix. confusion is this day fallen upon us." David the prophet, when he had by 2 Sam. xi. tyranny caused his faithful and trusty servant Urie to be slain, thereby to have his pleasure of Bersabee his wife, and after had seen his own folly, cried out unto God, saying: *Miserere mei, quoniam iniquitatem meam ego cognosco:* "Have Psal. li. mercy upon me, O Lord; because I know mine iniquities." And why said he thus? because he was ashamed. Jeremy: *Postquam ostendisti mihi peccata mea, erubui:* "After thou hadst, O Lord, shewed me mine offences, I was ashamed," said he.

Thus, good brethren, a wicked conscience evermore beareth shame about with it, evermore carrieth a most heavy burden, evermore is pricked and tormented, and never at quiet. And, though some men there be so given over unto sin, that they feel no shame in this life, that are not moved in their conscience in this world, yet may they assure themselves they shall feel bitter torments in the world to come, and eternal shame that never shall have end: and if there be any that will now say, as the people in the time of Daniel did, Whatsoever we do, God will not look unto us, he regardeth not our doings whether we do good or evil, God hath no respect unto it; and so be nothing moved in their conscience for their sinful living; when they shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, then shall their conscience be

[3 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Jubai. Epist lxxiii. p. 199. See before, page 1033, note 4.]

moved with repentance, then shall they be ashamed; but then all too late.
Luke xvi. Remember the glutton, the rich glutton, that in his life-time had nothing but pleasure, never felt adversity, nor never was pricked in conscience for his misliving; after he fell into hell-fire, was there tormented, and the worm of his conscience began to gnaw him; then he cried out unto Abraham, then he was ashamed; but then was it too late. And thus shall the wicked people do at the last day; the wicked people, I say, that shall then be living and see the great
Luke xxiii. terror of that day: "they shall say unto the hills, Fall upon us; unto the mountains, Come cover us:" then shall their own wicked conscience accuse them, then shall they be ashamed; but then too late.

Now, good brethren, what profit had all these of their own sinfulness, what profit and commodity had they of all their wickedness? What profit had Adam by transgressing the commandment of God? What profit had Cain for murdering of his brother? What profit wan the prodigal son by misspending of his father's goods? What profit had the people in the time of Daniel for their misliving? What profit had David by killing of Urie? What profit had the rich glutton that lived in such pleasure? What profit, I say, had all these of their own wickedness? No profit, no commodity, no pleasure at all, but shame, nothing else but shame and confusion. Even so here St Paul: "What profit," said he, "had ye then of all those things of which ye are now ashamed?" It appears well ye have gotten nothing but displeasure, nothing but shame and confusion. "For the end of such things is death."

And this that is well spoken of honesty of life, this that is well applied to honest conversation, may well be spoken and applied to religion. For it behoveth a man so to worship God, that he have no shame, no confusion therefore. But, alas! from the beginning, even from the first creation of man, there have been good, there have been bad: some there have been that, forsaking the living God, have worshipped their own devices: some instead of God have worshipped stocks
Jer. viii. and stones: some have sacrificed to the sun and moon, and made them their gods; and this hath been from the beginning. And therefore Jeremy writeth
Jer. xliv. that the people in his time said: *Ibimus et sacrificabimus lunæ reginæ cœli:* "We will do sacrifice and offer oblations unto the queen of heaven; for so," said they, "our fathers did, and did prosper in their doings." Some said unto the stone,
Jer. ii. *Pater noster es;* and to a stock, *Deus noster es, exsurge, adjuva nos.*

And this hath been even from the beginning. The Babylonians worshipped
Bel. Bel their god, which was but a block: they worshipped also a dragon, which they called their living god; and this did they in good sooth. The Jews made a
Exod. xxxii. golden calf, and fell down before the same, and worshipped it, and said: *Isti sunt dii tui:* "These are thy gods, O Israel," these are they that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee. We read also that they worshipped a
2 Kings xviii. brasen serpent, and burnt incense and sacrifice unto it. And, as they had these vain idols for their gods, so likewise had they a number of superstitious ceremonies of their own devising, which here were too long to be spoken of. And all this did they of blindness, thinking they had done well, meaning nothing but good therein. But afterwards, when it pleased God to shew them their own blindness, to shew them their folly, to shew them the wickedness they walked in; then were they ashamed of their doings; then, I say, they were ashamed and confounded. And therefore said Jeremy the prophet: *Vere patres nostri coluerunt mendacia:* "Truly our forefathers followed after lies." The gentiles, when they perceived that the sun and moon, their chief gods, were indeed no gods, and able to do them no pleasure, then they were ashamed. When the people of Babylon saw and understood their own folly in worshipping their god Bel and their dragon, and that they were not such as they took them to be, then were they ashamed. And so in like, when the Jews saw before their eyes their golden calf molten, and their brasen serpent broken and ground into powder, then were they ashamed, then were they[1] sorry and ashamed of their former doings.

Thus saith the prophet Esay, or rather God by the mouth of his prophet:
Isai. i. "Why offer ye so many sacrifices unto me? offer me no more oblations. I abhor

[1 The, 1611.]

your incense, I may not away with your new moons and sabbaths. I am troubled with them, I am weary of them;" *quis ista requirit?* "who looketh for these things, who commandeth you so to do?"[2] Esay in another place also: "Why do ye[2] lay out your money for the thing that feedeth not, and spend your labour about the thing that satisfieth not?" And so likewise in another place the same prophet saith: "They make my people forget my name for their own traditions." He saith also: *Telas aranearum texunt:* "They weave the spiders' web: they do nothing else but breed the cockatrice eggs, and weave the spiders' web," saith he. And so Jeremy cried out and said: *Duo mala fecit populus meus, me dereliquerunt Dominum Deum suum, et foderunt sibi cisternas quæ aquas non possunt continere:* "My people," saith God by his prophet Jeremy, "have forsaken me their Lord, and digged themselves pits that can hold no water." Esay calleth man's invention *sordes,* "dross:" Jeremy calleth it "chaff;" Malachi "very man's dung;" Zachary "God's curse." Christ himself calleth it *fermentum Pharisæorum,* "the leaven of the Pharisees:" he calleth it also *tenebras,* "utter darkness."

Isai. lv. Isai. lix. Jer. ii. Isai. i. Jer. xxiii. Mal. ii. Luke xii.

Thus it pleased God to describe unto us man's invention, to call it cobwebs, to call it filth, to call it dross, and chaff, man's dung, God's curse, the leaven of the Pharisees, and utter darkness. And this doth he for none other purpose than only to make his people ashamed of their own inventions, ashamed of their own devices. Paul, notwithstanding he was a great learned man, skilful in the laws and customs amongst the Jews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel; yet, when he knew Christ, when he was filled with the Holy Ghost and embraced God's gospel, he was ashamed of all he had learned before; he was ashamed of his own ignorance. St Thomas, who would not believe Christ to be risen from death, when he felt Christ's side, and had put his finger into his wound, then he was ashamed, then he was sorry for his unbelief. The Jews, when they perceived their own folly and ignorance, said: *Viri fratres, quid faciemus?* "O men and brethren, what shall we do?" The Ephesians, when St Paul had preached unto them, and they received the doctrine of Christ, by and by such as used curious crafts came and brought their books of enchantment, their books of witchcraft, and burnt them, cast them into the fire and burnt them; so much were they ashamed of their own folly. And so St Paul: *Cum essem parvulus, sentiebam ut parvulus:* "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child: but as soon as I was a man, I left all childishness." Now I am become a man, and therefore I am now ashamed of my childishness.

Acts xxii. John xx. Acts ii. Acts xix. 1 Cor. xiii.

Thus might the prophets have said to the gentiles: What profit had you of your gods, the sun and the moon? what profit had you of them whereof ye are now ashamed? So might Moses have said to the children of Israel: What profit had ye in this golden calf? So Ezechias: What profit had ye in this brasen serpent, of which now ye are ashamed? Even thus Esay might likewise have said: What profit had ye in your calends and new moons, in your holy-days and sacrifices? And so other the prophets might well have said: What profit had ye in your dreams, in your spider-cobs, in your dross, in your chaff? what commodity had ye of all these things? Alas! ye are now ashamed of them, and therefore ye had no profit of them, ye had no pleasure by them: they brought you no commodity, they brought you only shame and confusion.

Thus, good brethren, let us[3] weigh and consider, what profit we had in times past of those things of which we are now ashamed. And let us consider how much we are beholden to God, that now may see and know our own folly and ignorance, and so be ashamed. But herein, good brethren, there needs not many words; for there is no man so blind but may well see; no man so deaf but may well hear, no man so dull but may well perceive and understand, the great error, the great blindness, the great darkness, that we have been in. And therefore let us all now give God thanks that he hath restored his light unto us, and taken that great error and darkness from us. Loth I am here to speak of those things whereof we may be ashamed: loth and sorry I am to repeat that unto you, whereof we are now ashamed; but this place now requireth the same, this time and place willeth me somewhat to speak thereof.

The time hath been that we have put our trust in pardons, in bulls of the

[2] You, 1609.] [3] 1611 omits *us.*

popes, in vain scrolls and writings of his; yea, and in them we have had greater hope and affiance than in the death of Christ, or merits of his passion. We have fallen down before images, before stocks and stones; such as had eyes, and saw not, ears, and heard not: before them we prayed, before them we kneeled and stuck up candles. But now we are ashamed of them: we all are, I think, now sorry and ashamed of this our folly; but what profit had we then of all these things? Sometime we prayed in a strange tongue, in a tongue that we understood not; we prayed contrary to the use that was in the patriarchs' times, in the prophets' times, in the apostles' times: but then what profit had we of those prayers[1] whereof we are now ashamed? We have seen lawful marriage forbidden, and men's lawful wives taken from them, and yet the use of a concubine granted; as though God were displeased with marriage, and pleased with whoredom: but what profit had ye then of that thing of which ye now are ashamed?

We had baptism, but we understood not the principles of our faith; and even as the prophet spake of his time, *Qualis populus, talis sacerdos,* "The priest is become like the people;" so might we well have said of our own time: Blind were they both, and therefore both fell into the dike. This we are now ashamed of; but what profit had we then thereby? "The prophets," said Jeremy, "teach falsely; and the priests follow them; and my people hath pleasure therein." And, lo, even this same, which the prophet Jeremy said the priests and prophets did in his time, we ourselves have seen done in our days, and now we are ashamed thereof: but what profit had we then by it? We had the sacrament of Christ's body, but we knew not why Christ instituted the same, we knew not why Christ left us that sacrament; we did all things contrary to Christ's institution. Christ ordained a communion; but we had a private mass: Christ ordained that the whole people should receive in both kinds; but we ministered it under one kind alone: Christ, when he instituted this sacrament, spake in the common tongue, that all might understand him; but we, contrary to Christ, contrary to the apostles, contrary to the primitive church, consecrated the same in an unknown tongue, that no man might understand us: and hereof are we now ashamed; but what profit had we then thereby? We have known this to be taught, that the bread in the sacrament was turned into the very body and blood of Christ our Saviour; this we all know, and do yet remember. But Christ, when he said the sacrament should be turned, meant not that the bread should be turned into his body, but that we which receive the same should be turned; that we, I say, should be turned, and made one body with him. This was the meaning; this, I say, was the meaning of our Saviour Christ. And therefore Saint Paul: *Panis quem frangimus participatio corporis et sanguinis Christi est:* "The bread which we break is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. For we many are one bread and one body, inasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread." Christ himself said: "I will drink no more of the liquor of the vine:" Christ, I say, after the consecration, said he would not drink any more of the liquor of the vine: the blood of Christ is not wine, it is not the liquor of the vine. St Augustine, *in Sermone ad Infantes,* saith plainly: *Quod... videtis* [*in mensa*] *panis est*[2]: "That which you see on the table is bread." Theodoretus also: *Non mutatur substantia panis*[3]: "The substance and nature of the bread is not changed," saith he. Gelasius likewise, whom peradventure ye will the more credit, because he was sometime bishop of Rome, saith: *Non desinit esse substantia panis:* "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread." *Natura panis in sacramento remanet*[4]: "The nature of the bread remaineth in the sacrament." Chrysostom also: *Non mutatur substantia panis*[5]: "The substance of the bread is not altered." I could say more; but this is for this time enough; this only, I trust, amongst a number of other, shall be now sufficient to persuade you the truth herein. Ye

Hos. iv.

Jer. v.

1 Cor. x.

Mark xiv.

[1 Praies, 1611.]

[2 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Serm. cclxxii. ad Infant. Tom. V. col. 1103.]

[3 Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Tom. IV. Immut. Dial. i. Inconf. Dial. ii. pp. 18, 85.]

[4 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Magn. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11.]

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See also before, pages 776, 92.]

see here that St Augustine, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and St Chrysostom do all affirm and herein agree, that the substance or nature of the bread, after the consecration, is not changed.

Let us therefore, good brethren, notwithstanding we have been otherwise taught, let us, I say, believe these holy doctors, let us credit them: they will not mock us, they will not deceive nor beguile us. But this other doctrine, this doctrine of transubstantiation, was of late devised, not past three hundred years ago, in the council of Lateran. And there upon this new device of theirs they made a great solemn and festival day, and called it *Corpus Christi* day[6]. And now we are ashamed of this: but then what commodity, what profit had we thereof? We found out of ourselves a new sacrifice, the sacrifice, I mean, of the mass; as though the death of Christ had not been a sacrifice sufficient, as though Christ's blood had not once for all washed away our iniquities, as though Christ had not said, "I have paid the ransom for your sins."

It were an infinite labour to repeat unto you particularly all the abuses of late days used in the church of Christ: you yourselves can well remember them: I need not here to rehearse them unto you. But then what profit had ye of all such things of which you are now ashamed? But some men there be, peradventure, that will not be ashamed of these abuses, but always uphold and maintain the same; and such, if there be any, they are like them whom Jeremy prophesied of, saying: "Thou hast taken an harlot's countenance, thou hast gotten thee a whore's forehead, and canst not be ashamed:" they are like them also, whom Esay the prophet speaketh of, and saith: "Malice hath made you blind; you bark against the truth." This is the sin that never will be forgiven; this is so great an offence, that it will never be pardoned. Therefore let us, to whom God hath given eyes to see, ears to hear, and hearts of understanding; let us, I say, consider that it is no shame to confess our errors, to acknowledge our blindness; but shame it is to continue in error, too much shame it is to remain still in blindness. And such as will not be ashamed of their evil, but laugh[7] at and scorn others that are sorry and ashamed, may well be likened unto them whom St Paul, writing to the Ephesians, speaketh of, saying: "They, being past repentance, have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness, even with greediness." And such are given over *in reprobum sensum*, "into a lewd mind." Such David the prophet speaketh of, saying: "They cast their eyes down to the ground." For such as wilfully offend, and wittingly cast away themselves, there is no salvation: Paul saith, *Finis illorum mors est:* "Their end is death," their end is only destruction. This is the same that St John[8] speaketh of, which neither "shall be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come." Wherefore were they cast into hell that now lie therein? for what cause continue they in those endless torments? because they would not acknowledge their errors, because they would not be ashamed of their own folly. Wherefore is there in hell fire unquenchable; torments such as cannot be thought, utter darkness, and eternal death; but only to punish such as wilfully live in wickedness, to plague them that will not be ashamed of their sins and offences? "They shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth," into "fire that never shall be quenched, where the worm of the conscience never dieth." If we delight in covetousness, in adultery, in fornication, and filthy living, the end, let us say, is death; the end thereof is none other than eternal death.

Jer. iii. [Isai. lvi. 10.] Eph. iv. Rom. i. Psal. xvii. Rom. vi. Matt. xii. Mark ix.

Quis habitat in tabernaculo tuo? said David the prophet: "O Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle?" saith he, "or who shall rest upon thy holy hill?" "Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life, that doth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart; he that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour." But, O merciful God, who walketh now innocently? Who leadeth an uncorrupt life? Who doth the thing that is right? Who speaketh truth from his heart? What man is there that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour? Jeremy, speaking of the people in his time, saith: *Confusi sunt, imo non sunt confusi:* "They are ashamed, nay, they are not ashamed," saith

Psal. xv.

[6 See before, page 549, notes 9, 10.]
[7 Laught, 1611.]
[8 Apparently an error for Jesus; or 1 John v. 16, may be referred to.]

Jeremy. And even so may we of our days well say, The people are not ashamed, they are nothing sorry nor ashamed of their evil living. These St Paul speaketh
Phil. iii. of writing unto the Philippians: "I speak with tears," saith he, "they are the enemies of Christ's cross: their end is damnation: their glory shall be turned into shame."

And shall we then live thus? shall we thus die? shall we thus end our lives? shall we thus appear at the latter day, and not be ashamed? Shall adulterers, fornicators, whoremongers, covetous persons, come and stand before the judgment-seat of God, before the throne of his majesty, and not be ashamed? Is this the marriage-garment that we should be clad with? are we those that are called to the feast by the bridegroom? are we Christ's brethren, and heirs of the kingdom
Psal. i. of God? No. *Non resurgent impii in judicio:* "The wicked shall not arise in judgment," saith the prophet David; "the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous." Wo be unto them that run from God with a desperate mind, wo be unto them that wilfully forsake, and fly from him! St Gregory saith: "One sin linketh another[1], as one link of a chain holdeth the other[2]." It is an horrible thing to turn from God, it is a terrible thing to fly from him: for if we turn from God, whither shall we go? if we fly from him, whither shall we run? *Conscientia mille testes:* "Our own conscience," though we hide ourselves never so close, "shall be as a thousand witnesses against us:" our own conscience shall utter and bewray us. St Augustine saith: "If we do not indeed repent, we feign that we do repent[3]:" we only feign, saith he, that we do repent, and so we mock with God. But God will not be mocked of us, he will not be deluded by us. But we shall be ashamed and confounded, when we appear before God; when we appear, I say, before the judgment-seat of God. But then what profit shall we have of that we are ashamed? what commodity shall we then have of that whereof we are ashamed? Let us consider that we are flesh of God's flesh, bones of his bones, and members of his members. And therefore let us give over our whole bodies, let us give over all our members, let us give over our eyes, our ears, our tongues, our hearts, unto the homage and service of God. So shall we have profit of Christ our Saviour, so shall we have profit of his death and passion; and so shall Christ say unto us: "Come, ye blessed of my Father, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Amen."

PSALM VII.

Ver. 11. *God is a righteous judge, and God is ever threatening.*

12. *If men will not turn, he hath whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, and made it ready.*

13. *He hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy.*

ALMIGHTY God our heavenly Father, like as he is both good, and also merciful, like as he is patient and of long sufferance; so he useth two manner of ways to allure and call us unto him, when we of our own heads follow our own devices, and lewdly run whither our lusts lead us: sometimes of his great mercy he useth promises; sometimes of his justice he useth threatening. He promiseth to us, for our well-doing, his favour and grace; for keeping his commandments, eternal bliss. He threateneth us for evil living with plagues and punishments, and for breaking of his law eternal death. Thus he of his mercy sometimes useth promises, and threateneth again of his rigour and justice. He promiseth to comfort, aid, and succour us, if we come unto him; and he threateneth to strike the terror of death into us, if we turn from him.

[1 Linketh in another, 1609.]

[2 A similar idea not unfrequently occurs in Gregory's writings; thus: Aliquando vero involutis gressuum semitis et nulla culpa devincitur, et alia per aliam perpetratur.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Mor. Lib. VII. in cap. vi. B. Job. cap. xxviii. Tom. I. col. 227.]

[3 Probably reference is made to the following passage: Pœnitentes...(si tamen estis pœnitentes, et non estis irridentes,)...Pœnitentiam agis, genu figis, et rides, et subsannas patientiam Dei? &c.—August. Op. Par. 1718-38. Serm. cccxciii. Tom. V. col. 1506.]

And so almighty God most mercifully used his promises unto Abraham: *Ego sum protector tuus et merces tua:* "I am," said he, "thy defender and thy reward." *Ego benedicam benedicentibus tibi, et maledicam maledicentibus tibi:* "I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee." So ample, so large, so great a promise made God unto him. And thus almighty God, when he would deliver his elect people, the children of Israel, from their great bondage and captivity: *Inducam te in terram fluentem lacte et melle:* "I will bring you into a land that shall flow with milk and honey." This will I perform, this will I bring to pass for you, and this will I do for my name's sake. And likewise to these his people he made this merciful promise against their enemies, saying: "Ye shall chase your enemies; and they shall fall into the sword before you: five of you shall chase an hundred, and a hundred of you shall chase ten thousand." Thus also God by his prophets promised his people, and said: "Turn unto me; and I will turn unto you." And even thus likewise Christ in the gospel maketh most clear and manifest promises of everlasting life and salvation to all such as for his name shall forsake the pleasures and delights of this world, and repose their felicity only in him. *Beati pauperes spiritu, beati qui lugent, beati qui esuriunt, beati qui persequutionem ferunt:* "Blessed are the poor in spirit," "blessed are they that mourn," "blessed are they that hunger and thirst," "blessed are they that suffer persecution." And why so? For what cause are they blessed that are poor in spirit? For what cause are they blessed that mourn? Why are they happy that hunger? What reward shall they have that suffer persecution? Because, saith Christ, "theirs is the kingdom of heaven," "they shall be comforted," "they shall be filled," "they shall obtain a crown of glory." "When two or three are gathered together in my name," saith Christ, "I will be in the midst of them." "Whatsoever ye shall ask my Father in my name, it shall be given unto you." These manifold and great promises it pleased almighty God to make unto his chosen and elect people: these comfortable promises Christ himself vouchsafed to pronounce to all such as shall cleave unto him: thus mercifully it pleased God by fair promises to allure and win us unto him.

Gen. xv. Deut. xi. Lev. xxvi. Zech. i. Matt. v. Matt. xviii. John xiv.

But oftentimes, alas! we set little or nothing by these sweet and comfortable promises, we little esteem or regard them; and therefore God then useth his threatening, his rigour and justice among us: when no sweet words can win us, then he striketh his terror into us. For, when God in old time perceived that no gentleness, no kindness, no mercy of his could win his people unto him, he caused Esay his prophet to cry out and say: *Impius in beneficiis me non agnovit; in angustiis autem clamavit ad me:* "The wicked and sinful man," saith he, "in my great goodness and benefits bestowed upon him, would not acknowledge nor confess me; but in his misery or[4] trouble, in his anguish and wo, then he ran unto me and called on my name."

And so likewise by the prophet Jeremy God himself saith; *Converterunt ad me terga, non facies suas: in die autem tribulationis inclamant me:* "They have turned their backs, and not their faces unto me;" "but in the day of their trouble, in the time of necessity, they call and cry upon me." And so in like the same prophet Jeremy, or rather God by this prophet, saith: *Impinguatus et incrassatus est populus meus:* "My people are waxen fat and lusty:" "they have forsaken me, the well of life, and digged themselves pits, yea, vile and broken pits, that can hold no water." Such a thing is the felicity and pleasure of this world, that maketh[5] us soon to forget God, and the felicity of the world to come. And therefore God so often warned his people of Israel, that, when they were once come into the land of Canaan, into that plentiful country, which flowed with milk and honey, wherein should be no dearth nor scarceness; that then they should not forget the Lord their God, that then their hearts should not be deceived, that then they should not go aside, and serve other gods; and so his wrath and indignation wax hot upon them.

Jer. xxxii. Deut. xxxii. Jer. ii. Deut. viii. xi.

And therefore, when fair promises and loving-kindness cannot win us to God, then useth he another way, then doth he appoint another mean, then beginneth he to threaten and fear us, and that of his rigour and justice. And thus did he to our first father Adam: because he would not he should transgress his com-

[4] And, 1609.] [5] That it maketh, 1609.]

Gen. ii. mandment, he threatened him, and said: *In quocunque die comederis ex hoc fructu, mortem morieris:* "In whatever day thou shalt taste of this fruit, thou shalt die the death." So likewise God to the whole multitude of his people of Israel said:
Deut. xxviii. "Unless ye give ear to the voice of the Lord your God, to do all his commandments and ordinances, cursed shall you be in the town, and cursed in the field, cursed shall thy basket be and thy store, cursed shall be the fruit of thy body and the fruit of thy land,... cursed shalt thou be in thy coming in, and in thy going out." You shall call; and I will not hear: you shall cry unto me; and I will not
Lev. xxvi. give ear. *Dabo vobis cœlum æneum et terram ferream:* "The heaven shall be brass, and the earth as iron:" the heavens shall give you no rain: the earth shall bring you forth no fruit: your travail and labour shall be lost: "your land shall not give her increase." Thus almighty God threatened his elect and chosen people, and all to keep them in awe and fear of him. And so in another place he saith:
Lev. xxvi. "I will set my face against you; and ye shall be slain before your enemies; and they that hate you shall have dominion over you; and ye shall fly when no man chaseth you." Thus you see that it pleaseth almighty God oftentimes to use these and such-like words of threatening, to use such rigour, to beat a terror into his people, when fair promises and sweet words can do nothing; and this doth he of his great justice. And therefore David in this place: "God is indeed," saith he, "a rightful judge, and God is ever threatening. If men will not turn, he hath whet his sword, and hath bent his bow, and made it ready: he hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy." So mighty, so omnipotent is God, that he can punish; and so righteous a judge is he, that he will punish when it best pleaseth him.

But some man will here peradventure say, If God be thus able to punish, and will indeed punish when he is offended, why then doth he it not by and by,
Psal. ciii. why is he not[1] revenged out of hand? Because, saith the prophet, "he is merciful, patient, and of long sufferance." Therefore he proceedeth not to revenge his anger, therefore he hasteth not to wreak himself on us so soon as we offend him and transgress his will, but tarrieth, and maketh long delays, to see whether we will repent and return unto him. But yet (saith David), forasmuch as he is abused, forasmuch as ye have left and forsaken him, notwithstanding he be merciful, notwithstanding he be patient and of long sufferance, "he hath now whet his sword, he hath bent his bow and made it ready, he hath prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy;" and this will he do out of hand, he will make no longer delay at all. Here must we not fancy that God will strike us with a sword of iron, that he hath a bow bent and arrows to destroy withal; for every creature on the earth, whatever it be, be it never so vile, never so simple, never so weak and abject, is able at God's commandment to be an instrument to plague and punish withal. And therefore consider what is so weak as water, so simple as flies, so vile as lice and frogs: and yet it pleased almighty God, by these weak, by these simple, by these vile things, to punish and strike the Egyptians; yea, and so much thereby to plague them, that never before they felt the like, never erst they heard of the like punishment.
Exod. vii. It pleased God to turn their water into blood; so that in the whole country no water could be found to drink, no liquor of water to refresh their bodies. This was a great plague; and yet was this wrought by want of water, which was but a weak and simple creature. A fly, you know, is a simple thing, a thing of little
Exod. viii. strength and no force; yet God so increased the number of them, he sent such a multitude of flies among the Egyptians, that even in the king's house they fell upon whatever the king ate or drank, fell upon his meat, fell into his drink, and so putrefied and corrupted the same. The lice, wherewith God in like plagued them, fell not only upon the king and his people, but upon their sheep, their oxen, their asses, their horses, their mules, and their whole herds of cattle, whatever they were. The frogs entered into their houses, into the king's palace, into his hall, his parlour, his chamber, yea, and into his bed also. Thus it pleased God to use against the Egyptians these simple, these base and vile creatures, as his rod, as his scourge, as his sword of punishment.

Every creature, every thing, whether it hath life or no life, when it pleaseth

[1] Is not he, 1609.]

God to use it, is his sword, is his rod to strike withal. The fire that fell from heaven and destroyed the two famous cities, Sodom and Gomorra, and the whole region thereabout, was none other than the sword of God. Therefore saith the prophet David: "The spirits of tempests do his will: the thunder and lightnings fulfil his commandment." And so the same prophet here in this place: Now hath God begun to strike; "now hath he whet his sword, and bent his bow," saith he, "now hath he prepared his arrows to destroy;" and there is no way now to escape his vengeance, no way to avoid his punishment, but only this, to turn unto him, to run and submit yourselves wholly to him. Gen. xix. Psal. civ.

These words David the prophet (being persecuted of his enemies, and beset round about of them) spake unto Saul the proud king, and his adherents and soldiers; putting them in remembrance, how they had provoked and justly deserved the vengeance of God for persecuting of his innocent soul. And even as this prophet David spake and pronounced these words unto Saul and his wicked company, to reduce unto their memory the power of God and the punishment that then hanged over their heads; so may we likewise well use the same in these our days, first to bring us in remembrance, that God is a righteous Judge, and then to consider how we daily provoke and deserve his just wrath, and so, at the least for fear of punishment, to be sorry for our misdeeds, and return unto him: for, if we will not be converted, "he hath whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy."

But before we come unto God, good brethren, before we return unto him, we must one come unto another; we must one turn to another: before we be reconciled to Christ, we must be reconciled unto our neighbour; before we be at one with God, we must be at one with our christian brother. This is the order that God looketh we should observe, this is that rule which Christ commanded us to keep. *Remitte, et remittetur tibi:* "Forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven." *Si remiseris aliis peccata sua, tua remittentur tibi:* "If thou shalt forgive other men their offences towards thee, then shall thy sins also be forgiven:" then shall God pardon thee thine offences, when thou shalt pardon thy brother that he hath offended thee; then, I say, shall God forgive thee, and not before. And again: *Nisi remiseritis aliis peccata sua, vestra non remittentur vobis:* "Unless ye forgive other men their trespasses, your own sins shall not be released," saith Christ. Remember, good brethren, remember and mark well these words: Christ is the author; Christ is the speaker; Christ is the commander hereof. And so Christ our Saviour in another place of his gospel: "When thou offerest thy gift at the altar," saith he, "and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thine offering before the altar, and go thy way first and reconcile thyself to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." God is contented his honour be deferred; he is contented to tarry for his sacrifice, till thou art agreed with thy brother, till thou art at one with him: and when thou hast thus done, then come and there offer thy sacrifice. This is the ground of the atonement between God and us, this is the token that Christ is reconciled unto us, if we be at one with our neighbour, if we be reconciled to our christian brother. For, if we shall hate our brethren whom we see, if we shall be at debate with our neighbours, being daily conversant with us; how can we love God, whom we see not? how can we agree with Christ, with whom we are not conversant? Luke vi. Matt. xviii. Matt. vi. Matt. v. 1 John iv.

But to declare further unto you that God accepteth not our sacrifices, that he regardeth not our[2] petitions, that he is not pleased with our prayers, unless we be at one and pleased with our brethren; he crieth out by Esay his prophet, and saith: *Cum clamabitis ad me, ego non exaudiam vos, quia manus vestræ plenæ sanguinis sunt:* "When you shall call upon me, I will not hear you: though ye make many prayers, yet hear I nothing at all," saith God. And wherefore? "Because your hands are full of blood." It is written in Genesis, that God would not look upon Cain and his offering, that he would have no regard to his sacrifice; and wherefore? Because his heart was full of malice. Salomon saith: *Precatio injusti abominabilis est:* "The prayer of the wicked is abominable, the sinful man's prayer is abominable in the sight of God." David also: "Let their prayers be as a sin:" let their prayer be turned into sin, saith he. O miserable man thou Isai. i. Gen. iv. Psal. cix.

[2] Out, 1611.

art, if thou be not in charity: wretched and too sinful thou art, if thou be not in love and unity: thy prayer is abominable, yea, thy prayer is no prayer, thy prayer is sin. Thou prayest to be forgiven, but thou thyself wilt not forgive: this is enough to condemn thee. For our religion is none other but a brotherhood knit together in the love of God; our profession is none other than charity and brotherly
1 John iv. love towards all men in our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ. God is the God of love: Christ is the Prince of peace: his gospel is the gospel of peace: and we that are God's servants ought to live in godly love; we that are Christ's brethren ought to live in brotherly peace. We are all baptized in one water; whereby we should have in remembrance, that we should in love live as one together.

These and such other are, or may be, sufficient to bring us in remembrance of brotherly love, of faithful amity, and unfeigned concord, if we of ourselves
John xiv. were not too forgetful. O how oft said Christ to his disciples, *Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis,* "I give you my peace, my peace I leave unto you!"
John xiii. "By this" cognisance and none other "shall men know you to be my disciples," saith Christ, if ye love together, "if ye have love one to another." He saith also: "A new commandment give I you, that you love together, as I have loved you." What a zealous fire, what an earnest love had Christ when he prayed and said,
John xvii. "O Father, cause that these be one, as thou and I are one, that like as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us!" Because ye be few, said Christ to his disciples, and in the midst of your enemies, live you in concord and peace one with another, one bear with another, and all you hold
Rom. xiii. together. St Paul saith that "he which loveth his brother hath fulfilled the
Eph. iv. whole law." "Let not the sun go down on thy wrath," saith Paul. And again:
Rom. xii. "Revenge not, but give place unto displeasure;" wreak not yourselves, but give room to the wrath of God. David, when he was in most extreme persecution, and his enemies laid daily wait for his life, seeking his destruction, even then fell he to most earnest prayer: he sought not to be revenged, but he made his
Psal cix. prayer unto God, and said: O Lord, they speak evil of me, they revile me, they call me traitor, they call me all that naught is; but I have none other help but to pray unto thee, my only succour is to fly unto thee.

Thus did that holy prophet David; and so did the Christians in the beginning of Christ's church. For Tertullian, an old and holy father, saith: *Fratres se appellabant, et mori voluerunt pro invicem*[1]: "They called themselves brethren," saith he, "and one would not stick to die for another." O what a charity, what a love, what a brotherly affection was this among Christians in the beginning of God's church! St Stephen, when he was stoned, all his bones crushed and burst in pieces, and his soul ready to leave his body, even then he prayed for his
Acts vii. tormentors, even then he cried out unto God, and said: *O Domine, ne statuas illis peccatum hoc:* "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." So that holy father Nazianzene, when the hangman, that most cruelly had tormented him, desired pardon of him, he meekly answered: *Qui mihi ignovit, ignoscat tibi*[2]: "He that hath forgiven me, the same forgive thee:" God hath pardoned me; and I beseech him that he will in like pardon thee. Even so likewise Christ, when he hanged on the cross, when his hands and feet were nailed to the tree, and he in the midst of all his woe, even then he prayed for his persecutors, then he desired his Father
Luke xxiii. to pardon them, and said: *O Pater, ignosce illis; nesciunt enim quid faciunt:* "Father, forgive them; for they wot not what they do." This is an example for us to follow, thus ought we to do, as in the beginning of Christ's church the Christians did, who called themselves brethren, and one would die for another: thus ought we to say, as St Stephen said: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge:" thus should we do, as that holy father Nazianzene did, and say: "He that hath forgiven me, the same forgive thee." And lastly, so ought we to pray for our enemies, as Christ did for his persecutors, and say: "Father, forgive it them; they

---

[1 Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligant...et ut pro alterutro mori sint parati...Sed et quod fratrum appellatione censemur, &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 35.]

[2 There seems an error here. A young man attempted to assassinate Gregory Nazianzene, but did him no harm. He afterwards entreated forgiveness. The words quoted were part of Gregory's reply: ...*δῴη σοι συγγνώμην αὐτὸς, ὁ κἀμὲ περισώσας.*—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Vit. S. Gregor. Tom. I. p. cliii.]

wot not what they do." Thus ought we to do, if we mind to live according to our profession, and if we will be Christians, as we are called Christians.

We read, written by St Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, that in the beginning and first spring of God's church the whole congregation had one thought, one mind, one heart. Such a love, such a charity, such a christian conformity was among them. And in commendation of christian charity, and brotherly love one with another, the prophet David said: *O quam bonum et quam jucundum, habitare fratres in unum!* "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unity!" He esteemed love to be so great a jewel, he thought concord and unity a thing of so great price, that he could not speak too much good of it. And therefore he said, it was "like the ointment that ran unto Aaron's beard, and like the dew of Hermon which fell upon the hill of Sion, where the Lord promised his blessing, and life for evermore." Acts iv. Psal. cxxxiii.

But, O merciful God! unto what times hast thou reserved us? where is now the peace given, the love left by our Saviour Jesus Christ? where is that charity that should always remain among Christians? Now is the time, even now, good brethren, are the days come which Christ himself prophesied should come, saying: "The time shall be, that iniquity shall have the upper hand, and the love of many shall abate." Christ said that such a time should come; and even now, even now, that time and season is come upon us. So likewise St Paul the apostle of Christ said: "In the last days there shall come perilous times:" *erunt homines seipsos amantes:* "there shall be men which shall love themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers,... and such as shall be despisers of them that are good." Osee the prophet saith: *Non est veritas in terra:* "There is no truth, no faithfulness in the whole world:" there is no mercy, no knowledge of God in the land; but swearing, lying, manslaughter, theft, and adultery. Jeremy also, the prophet of God: *Frater venabitur fratrem ad mortem,* saith he: "One brother shall hunt and persecute another unto death:" no man may safely trust his own brother; for one brother undermineth another, and one neighbour beguileth another. And all this do we now see; we, I say, in these our days do see and behold all this. We see now that which Nazianzene, that old holy father, speaketh of: *Membra Christi pugnant inter se*[3]: "The members of Christ are at strife and variance among themselves," saith he; and even those members that Christ died for, those members, I say, that Christ's blood redeemed, those members we now see at debate and fighting together. Matt. xxiv. 2 Tim. iii. Hos. iv. Jer. ix.

I speak but in generality, I speak not now in particularity: I do not here repeat to your memories our particular offences, and great crimes; which to consider would cause any honest heart to be sorry, yea, which to remember would enforce the stony heart to bleed. I do not now rehearse unto you by name any such our offences. O rip up your consciences, descend into your own hearts, see whether iniquity doth not abound; see whether there be not in these our days men such as are lovers of themselves; see whether there be any truth, any fidelity upon the earth; see whether one brother doth not hunt and persecute another unto death; and lastly, see whether the very members of Christ are not now at debate and fighting together.

David, when he considered the great oppression, tyranny, and persecution used against the faithful in his time, cried out and said: *Serva me, Deus, quia defecit sanctus:* "O save me, Lord; for there is not one saint more, very few faithful are there among the children of men: every man telleth lies to his neighbour; they do but flatter with their lips, and dissemble in their heart." Jeremy the prophet, when he saw the whole multitude of the people in his days forsake God, and run after their own affections, every man whither his lust led him, he cried out and said: *Quis capiti meo dabit aquam, et oculis meis fontem aquarum?* "O who will give my head water enough, and a well of tears for mine eyes, that I may bewail the iniquity of this people?" And, even like as David in his time, so may the just man say now: *Serva me, Deus, quoniam defecit sanctus:* "O Lord, help; because there is no holy man left." Like as Jeremy, so may the virtuous bewail now the wickedness of these our days, and say: Psal. xii. Jer. ix.

[3] Ταῦτα ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμος.—Id. Orat. ii. 85. Tom. I. p. 53.]

"O who shall pour water into my head, and give a fountain of tears unto mine eyes, that I may bewail the wickedness of this people?" O Christ, where is now thy new commandment? where is now thy cognisance, thy badge whereby thy servants are known? where is that peace which thou leftest to thy disciples? where is now that one heart, that one mind, that one thought, that was in the congregation in the beginning of thy church?

But what need I to speak, what need I to say any thing, if they would hear thee, Lord, if they would hear thy word and gospel? O Lord, where is
Heb. iv. thy strength become? where is that power, that force of thy word, which "was able to divide the marrow from the bone?" What is now become of that marvellous might of thy word? Thy word, O Lord, is one, thy gospel is the self-same and one; but the hearts of men, the hearts of thy people are not one. But this cometh to pass for my sins: this I see well is wrought by thee, O Lord, for mine own sins and offences: for other poor men preach thy gospel, other poor men do teach and instruct thy people with thy holy word; and by and by the people mourn, by and by they are sorry for their sins, they repent them of their wickedness, and turn unto thee. And I speak as they do, I preach the same gospel, the same word of thine as they do; and yet I do see no amendment, I do not see any one won unto thee through my teaching. And therefore my sin is the cause, mine own sin, and nothing else, is the cause hereof: thou hast not thought me a man worthy, by whom any one lost sheep should be converted and brought home unto thee.

But, O thou my brother, that here standest like an idol, thou hast eyes to see, and ears to hear: seest thou not that God hath his sword whet, his bow bent, his arrows ready to destroy? hearest thou not how he calleth thee to repentance? Thou dost see and hear this, and yet thou increasest sin upon sin, and so heapest up anger and displeasure against the day of wrath. I call God to witness, I have uttered unto you God's truth, I have preached among you his holy gospel, I have revealed unto you his divine word; so that none of you all can excuse yourselves by ignorance. But take you heed to yourselves, take good heed, I say, my brethren, and mark well what St Paul saith:
Heb. x. *Peccantes post acceptam gratiam destituti sunt omni misericordia:* "They, which wilfully sin after they have once received the knowledge of the truth, are destitute of all mercy: there remaineth unto them no more sacrifice for their sins, but a fearful looking of judgment, and violent fire, which shall consume the adversaries." And this is it that the apostle saith, to be cast into a reprobate sense. This is the sin that St John maketh mention of, saying: *Est peccatum in Spiritum sanctum*[1]: "There is a sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven, in this world nor in the world to come." And for this great sin, for this horrible wickedness, good people, God hath drawn out his sword; for this cause hath he bent his bow, and prepared his arrows to destroy.

Therefore, good brethren, let us lay aside all contention, all strife, and debate, and let us look up unto heaven; let us cast our eyes thither, where is no rancour, no discord, no strife, no debate: let us fix our eyes, our hearts, and our whole minds on Jesus Christ; on him, I say, who, hanging on the cross, prayed for his persecutors, and said: "O Father, forgive them; they wot not what they do." Let us imagine that we now behold him, and that he now spreadeth out his arms unto us, and saith: O thou sinful man, that slumberest in thy sins, and sleepest in thine own wickedness, awake: now is it time for thee to awake out of thy slumber, to arise from thy heavy sleep: remember thou art a christian man, consider thou art a limb of my limbs, a member of my body, the child of God, and co-heir of my Father's kingdom. You children of men, how long will ye dwell in your old wickedness? How long will ye live in hatred one with another? How long will ye continue in rancour and strife? Shall I so forgive you as you forgive your neighbours? shall I so pardon you your sins, as you pardon your brethren their offences? Oh, I forgave thee thy great debt; and wilt not thou forgive thy brother that little wherein he hath offended thee? I have paid his debt, I have paid the ransom for his trespass, if my

[1 See before, page 1067, note 8.]

blood be a sufficient ransom for the same: for that blood's sake of mine forgive him: if nought else will move thee, if thou wilt not for his own sake, yet for my sake pardon him. Good brethren, we have long enough served the devil, the prince of this world; let us now serve God our Maker, and Christ our Redeemer. We have long enough, yea, too long, continued in rancour and malice one with another; let us now therefore, if there be any society between God and us, if there be in us any love of Christ, if there be any fear of God's wreak and vengeance, let us one forgive another: let every man forgive his christian brother; let us all cast aside all rancour, strife, and debate, and so let us dwell together in unity, in brotherly love, and concord.

This day we have heard God's gospel preached unto us, this day we have learned out of the word of God, that, if we be Christians, we should live like Christians; if we be the children of God, we should live as becometh the children of God, without envy, without hatred, without strife or malice. Let us therefore now leave off our old contention and strife, let us even here in this place one forgive another, and so be reconciled one unto another, and say: *Remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris:* "O Lord, forgive us our sins, as we forgive them that trespass against us." This is our profession, this is our religion: hereunto are we called of God, appointed by Christ, and commanded by his holy word. Let us consider our white and hoar hairs, let us behold our rivelled[2] skin; let us have always before our eyes the grave, whereunto we are creeping; let us consider that death daily hangeth over our heads. And shall we then in this sort live out the rest of our years? Shall we thus die, and come to our graves? Let us shew ourselves in our works to be the children of God, and the brethren of Christ: let us not shew ourselves Christians in name, and not in deed: let us not love in word alone, but in deed and verity: let us not requite evil with evil, one mischief with another; but let us (according unto St Paul's rule) "overcome evil with good," hatred with love, and so fulfil the law of God. So shall God hold back his sword, though already drawn: so shall he not smite us, though he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy: but God shall continue our God, and remain with us for ever. Amen. Rom. xii.

LUKE X.

Ver. 23. *And he turned him to his disciples, and said, Blessed are the eyes which see that ye see.*

24. *For I say unto you, many prophets and kings would have seen the things that ye see, and have not seen them; and have heard the things that ye hear, and have not heard them.*

Our Saviour Christ, before he began to declare and set forth the will of his Father, before he began to preach abroad the high mysteries of our redemption, the glad tidings of man's salvation, sent abroad into the world a many of disciples, to the number of three-score and ten, to the end that they should espy out and see the stay of the people, how they would accept his doctrine, and first to give them this warning, and say: *Pœnitentiam agite, appropinquat enim regnum cœlorum:* "Repent yourselves; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." These disciples of Christ, after they had in all points accomplished their Master's commission, and fulfilled his commandment, returned again unto Christ, and shewed him the marvels that they had wrought in his name, rejoicing much thereat, and especially for that devils departed from men possessed, and were driven out by them: "The very devils," said they, "are subdued unto us in thy name." But when Christ heard them thus say, and perceived that they rejoiced thereat, he turned to his disciples, he pulled them from this vain fancy, and said: "I saw Satan fall down from heaven as lightning. Behold, I have given you power to tread upon serpents, to go over scorpions, over all venomous and noisome beasts;

[2] Rivelled: wrinkled or shrivelled.]

they shall be subject and obedient unto you, and they shall not hurt you. But rejoice not in this," rejoice not that you shall have power over serpents, that you shall be able to tread upon scorpions, and all other venomous beasts, and be nothing therewith annoyed; "but rejoice you in this, that your names are written in the book of life." Put away, said Christ, this vain-glory that you have conceived, this fond fancy wherein ye rejoice; and rejoice ye only in this, that your names are written in heaven, and that you know God, and his Son, whom he hath
Matt. xi. sent into the world. "For no man knoweth the Son, but the Father: neither knoweth any man the Father, save the Son, and he to whom the Son will open it." This is your felicity, this is your joy; and no man but you hath this great joy and felicity. And therefore blessed are the eyes which see that ye see.

This heavenly felicity, this marvellous bliss, that Christ in this place spake of to his disciples, was prophesied and long time before spoken of, even at the first beginning of the world; for at what time Adam had transgressed God's commandment, and so fallen from the joys of paradise, God himself, to put Adam in some comfort again, pronounced these words against the wicked serpent that had
Gen. iii. wrought him that wo, and said: *Ipsum conteret caput tuum:* "The seed of the woman shall tread down thy head:" he, he it is that shall break down and destroy the power of the devil, said God unto Adam. This promise, I say, even at the beginning of the world was made by God unto Adam, and so continued to the time of Christ; for afterward this same promise declared God likewise to many
Gen. xxii. a good and godly man. He said unto Abraham: *In semine tuo benedicentur omnes fines terræ:* "In thy seed," said God, "in that seed of thine shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." To David also God declared likewise this promise, and
Psal. cxxxii. said: *De semine tuo ponam super solium tuum:* "Of the fruit of thy body shall I set upon thy seat." And so in the time of Esay his prophet God continued this
Isai. vii. promise, and said: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, cujus nomen erit Emmanuel:* "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son, whose name shall be Emmanuel," that is, "God amongst us." And hereunto witnessed all the patriarchs and prophets, even from the first beginning of the world unto the time of the coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And therefore, because the whole scriptures, the patriarchs, the prophets,
John v. spake thus plainly of Christ, and declared his coming, Christ said: *Scrutamini scripturas, illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me:* "Search you the scriptures; for they do bear witness of me." Likewise again to the scribes and Pharisees he
John v. said: *Si Mosei credieretis*[1], *et mihi:* "If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me; for Moses also hath written of me:" he hath told you of me, saith[2] Christ; and therefore, if you believed him, ye would also believe me. And thus all the whole body of the scriptures bare record of the coming of Christ: the patriarchs knew long before that Christ should be born; the prophets prophesied of his coming into the world. But, when Christ should be born, when his glorious coming should appear, that neither the scriptures declared, neither the holy patriarchs
John viii. knew, nor the prophets were able to shew. And therefore said Christ: *Abraham voluit videre diem meum:* "Abraham would fain have seen my day, and he saw it; and therefore he rejoiced." But how did Abraham see it? with bodily eyes? no, but in faith; and, because he was in faith able to see it, therefore he rejoiced. What then, if he had with his eyes seen Christ, if he had talked with him, if he might have touched and embraced Christ; what joy would he have made! how would he have rejoiced and been glad! No doubt, as the birth of Christ was most acceptable and welcome to all good men in that time, so was his coming much longed for of the holy patriarchs and prophets beforetime; for they well knew that his time should be a time most acceptable, that then all things should be in quietness, unity and concord in every place, peace through the whole world.
Isai. ix. And therefore said Esay the prophet: *Et vocabitur Princeps Pacis:* "He shall be called.... The Prince of Peace." And, to declare this more plainly, the same
Isai. xi. prophet saith: "Then shall the wolf dwell with the lamb; the leopard shall lie down by the goat: bullocks, lions, and cattle shall keep company together; the cow and the bear shall lie together;" and there "shall be no crying, no wailing, no noise heard in the streets." And therefore this prophet Esay, in another place,

[1] 1609 repeats *credieretis.*] [2] Said, 1609.]

considering the great joy, the great felicity that Christ should bring into the world when he should be born, cried out and said: *Disrumpe cœlos, et descende:* "O Lord," said he, "break the heavens, and come down." Isai. lxiv. And so another prophet, in like foreseeing this great felicity that should ensue the birth of Christ, said: *Quis vivet, et videbit hæc?* "O who shall live to enjoy this marvellous felicity?" [Num. xxiv.] When Christ was come into this world, though then not born, but in his mother's womb, John the Baptist being a babe, and in his mother's belly also, yet at the majesty of his Lord, and at the presence of Christ, he sprang for joy, and leaped in his mother's womb. Luke i. So likewise at the birth of Christ, for joy that the angels in heaven conceived thereat, they sang: *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus:* "Glory be to God on[3] high, and in earth peace unto men." After that time, when Simeon that holy prophet had in spirit perceived the true Messias and Saviour of the world to be born, and had received Christ into his arms, he cried out and said: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace:* "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word." Luke ii. Luke ii. Now, even now that this sight is provided before the face of the whole world, that so long hath been looked for, now that light is appeared which shall be the light of the gentiles, "Now, O Lord," said he, "let thy servant depart in peace:" I have lived long enough to see thy salvation.

Thus, good brethren, all the scriptures throughout, the patriarchs, the prophets, shewed long before unto us the joy and felicity that should come upon the whole world at such time as Christ should be born. And therefore, to confirm all this that they before had prophesied of him, Christ here said unto his disciples: "Blessed are the eyes which see that ye see." Blessed are your eyes, said Christ; for your eyes have seen God's promises performed; that promise which he made to Adam, saying: "The seed of the woman shall break the head of the serpent:" your eyes have seen that promise made unto Abraham: "The seed wherein all nations shall be blessed:" that promise also your eyes have seen performed, which God made unto David, saying: "Of the fruit of thy body will I set upon thy seat:" you have seen, and do now see that Emmanuel, of whom Esay prophesied; you, I say, have seen that thing, whereunto all the patriarchs, all the prophets, and the whole body of the scriptures do bear witness; you do see and behold him whom Abraham would gladly have seen; you see him whom Esay calleth the "Prince of Peace;" him in regard of whom the prophet cried out and said: "Oh, who shall live to see this great joy?" you see him at whose presence St John the Baptist, being in his mother's womb, sprang and leaped up for joy; him at whose birth the very angels in heaven sang, *Gloria in excelsis;* him whom Simeon pronounced to be the Saviour of the world. All this, said Christ, you see, you my disciples; your eyes do see all this, and therefore blessed are your eyes; happy and blessed are the eyes that see which ye see.

"In the beginning," saith St Paul, "God spake diversly, and by sundry means unto his people," sometimes by dreams, sometimes by revelation, sometimes by prophecies, sometimes by angels, and sometimes by his own voice: "but now in these days he hath sent amongst us his own Son;" by him, saith he, God hath declared his will unto us clearly and plainly, even by the mouth of his own Son. When St John the Baptist baptized Christ in the river of Jordan, it pleased God the Father to cry from heaven, and say: *Hic est meus Filius dilectus, ipsum audite:* "This is my beloved Son: hear him:" hearken unto his voice, give ear unto his doctrine; for he it is to whom both the law and the prophets have their respect. And St Paul saith: *Mysterium absconditum a seculis, nunc autem revelatur per Jesum Christum:* "The mystery," that high mystery of man's salvation, "that hath been so many hundred years hid, is now revealed by Christ our Saviour:" so long it hath been hidden, saith St Paul; and now it is opened and shewed unto the whole world by Christ. Therefore blessed are your eyes, said Christ, yea, "blessed are the eyes which see that ye see;" for your bodily eyes see that which the angels did lack, you see that which the patriarchs and the prophets never saw: you, said Christ, you my disciples are blessed that see me, that hear my gospel and believe the same; and therefore blessed are your eyes, and the eyes which see that you see. Heb. i. Luke iii. Col. i.

[3] One, 1611.

For otherwise the scribes saw Christ as the apostles did, the Pharisees saw him as the apostles did; and yet were they always scribes and Pharisees, that is, such as withstood Christ and gainsaid his doctrine: Caiaphas saw Christ
Mark xiv. as the apostles did; and yet he rent his clothes, and said that Christ was a
Luke xxiii. blasphemer. Pilate saw Christ as the apostles did; and yet he gave judgment
John xiii. against Christ. Judas saw Christ as the rest of his fellows the apostles saw
Matt. xxvii. him; and yet he betrayed Christ. The soldiers, and such as hung Christ on the cross, saw Christ as the apostles did; yet were they wicked men, and did put Christ unto death. Shall we then say that these men's eyes were blessed? that the eyes of the scribes and Pharisees were blessed? that Caiaphas' eyes, Pilate's eyes, Judas' eyes were blessed? shall we say that the soldiers' eyes, and the eyes of them that put Christ unto death were blessed, because they saw Christ and beheld his body? O good brethren, these men saw Christ, and yet saw him not: they saw him with their bodily eyes, and yet they knew him not: they saw him as the ass, the wolf, and the dog saw him; they saw him
Luke viii. as the devil saw him, and said: *Tu es Filius Dei:* "Thou art the Son of God." Thus they saw Christ as touching the body; but they saw him not as the apostles saw him: they saw him as a man, but not as the Son of God: they
Luke iv. Matt. xiii. saw him as "the son of a carpenter," (for so they said he was,) but they saw him not as the apostles saw him, "to be the very Son of God:" they saw Christ as a miserable man; but the apostles saw him as the Saviour of the
Matt. xvi. world. And therefore Peter was bold to say: *Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi:* "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." And again he was in like able
John vi. to say: *Tu habes verbum salutis:* "Thou hast the words of life." Thus the apostles saw Christ, and believed him to be the Redeemer of the world; and therefore Christ said unto them: "Blessed are your eyes, and the eyes which see that you see. For I say unto you, many kings and prophets would fain have seen the things that you see, and could not see them."

This promise, good brethren, of the birth of Christ, and his coming into the world to redeem mankind, was made long before, yea, it was promised by God the Father even in the first beginning of the world; as I have already declared unto you. And therefore, in hope of the performance of this promise, many a godly man did put his affiance in Christ, and long before his coming had a fixed trust in the merits of his passion. The patriarchs, the prophets, and all such as lived under the old law, had the same law and testament that we now have; they had the same doctrine, the same faith, the same prayer, the same sacraments that we now have: we drink of Christ; and so the Jews
1 Cor. x. drank of Christ: *Bibebant de petra, petra autem erat Christus:* "They drank of the rock," saith St Paul; "and the rock they drank of was Christ." They
Col. ii. were circumcised, and so are we; for, saith St Paul, "we also are circumcised, but with circumcision without hands:" we are circumcised, but we are circumcised in heart by the power of the Holy Ghost. The patriarchs and the prophets knew well and believed that by Christ they should be redeemed, that by his only blood, shed on the cross, all the world should be saved; but this they knew, this they saw only by faith and in spirit; for then was not Christ born: we have the Lamb of God offered up for us; and so had they the same
Rev. xiii. 1 Pet. i. Lamb offered up for them. For St John saith: *Agnus oblatus a principio mundi:* "Christ was the Lamb offered up from the beginning of the world."

And now therefore, forasmuch as the patriarchs, the prophets, and the holy men in old time, had the same testament, the same doctrine, the same faith, the same prayer, the same sacraments that we have; forasmuch as they drank of Christ as we do; forasmuch as they were circumcised, and so are we; forasmuch as they did believe that they should be saved by the death of Christ, as we do; shall we think that they were not blessed? that their eyes were not as happy as ours? that they saw not as much as we do? Shall we think that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and divers others[1] such good men, lacked any part of their felicity? Or, if they were blessed, why said Christ only to his apostles, "Blessed are the eyes which see that ye see?" When our Saviour Christ said thus, Blessed are your eyes, and the eyes which see that ye see,

[1 Other, 1609.]

he meant not any peculiar blessing given unto them alone, but he signified the blessing of that time; as if he should have said: Blessed is this time, blessed are the days that you see.

For there is in times and seasons a great difference and diversity. Some one[2] time is blessed, another is accursed. The time of the wicked king Manasses, wherein the testament and law of God was burnt, Baal's altars re-edified, and idols set up, was a miserable time: this time, I say, of Manasses' reign was an accursed time. But the time of Josias, wherein the law of God was restored again, Baal cast out of the temple, the idols pulled down, and all good orders again set up in their former estate, was a blessed time, a time most happy; and blessed was he that lived to see that time. So likewise the time of the birth of Christ was a blessed time, and the time of antichrist a time accursed. And therefore Christ oftentimes wept over Jerusalem, and said: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest my prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, O that thou knewest the time of thy visitation!" O that thine eyes would once see, thine ears hear, and so thou wouldest know when God hath sent his Son unto thee! St Paul saith: *Nunc tempus est nobis a somnis surgere:* "Now is the hour for us to arise from sleep." *Nox præcessit, dies autem illuxit:* "The night is past; and the day now beginneth to shine;" and therefore in conclusion he saith: *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile:* "Behold, now is the acceptable time, behold, now is the time of salvation." These were blessed times, these were acceptable times, that Christ our Saviour and St Paul spake of: *Dum habetis lucem, ambulate in luce:* "Whiles you have light, walk in the light," saith Christ: receive the light, and so shall you be the "children of light." And so that time was a blessed time; because Christ was born in that time, because the force and power of the devil was by Christ then destroyed, because the dominion and kingdom of Satan was then thrown down; therefore was it a blessed time. But, as touching the blessing of the men in times long before, men were as blessed as they were then; Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and such other, were as blessed as the apostles. They had the same Christ, the same Saviour and Redeemer that the apostles had. For saith St Paul: *Jesus Christus, heri, hodie, et semper:* "Christ is for yesterday, this day, and for ever." One Christ served for all the world. Otherwise most miserable were we, and in most wretched condition were all such as either now live or have lived sithence the time of Christ; for we never saw Christ in the flesh, we never beheld his body, we were never conversant with him on the earth. But Christ hath told us by St Thomas: *Beati qui non vident, et credunt:* "Blessed are they that believe, and have not seen: blessed are they that see not, and yet believe." These things be for our great comfort. For, although we never saw Christ with our eyes, though he was never conversant with us as he was with his apostles; yet have we through him the same salvation that the apostles had, we have him our Redeemer and Saviour as they had him.

2 Kings xxi.
2 Kings xxiii.
Luke xix.
Rom. xiii.
2 Cor. vi.
John xii.
Heb. xiii.
John xx.

Now let us compare this saying of Christ unto ourselves and our time; let us see whether this that Christ then spake to his disciples may not be spoken of us and our time. For thus ought we to read God's word, to this end we should read the scriptures of God. Now therefore, good brethren, let us consider well, and see whether the church of God hath not been so disordered before our time, yea, and in our time, that we may now well say: Blessed are our eyes, and the eyes which see that we see; for many good[3] and godly man would fain have seen that we see, and could not see it. I will be short, I will not long trouble you in this thing, I will not use many words unto you herein.

The errors, that have been taught and preached in the church of Christ, have been, good brethren, so gross, that such as could not see them with their eyes might have felt them even with their fingers; so horrible and so gross were the errors in the church; so were all things confounded, and scarcely the form of the church left unto us. But that this should so come to pass, Christ himself, St Paul, St Peter, and Daniel the prophet, long time before gave warning to the world, and prophesied it should so be. And even as they spake, so hath it come to pass; look, what they said, the same have we seen fulfilled. For

[2] On, 1611.] [3] Many a good, 1609.]

Matt. xxiv. Christ himself openly shewed that the time should come, "that desolation should stand in the holy place." And again he said: "When the Son of man shall come to judge the earth, think you that he shall find any faith upon the earth?" As if he should have said: When he shall come to judge, there shall be no faith on the earth, no fidelity and trust among men; so shall all things be
2 Thess. ii. confounded, and no faith shall be found. St Paul likewise saith: "The time shall be that antichrist shall nestle himself in the temple of God," in the consciences of men, in the place of Christ, "and shall be exalted above all that
2 Tim. iv. is called God," or God's service. And he saith further: *Erit tempus cum sanam doctrinam aspernentur:* "The days shall come, when men shall despise and cast away all wholesome doctrine:" the time shall be, saith he, that they shall not suffer this gospel that I have preached, these epistles and letters which I have sent unto you: "but they shall turn their ears from the truth, and shall be given unto fables." This St Paul aforehand told us; and indeed we have found his tale
2 Pet. ii. most true. St Peter also saith: *Erunt magistri mendaciorum:* "There shall come preachers and teachers of lies: there shall come false teachers, which privily shall bring in damnable sects." Daniel likewise, that prophet of God, long before the coming of Christ prophesied and said, antichrist shall come,
Dan. ix. "there shall be an abominable desolation in the temple:" it shall be destroyed all; and the truth shall be cast flat to the ground.

Now, good brethren, consider well with yourselves where should this desolation be which Christ spake of? Amongst whom shall so small faith be found? Where should antichrist nestle himself? Where should good doctrine be despised? Where should there be preachers and teachers of lies? Where should the truth be cast flat to the ground? Where should all these things come to pass? Amongst the Turks, the Saracens, the heathen, the infidels? amongst such as never heard of Christ nor his gospel? Should these things that Christ, that St Paul, that St Peter, that Daniel prophesied to come to pass, should they, I say, be fulfilled amongst them? Let not us deceive ourselves, good brethren: Christ said that desolation should come into the holy place, that such as professed God and his name should have little faith. St Paul said, that antichrist should sit in the holy place, in the temple of God; that amongst Christians wholesome doctrine should be despised and cast away: St Peter also, that even amongst the professors of God's gospel some there should be that should preach and teach lies: and Daniel likewise, that in the temple antichrist should sit, and there all truth should be cast flat to the ground. And this should not come to pass among the heathen and infidels, but in the church of Christ, even in the very church of God. St Hilary, who was an old father in the church, saith: "O you will soon deceive yourselves if ye trust in the walls: know you not that antichrist is in the church[1]?" Let us not therefore deceive ourselves; let not us, good brethren, deceive ourselves.

And here, I pray you, consider with me, how that God, for our better understanding, hath in similitudes opened and set forth unto us the state of his church. For Christ in the gospel compareth his church unto a ship in the sea, tossed and tumbled with perilous waves; and what, I pray you, betides unto a ship so tossed in the sea, if there be no loadsman to steer it, or if the loadsman doth not his
Isai. v. duty? Christ hath likened his church to a vine; and what becomes to a vine, if
John x. it be not shred and underpropped? He doth also liken it to a flock of sheep; and what becomes to a flock of sheep, if there be no shepherd to guide and look unto them? And now therefore consider with me, I pray you, even from the mean priest to the bishop of Rome; consider, I say, whether they have done their duties; which of them all hath done that which is required in them? which of them hath fulfilled that God gave them in charge to do? Christ to his disciples, and in them to all such as should become preachers, gave this commission,
Mark xvi. saying: *Ite, et prædicate:* "Go you, and preach." And what is he that ever saw the bishop of Rome in a pulpit? Who hath heard a cardinal many times preach? Judge you then, my brethren, when shall the ship come safe to the haven, if the loadsman doth not his duty? When shall the vine bring forth any fruit, if the

[1 ...male enim vos parietum amor cepit...Anne ambiguum est, in his antichristum esse sessurum? —Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Lib. contr. Auxent. 12. col. 1269.]

husbandman apply not his diligence to dung, to shred, to underprop the same? What shall become of the flock, if the shepherd sheweth not his industry and earnest labour among them?

Now let us consider a little further, what they were that should have been our loadsmen; what they were that should have played the good husbands in God's vineyard; what they were that should have looked to the flock of Christ. Here will I declare nothing of myself, I will not here utter unto you any thing of mine own invention: I will only shew you the minds of the ancient doctors in the primitive church, and the sayings of old holy fathers that have written of the church of God. St Gregory, speaking of the church of God, saith: *Ecclesia Dei, si ab uno pendebit, corruet*[2]: "If the church of God shall hang upon one man," if the whole sway thereof shall depend upon one alone, "that church must needs fall," saith St Gregory. Now let us consider whether in times past it hath been so in the church of God, whether we have known one man to have called himself the head of the church; and if it so be, how can it then be otherwise but that the same church must needs perish and fall? St Bernard, an old holy father, writing of the bishops and prelates of the church in his time, saith: *Non sunt pastores, sed impostores; non doctores, sed seductores; non prælati, sed Pilati*[3]: "They are not," saith St Bernard, "good pastors and feeders of God's flock, but they are impostors," such as deceive God's sheep; "they are not doctors, but they are seductors," such as lead men out of the right way; "they are not prelates, but they are very Pilates." And again, the same St Bernard, in the council holden at Rheims, where he made a sermon in the presence of the bishops there assembled, said: *Habemus jam non mercenarios pro pastoribus, neque lupos pro mercenariis; sed in loco luporum dæmones habemus*[4]: "We have not now," said this holy father, "hirelings instead of shepherds, nor wolves instead of hirelings; but in place of wolves we have very devils." This spake St Bernard of the preachers and pastors in his time. But oh, miserable is that church wherein are hirelings instead of good shepherds; more miserable where are wolves in place of hirelings; and most miserable where devils in room of wolves: for then all goeth to ruin and decay, then must needs all goodness in God's church be overthrown.

And so was it then, so was it in his time, said this old father St Bernard. So Platina, also an ancient writer: *Defecit tum majestas imperatoris, et sanctitas episcopi*[5]: "When the bishop of Rome," saith he, "took so much upon him, when he would be called universal bishop and head of God's church, then decayed the majesty of the emperor and the holiness in the bishop." St Hilary likewise saith: "The church wherein God's word is not preached must needs run against the rock[6]." Tertullian also: *Miremur si fides deficit, cum non sit instructio*[7]? "Do we marvel," saith he, "if faith fail," if faith be not found amongst men, "sithence there is" no preaching, no teaching, "no instruction?" Even so another old writer, speaking of his own time, saith: *Calamitosa est desolatio in domo Dei*[8]: "There is an horrible desolation in the church of God." And therefore also he saith further: *Nos sumus, in quos fœces terræ devenerunt:* "We are they upon whom all the dregs of the earth are fallen." So Chrysostom: "If you," saith he, "perceive it to wax dark in the vale, you say it is toward night; if you see it begin to be dark on the hills, you say it is nigh night; but, if you see it once dark in the sky, you say it is high night[9]:" so, if you see ignorance in the people, you may say it is towards night; if you see ignorance in the priests, it is almost

[2 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 749. See before, page 374. Conf. Lib. VII. Indict. XV. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873.]

[3 See before, page 162, note 3.]

[4 See before, page 121, note 15; page 642, note 2.]

[5 Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Formosus I. p. 125. See before, page 415, note 20.]

[6 Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. cap. viii. 1. col. 644. See before, page 994.]

[7 These words have not been found; but Tertullian repeatedly speaks of the nourishment afforded to faith by God's word; thus: ... fomenta fidei de scripturarum interjectione.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Ad Uxor. Lib. II. 6. p. 190.]

[8 See before, page 642, note 4.]

[9 Ubique tenebras vides, et dubitas diem transisse? Prius etenim in vallibus fit obscuritas, die declinante ad occasum. Quando ergo colles videris obscurari, quis dubitat quin jam nox est?—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Opus Imperf. in Matt. ex cap. xx. Hom. xxxiv. Tom. VI. p. cxlv.]

night; but if you see ignorance and little learning in the bishops and prelates, then may you well say it is high night.

Bernard, that holy father, in another place speaking of the priests of his own time, saith: "Nothing is now safe amongst the clergy, all things are confounded all things out of order; and therefore there is now nothing left, but that antichrist be revealed[1]." I recount here nothing unto you, my brethren, but only the sayings of the ancient doctors and holy fathers which have written of God's church in times here-before, and therefore I trust you will believe them the better. The same St Bernard, of whom I spake before, saith also: "It appeareth now, that there is no persecution, no martyrs done unto death: nay, not so," saith he, it is not so; "for now even they that sit highest in the church of God," they that bear the greatest stroke therein, "they begin to persecute and destroy God's servants[2]." And again, speaking of the priests and prelates: "They would seem to be God's friends, yet they are his enemies; they would be Christ's kinsmen, yet they are his adversaries; they would be servants to Christ, and yet they serve antichrist[3].

And thus, good brethren, it hath been in our time; and you yourselves have seen it, you yourselves have seen that the whole church hath hanged on one man alone; that such as should have been pastors have been deceivers; such as should have been teachers of the right way have been seducers and guides into blind ways; such as should have been prelates have been Pilates. You yourselves have seen in the church of God hirelings instead of good shepherds, wolves in place of hirelings, and very devils in the room of wolves. All these things have been spoken of afore; that the majesty in the emperor and holiness in the bishop should decay; that, where God's word is not preached, there must the church needs run against the rock; that it is little marvel if faith faileth, where good instruction wanteth; that pitiful desolation is come into the house of God; that we are they upon whom the dregs of the whole earth are come; that it is then high night, when ignorance reigneth in the bishops; and lastly, that there is nothing now left, but that antichrist be revealed.

All these things have been spoken of before, and are now come to pass; and you yourselves have seen them; you yourselves, I say, have seen all these things fulfilled. You have seen such sit highest in God's church, that have persecuted God and his church; such as have martyred the servants of Christ, such as would seem God's friends, and yet are his enemies; such as would be Christ's kinsmen, and yet are his adversaries; such as would be servants to Christ, and yet do serve antichrist; such as Esay speaketh of, saying, "They have broken down my vine, and destroyed my wine-press;" such as Christ himself speaketh of, and saith, "They have made my church a den of thieves." Therefore, good brethren, let us not deceive ourselves; let us not say, All things were well in the church, there needed no reformation; all things were as they should be, there needed nothing to be amended. For, alas! all things were out of order, all things out of square, all things so confounded that all things needed to be amended.

Matt. xxi.

I speak herein only generally, I speak not here of the particular things amiss in God's church; for then should time fail me, if I should recount them unto you particularly. In time past, if any one man would have sought comfort for his afflicted conscience, where should he have sought it? whither should he have gone for comfort? where should he have craved consolation? what comfort could we have of our own merits, what help by our own deserts and good deeds? what consolation of the pope's bulls and pardons? Alas! no comfort, no consolation, no help at all. And yet unto those were we taught to run, in those were we taught to seek comfort, and at them to crave consolation. In the church beforetime it hath been both said and sung unto the people: *Tu per Thomæ sanguinem... fac nos... ascendere ubi Thomas nunc est*[4]: "Thou, Christ, by the blood of thy martyr

[1] Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Psalm. Qui hab. Serm. vi. 7. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 838. See before, page 897.]

[2] Videbatur jam cessasse persecutionis tempus: sed, ut palam factum est, numquam deest persecutio ...quia ipsi sunt, &c.—Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 956. See before, page 1021.]

[3] Id. in Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. ibid. col. 1393. See before, pages 382, 1021.]

[4] Portifor. seu Breviar. ad us. Eccles. Sarisb. Par. 1510. In Translat. S. Thom. Mart. vii. Jul. Lect. ix. fol. cc. 7; where *scandere quo Thomas ascendit.*]

St Thomas make us worthy to ascend thither where Thomas now is." This, I say, as a prayer hath been used in the church of God. The mother also, that blessed mother of our Saviour Christ, hath been openly blasphemed in the church: she was called *spes, vita, dulcedo,* "our hope, our life, and our sweetness." And further: *Salva omnes sperantes in te*[5]: "Save all them that trust in thee." Thus have men openly prayed unto her, to the great blaspheming of her holy name. But, O Christ, O thou that sufferedst for the whole world, where was then thy passion, where was then that precious blood of thine that washed away the sins of man, where was then the Lamb of God that redeemed all mankind?

Loth I am to speak of these things; loth and sorry I am to repeat them here unto you; but I am enforced so to do somewhat the more plainly to open unto you the great abuses, the wonderful errors, that long time have reigned in the church of God. We had prayers; but, alas! as they were used they were no prayers: we had the sacraments; but we knew not to what end those sacraments were left unto us. We had baptism; but we knew not what baptism meant. The testament and holy gospel of God was burnt, cast down, and trod under foot. And, in one word, in one word for all, there was in Christ's church nothing but a heap of wickedness, nothing but a very heap of confusion and wickedness. Jeremy the prophet said that "all men," after Christ once appeared, "should have such knowledge," such perfect knowledge of God, "that no man should say to his neighbour, Know the Lord; for all men should know him, even from the highest unto the lowest." Baruch also the prophet said: "O blessed art thou, Israel, how happy art thou; seeing God hath shewed unto thee all such things as are pleasant unto him!" whatever God would have known, that is revealed unto thee. O then, what may we say of ourselves, and the blind time that is now past, wherein we neither knew God nor had God's word revealed unto us? What may we say of that time? O we may well say, Miserable were we; and cursed was that time wherein we then lived.

Jer. xxxi.

Bar. iv.

And thus, good brethren, I have in few words laid open before you both the miserable estate that God's church hath stood in, and the great ignorance, error, and blindness that you have been led in; to the end that you may now become the more thankful for God's great mercy shewed unto you. For now hath it pleased almighty God to reveal unto you his holy gospel, his truth and verity. Now we know that, whatever we do, when we have done all things that we can do, yet "we are unprofitable servants." Now we know that all our comfort, all our consolation, all our help, is to be sought for at God's hands alone. Now we know that Christ is only our Saviour, our Redeemer, and that "his blood alone," as St John saith, "hath washed away our iniquities." Now we know what we pray. Now we know wherefore and to what end the sacraments were left unto us; what our baptism meaneth. Now have we God's testament and his holy word restored unto us. Now we need not say to our neighbour, Know the Lord; for we all are, or may be, sufficiently instructed to know God, to know Christ, to know the Holy Ghost. Now may we say as Baruch to the children of Israel, O happy are we; for all things that God would have known are revealed unto us. And therefore blessed are our eyes, and the eyes which see that we see; and, on[6] the other part, accursed are those eyes which will not see that we see; accursed are the ears which will not hear that we hear; and accursed are those hearts that will not believe God and his gospel.

Luke xvii.

1 John i.

My brethren, consider the miserable estate that the church of God long time hath stood in; and consider again the speedy redress thereof which God now hath sent unto us. The kingdom of God is come upon us: God's kingdom, my brethren, is even now come upon us. Christ said: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that stonest my prophets, and such as are sent unto thee, O that thou wouldest know the time of thy visitation!" We are that Jerusalem: Christ hath called, Christ hath cried unto us: O therefore let us now see and consider the time of our visitation. O how many of our brethren which have suffered persecution for Christ and his gospel, how many of them, I say, would fain have seen

[5 See before, pages 889, 900. See also Bonavent. Op. Mogunt. 1609. Psalt. B. Mariæ Virg. Psalm. lxxi. cxxiv. Tom. VI. pp. 484, 9.]

[6 One, 1611.]

the things that we see, and hear that which we hear, and could not see it! O let us not despise our brothers' blood, let us not despise the calling of Christ, let us not despise the blessing of God, the greatest that may be. Alas! if we consider the miserable estate that we have stood in, and the great goodness and mercy of God now shewed unto us, doubtless we cannot despise this great mercy of his, unless we will be too unthankful; we cannot neglect this marvellous work and goodness of his, unless we will be counted too much ingrateful.

Let us therefore make ourselves new hearts, new souls, new minds; let us joyfully embrace God and his gospel; let our eyes, our ears, and our hearts say, Blessed are the eyes which see that we see, and ears which hear that we hear; for many kings and prophets have desired to see that we see, and could not see it. And thus if we do, then shall we be blessed, then shall our eyes, our ears, our hearts, be blessed; and God, the Father of light and giver of all goodness, shall bless us, and remain with us for ever. Amen.

---

2 CORINTHIANS VI.

Ver. 1. *We therefore as helpers exhort you, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.*
2. *For he saith, I have heard thee in an acceptable time, and in the day of salvation I have succoured thee, &c.*

St Paul, after he first began to preach the glad tidings of the gospel, and testify the name of Christ unto the whole world, as he was much troubled with false prophets, false teachers, and such as seduced the people from God; even so he found a number of them among the Corinthians, to whom he wrote this epistle or letter. Some of them, to discredit Paul, and bring an evil opinion of him among the people, said he was an enemy unto Moses, one that sought to abolish the law given by Moses, and such a one as despised and brake the same. Some other said that he was a teacher of false doctrine, a seducer of the people, one that dissented clean from the rest of the apostles, yea, and such a one as disquieted the whole church of Christ. All these were reported by St Paul: thus was he slandered, thus was he evil spoken of; and this was done even by such as professed the name of Christ. Therefore he, feeling himself herewith touched, and perceiving also that this not only touched him, but God himself, thought good by his letters to avoid this slander so risen, and to clear himself unto the Corinthians, among whom this evil bruit first sprang of him. And therefore in the chapter before he said: "Christ hath committed unto us the preaching of the atonement;" and so, whatever we do, whatever we teach or preach unto you, is only to this end, to shew ourselves instruments of the reconciliation between Christ and you. "Now then are we messengers in the room of Christ, and therefore, even as though God did beseech you through us, so pray we you, that ye be at one with God. And further we exhort you that ye receive not the grace of God in vain."

Almighty God, perceiving the frailty and weakness of this nature of ours,
Gen. vi. even at the first beginning of the world pronounced thus, and said: *Pronum est cor hominis ad malum a juventute sua:* "The heart of man is prone and ready unto evil, even from the cradle." This God himself saw well in our weak nature, and therefore he spake thus of it. So dull are we of ourselves to learn any good, and so quick are we to forget the same; so ready are we to fall into vice, and so hard are we to incline unto virtue. And this hath been engraffed in us, this hath been grounded in this nature of ours, even from the beginning, and this will so continue in us whiles the world lasteth. The heart of man hath always been ready to fall from God, and decline to vice, always prone unto evil, and hard to be won unto good. And therefore it behoveth all such as are preachers, all such as are messengers sent from God, and will shew themselves as trusty and faithful servants, it behoveth them not only to shew their message, to declare their commission, but they must also encourage them to whom they are sent, they must improve, rebuke, exhort, and control them, and that in time and out of time, in season and out of season, that their message may be fruitful,
2 Tim. iv. and they found faithful. So Paul to Timothy saith: *Insta opportune, importune:*

"Preach the word, be fervent, be it in season or out of season:" do the work of a preacher, be earnest, call upon them, both in time and out of time. And even this thing that he willed his scholar Timothy to do, the same performed he in himself: "I have not ceased," saith he, "to preach unto you," to teach you 1 Thess. ii.
"both day and night." So likewise in another place he saith: *Mundus sum ego* Acts xx.
a sanguine omnium vestrorum: "I am clean from the blood of you all." I am pure from the blood of all men; "for I have kept nothing back, but have shewed you all the counsel of God." So in like he saith: *Quis infirmatur, et ego non* 2 Cor. xi.
infirmor? "Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is hurt in the faith, and my heart burneth not?" As who would say, There is none of you all, no not the least of you that is grieved, but I also am grieved; none of you troubled, but I also troubled; none of you made weak, but I also am made weak with him. So Paul again saith: *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio:* "My little children, of whom I Gal. iv.
travail in birth again, until Christ be fashioned in you." Thus was St Paul always careful for the salvation of the people: thus was he continually mindful of the safeguard of his brethren; and, whatever grief or disquietness fell to any of the flock of Christ, the same was a grief and disquietness unto him. And thus must every good preacher do, thus must all such do as are messengers from God, and will shew themselves faithful servants and true workmen in God's vineyard. We must do that which longeth unto us; and then will God do that longeth unto him. We must admonish the people outwardly; and God will move their hearts inwardly. St Paul, speaking of himself, of Apollo, of Cephas, and other such notable in the ministry of God, saith: *Paulus plantavit, Apollo rigavit; at Dominus dedit incre-* 1 Cor. iii.
mentum: "Paul planted: Apollo watered; but God gave the increase." God it was, yea, God alone that gave the increase.

These things I speak now to them which have taken upon them the ministry of God's word, to them that have taken upon them to be guides unto the flock of Christ: to them I speak this, to put them in remembrance, that they never forget their message, that they forget not their duty, that they improve, rebuke, exhort, and control the people, that they be earnest and fervent, calling still upon them, both in time and out of time, in season and out of season; that they fulfil the office whereunto they are called, that their conscience may be found without spot; and, in conclusion, that they may plant, that they may water, and God may give the increase; that they may both reform the ungodly and encourage the godly. And this have we in our commission, this is our duty, this will be required of us; and this if we do not, we shall be found faulty; for "we are Rom. i.
debtors unto all men," as well unto the page as unto the prince, unto the poor as unto the rich, unto the foolish as unto the wise, unto the bad as unto the good. And therefore, my brethren, even for this cause alone all good and godly preachers, and such as were sent from God, have ever been so zealous, and so much desired the salvation of God's people. Moses, when he saw the people of Israel, after their deliverance from captivity by the mighty hand of God, fall from God, forsake him, and forget the wonders that he had wrought for them, he cried out unto God, and said: *O Domine, me potius deleas de libro vitæ:* Sooner Exod. xxxii.
than that these perish, "O Lord, wipe me out of the book of life:" let my name be stricken out of it. So Paul: *Cupio anathema esse pro fratribus meis:* "I wish Rom. ix.
myself to be accursed from Christ for my brethren:" I would that I might be cast away, so they might be saved.

O my brethren, consider these hearts; consider, I say, the zealous heart that Moses, the zealous affection that Paul had unto the salvation of the people. What think you is it to be stricken out of the book of life? What think you is it to be a man accursed, and have portion among reprobates? Moses was content to be blotted out of the book of life, so that the people of Israel might be saved. St Paul was content to be accursed and cast from the face of God, so that God's people might not be cast to perdition. Thus they of an earnest heart and zealous love they bare to the congregation of God wished their own destruction for the safeguard of others. Therefore also it behoveth you, my brethren, you that are temporal men, it behoveth you on the other part not to despise God's messengers, not to set light by them that preach you the gospel and glad tidings of your salvation. For this is the only means whereby it pleaseth God

that we should be saved, this only is it whereby the people is won unto Christ. God might have sent an angel unto the chamberlain of the queen Candace, and
Acts viii. so have converted him; but he sent Philip, he sent Philip, I say, a poor and mean man, that through his preaching he might be won to the faith, and so
Acts x. brought to salvation. God might have sent an angel to Cornelius; but he sent Peter, who instructed him in the faith, and wan him to the gospel of Christ. God might have sent an angel unto Paul to have mollified his heart, and so turned
Acts ix. him from persecution of God's saints; but it pleased God to send Ananias, that through the putting on of his hands the scales should fall from his eyes, that by him he should receive his sight, and be baptized, and so by means of a man he might be brought home unto God, and made a member of his flock. Therefore, whensoever we hear the word of God preached, notwithstanding the preacher bear no pomp of eloquence or shew of great learning, notwithstanding he be a simple and poor man; yet, if he bring unto us the rule of Christ's gospel, if he teach us the will of God and the glory of his word, let us not despise him, let us consider that he is God's messenger, and appointed by God to help us to salvation.

"I beseech you," saith St Paul, "that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." This only boun[1] I ask of you, this is only the request that I make unto you, that ye take not the grace of God in vain. A great matter it were if any one man would misuse the grace of his prince, a great matter it were for a man to despise the friendship of his friend or the gentleness of his enemy; but a greater matter it is, yea, a far greater matter, to take the grace of God in vain. For what availeth it us, what should it profit us, if God once deliver us from our sins, and we turn again to our old wickedness?

What gained we, if the covenant of God and testament of our Saviour Christ
Luke xi. be broken unto us, if we receive the same in vain? "Blessed are they," saith Christ, "which hear the word of God, and keep it." The scribes, the Pharisees, the Jews, Annas, Caiaphas, and Pilate, heard the word of God, heard Christ himself speak and preach amongst them, and yet they received this word of God in vain. Christ likened his word "to a sower, that went forth and sowed his seed; whereof some fell by the way-side, and so was trodden with men's feet and destroyed; some on the stone, which took root, but yet soon withered away, because it lacked moistness: some fell among thorns; and the thorns sprung up with it, and choked it." So the poor husbandman lost in manner his whole cost and labour; for of all that he sowed little fell into the good ground and brought any increase. And even thus standeth it with God's gospel now-a-days; for, preach we never so oft, teach we never so much, few, yea, very few, are found that receive the same, and continue therein, and so bring forth fruits of salvation.
Exod. xxxii. When Moses the servant of God was but a little time departed from the people, and gone up into the mount, there to talk with God, and ask counsel of him, the people by and by made themselves a golden calf, and fell to the worshipping of that image. And this did they, because they received the grace of God in vain. When Moses was dead, and Josua succeeded into his room, straightways the people worshipped Baal and Astaroth; they forsook the living Lord, who had delivered them, and instead of him they worshipped very devils. And this did they, because they received the grace of God in vain. Saul, though he once was the servant of God, and inspired with his Spirit, yet at the length he fell from God,
1 Sam. xxviii. and persecuted David the chosen of God, and so in the end miserably slew himself. And this did he, because he received the grace of God in vain. Judas, being one of the apostles, and the servant of Jesus Christ, yet he not only betrayed his Master Christ, but also became himself a very devil; for so said
John vi. Christ: *Unus vestrum dæmon est:* "One of you is the devil." And this did he, because he received the grace of God in vain. And therefore St Paul in this place willeth the Corinthians that they should not receive the grace of God in vain, as the people did in Moses' time; that they should not receive it as they did which lived in the time of Josua; that they should not in such sort take it as Saul did; and, lastly, that they should not so receive it in vain as Judas did, and

[1] Boun: boon.]

work their own destruction. This was his request, this thing he only desired, that they would not receive the grace of God in vain.

For God saith: "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee." These words are written in the prophecy of Esay, and pronounced they were by him of the appearance of Christ our Saviour, and his coming into this world. And these words, thus spoken by the prophet, St Paul here fitly applied to the preaching of Christ's gospel. For, like as our Saviour came into the world at such time as Christ was born; so, when the gospel is truly preached, and God's holy word sincerely taught us, then is Christ opened unto us, then is the acceptable time, and our salvation is wrought thereby. Therefore St Hierome, that holy father and old doctor of the church, saith: *Quotiescunque audimus evangelium Christi, toties caro et sanguis Christi funduntur in aures nostras*[2]: "As often as we hear the gospel of Christ preached unto us, so oft the flesh and blood of Christ is poured into our ears," saith St Hierome. And these words of his do plainly and most evidently shew us, how we should understand the eating of Christ's body and drinking of his most holy blood in the sacrament: these words, I say, may sufficiently teach us, what is meant by the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood. This is it that St Paul here speaketh of, that they receive not the grace of God in vain. And, whensoever the gospel of God is truly and sincerely preached, and it received accordingly, then is the acceptable time, then is the time of grace and salvation. O what a comfortable saying is this! whensoever we hear the gospel taught us, whensoever we hear God's holy word preached unto us, then is the gate of salvation set open unto us, and then is the time of grace. And on the contrary part, when God's word is taken from us, and the light of his gospel hidden from our eyes, then is the gate of salvation shut upon us, and then is the time of perdition. But, alas! the time of grace, the acceptable time, the time of mercy and salvation hath oftentimes but little continuance among us, oftentimes it hath small time of abiding with us. For before Christ appeared and was born into this world, for the space of four thousand years, the whole world, the Jews only excepted, was in ignorance and altogether blindness. And when Christ was born, when he once appeared, then was the acceptable time, then was the time of grace, then was the time of salvation.

Here some man will peradventure say, Why did God suffer the whole world so long to be in blindness? why would he in that long time have no respect to any other nation, but only to the nation of the Jews? This case is deep, and passeth our capacity to reason, it is above the reach of man's wit; and therefore herein we have only to submit ourselves, to humble our hearts and our minds, and say with Paul the apostle: *O homo, quis tu qui Deum arguis?* "O man, what art thou that findest fault with God?" What art thou that reprovest the Almighty? As God of his providence and good wisdom hath appointed for us both summer and winter, the spring, and likewise the fall of the leaf again; so hath he ordained a time of light and a time of darkness, a time of salvation and a time of destruction. And no man may say unto him, Why dost thou thus? These things seem good in his eyes; and therefore what art thou, O man, that wilt call God to account why he doth this, or why he doth that? Thus it pleaseth God, and standeth Rom. ix. with his good-will, oftentimes to shew us his light, and the glory of his gospel; and oftentimes again to take the same from us, and leave us altogether in blindness, altogether in ignorance, altogether in utter darkness. For so he hath said by Amos his prophet: "I will send an hunger upon the earth, not the hunger of Amos viii. bread, nor the thirst of water, but an hunger to hear the word of the Lord; so that they shall go from one sea to the other, yea, from the north to[3] the east, running about to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." Christ himself also in the gospel saith: "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you." Matt. xxi.

And yet, when he hath thus done, when he hath sent an hunger and thirst of his word into the earth, when he hath taken God's kingdom from amongst us; yet, I say, he oftentimes poureth down his truth into the earth, he distilleth

[2 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693—1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psalm. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504. See before, page 600, note 1.]

[3 Unto, 1609.]

his grace from heaven, that it may sink into the hearts of men. For so saith
Mal. i. God by his prophet Malachi: *Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum inter gentes:* "My name is great, even from the rising of the sun to the fall thereof, amongst all nations." "I am a great King, saith the Lord, and my name is fearful amongst the heathen." This is the time that the prophet Esay calleth "the acceptable time." And what needeth more examples? The whole scriptures, both the old and the new testament, are full of these and such-like other.

There are times that are times of knowledge; there are times again that are times of ignorance. And who is there now, what man so old, or child so young, but may well remember the blindness that hath been in our time, and our fathers' times before us? Who is so blind, who so far past knowledge, but may both well see and remember the dark ignorance that hath been in times past, and the great grace that God hath now poured down upon us in these our days?

Therefore, as St Paul gave the Corinthians warning, that they should not receive the grace of God in vain; even so now he warneth us, and biddeth us beware that we take not this grace of God in vain, that we turn not to our old vanity again, that we return not to our former wickedness, that we defile not the gospel of God by our evil and corrupt living. And therefore in
Rom. vi. another place he saith: "Give your members as instruments of righteousness unto God; and let not sin have power over you." Herein is set out unto us, and as it were painted before our eyes, our whole office and duty, and how that we, as well by our works as by[1] our words, should be an example and pattern for other men to follow, and that we give no cause of offence or slander of the gospel of God. I speak this not only to the preachers and ministers of God's word (though chiefly to them indeed), but I speak it generally to all you my brethren that profess God's gospel and bear the name of
1 Thess. v. Christ. For St Paul indifferently to all men saith: "Ye are not the children of darkness, but the children of light:" "walk you therefore as becometh
2 Cor. vi. the children of light." And again in another place he saith: "Give man no[2] occasion of evil," offend no man, that "in your office ye be not found faulty." And such was in old time the life of all good and godly men, such was their living that professed God's gospel and the name of Jesus Christ.

But, if it so happen (as oftentimes it chanceth) that men will needs be offended with us, live[3] we never so uprightly, walk we never so circumspectly, (as Christ, notwithstanding he was the Saviour of the world, notwithstanding he was without spot, and one that never transgressed the law, yet was called
1 Pet. ii. the "stone[4] of offence;") if it thus happen, I say, that we be ill reported of without cause, then may we say as Christ himself to the scribes and Pha-
Matt. xv. risees said: *Sinite illos, cæci sunt, duces cæcorum:* "Let them alone: they are blind, the leaders of the blind."

This is the comfort that we have, this is all the comfort that is left unto us, if any man wilfully be offended with us, if any man judge of us other than we deserve. For so it behoveth us to live, so ought we to direct our lives, that, if any man accuse us, if any man find fault with us, our upright living may be a testimony against him, and be able to confound him. St Paul
2 Cor. vi. saith it is our part "to take away occasion of offence." When Christ by procurement of his enemies (the scribes and Pharisees) was brought before Pilate to be condemned and adjudged to death, the innocency of his life was such, that he was cleared and acquitted even by the mouth of his very enemy: for when Pilate had heard all that was laid against him, and the whole accusations where-
Luke xxiii. with they burdened him, he pronounced openly, and said: "I find no fault in this man." The scribes, when they had nothing to accuse Christ's disciples of, nor nothing wherein they might entrap them, as in breach of their law, they came
Luke v. [Matt. xv.] unto our Saviour Christ, and said: *Quare non observant discipuli tui traditiones patrum nostrorum?* "Why do not thy disciples observe the traditions of our fathers?"

---

[1] 1609 omits *by*.]
[2] No man, 1609.]
[3] 1611 repeats the word *live*.]
[4] Sone, 1611.]

Why keep they not the customs of our elders? said they. And upon this place of the gospel St Chrysostom, an old doctor of the church, saith thus, that the disciples of Christ in all points so exactly fulfilled the law, that the scribes could find no fault in them as touching the same; and therefore they controlled them for breaking their own traditions, and the traditions of their forefathers[5]. Trajanus, that emperor of Rome, and most cruel persecutor of the Christians in his time, when he had used all kind of extremity towards them, and indeed put a wonderful number unto death, and heard say that they all suffered marvellous patiently, and willingly went to execution; and that, notwithstanding this, they daily increased and grew more and more; he sent abroad into all parts of his dominion, to understand what manner of men they were, of what conversation, and in what sort they lived, that professed the name of Christ. And answer he had from Pliny, a gentleman of Rome, and a magistrate in that city, who said that "they were men without fault, and lived without offence as touching the laws; saving that in the morning they used to resort together, and so make their prayers, and call upon the name of Jesus[6]." Tertullian also, an old father of the church, saith that in his time this report went of one Sejanus, a Christian, and was amongst all men so common a saying, that in manner it became a proverb: *Marcus Sejanus, vir bonus, si non christianus*[7]: this was all the fault they could find in him, that "he was a christian man," and one that professed the name of Christ. So the same Tertullian, in another place speaking of the Christians in his time, saith: *Vide, appellant se fratres, et mori volunt pro invicem*[8]: "Lo, they call themselves brethren, and one will die for another." This was the only fault they found in them, that they loved so together that one would vouchsafe to die for the other: this was, I say, the greatest fault, that they could find no fault in them.

Thus was it amongst Christians in the beginning of Christ's church; and thus ought it to be amongst us: so should we live, that we may be found unreprovable and unspotted in the sight of all men. And therefore St Paul here saith that we should walk in such honesty, in such uprightness of life, "that we give no man occasion of evil, that in our office there be found no fault;" that, if any man would accuse us, he might be controlled by our virtuous life; that our enemies have nothing to lay to our charge, nothing to accuse us withal; but that even their own mouths should acquit and discharge us; that in ourselves and our lives there should none other fault be found but only this, that we are called Christians; that we should in such love live together, that one of us would willingly die for the other; and, lastly, that this only fault should be in us, that we are clean and without fault, that both our words, works, and deeds, may testify us to be professors of God and his holy gospel.

Good people, let us consider that God of his goodness hath sent unto us this acceptable time, the time of mercy and grace, that he hath delivered us from the horrible thraldom that we sometimes lived in; that God hath put away the blindness, and dispersed that great darkness where-under the whole world[9] was sometime whelmed; that we may now worship him in spirit and holiness, without superstition or idolatry; that we may now walk in the light, without any error or wandering. And this great blessing of his whoso seeth not, I pray God open his eyes, that he may both see and understand it.

Let us not, good brethren, let us not take this grace of God in vain, let us not despise this gospel of Christ, whereby the whole world is saved. God knoweth how long this acceptable time, this time of grace, this time of salvation shall last and continue amongst us. And what knowest thou, O thou man, whether by one only sermon many may be converted and won to the faith of Jesus Christ? St Peter by one only sermon converted five thousand people; as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Acts iv.

[5 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. li. Tom. VII. p. 520.]

[6 C. Plin. Secund. Epist. Lib. x. ci.]

[7 Bonus vir Caius Seius, tantum quod Christianus.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 3. p. 4.]

[8 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Apolog. adv. Gent. 39. p. 35. See before, page 1072, note 1.]

[9 Word, 1609, 1611.]

St Hierome hath a saying worthy to be noted, and it is this: "I know not," saith St Hierome, "whether that soul may be saved that is negligent in hearing the word of God and the gospel of his salvation preached[1]:" I know not, saith he, whether such a soul may be saved. Alas! good brethren, we are not able to save you: God is your only Saviour and Redeemer: we are but God's messengers sent unto you; we are but helpers appointed to exhort you to the gospel of God, and to open unto you the glory of your salvation. If you then will wilfully refuse to hear God's holy word, and will not embrace
Jer. vii. the same, we cannot save you, we are not able to work your salvation. "I myself rose up ever betimes to warn my people," saith God by his prophet Jeremy: I myself stand all the day at the gate, crying unto them to commune with them; yet would they not hear: I called unto them; yet would they not answer me.

O my dear brethren, God knocketh; let us open the gates of our hearts unto him: he calleth; let us hear him: he crieth, and willeth us to come unto
Isai. lxv. him; O therefore let us run, let us make haste, let us fly unto him. "I have ever stretched out my hands to an unfaithful people," saith God by his prophet Esay: all the day long have I stretched out mine arms unto a people that will not hear me: all the day long have I stretched out mine[2] hands unto them; and yet they will not know me: I have sent you the acceptable time; I have given you the days of grace, the days of mercy, the days of salvation. O then let us not receive this acceptable time in vain, let us not take this grace of God in vain. Let us remember how many thousands of people perish this day for want of the gospel of God and knowledge of his holy word. We are they whom God hath called to be his children, whom he hath appointed to be saved, whom he hath received to his grace and mercy. If we have any great policy, if we have any great wit, if we have any learning, riches, wealth, and felicity in this world; let us consider that we have them from God alone, that God giveth us our policy, that God giveth us our wit, that God giveth us our learning, that he alone giveth us our riches, our wealth, and all other felicity that we have in this life. O then let us not take these great gifts of God in vain, let us not take these graces of his in vain. Let our lives so shine before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven. Amen.

ROMANS XII.

Ver. 16. *We desire you, that ye think all one thing, that ye have like affection to another*[3]. *Be not high-minded: be not wise in your own opinion.*
17. *Recompense to no man evil for evil.*
18. *If it be possible, have peace with all men.*

DEARLY beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, this epistle or letter of St Paul, written unto the Romans, is divided into two several parts.

In the first part St Paul instructeth and telleth them of the beginning of their religion, of the foundation of their faith, of the grace whereunto they are called by the merits and death of Jesus Christ. And, for because he saw and well perceived that even such of the Romans who had received the faith to be far from the works of the faith, and the profession of the gospel of Christ; therefore he instructeth them that they know the testament of Christ, that they know the covenant of their salvation; and that they should remember that, where beforetime they were strangers from God, clean without any promise of grace, enemies unto God, and the children of perdition, were now called unto God, were become the sons of Abraham, God's dear friends, and the children of adoption; and this, not of any desert of theirs, not by any merit of their own; but only through the great grace and mere mercy of Jesus Christ. For the whole world was covered under wickedness; the whole world,

---

[1 The editor has not succeeded in finding this passage.]

[2 My, 1609.]

[3 One to another, 1609.]

I say, the Jews only excepted, was overwhelmed in sin, and had no promise at all of any salvation by God. But yet, when Christ Jesus, the Saviour of all the world, appeared, and the Jews would not acknowledge him their Redeemer, it pleased God by him to save the whole world, and call unto his grace as well the gentile as the Jew, the uncircumcised as the circumcised; and this did he only of his infinite and great goodness. And therefore St Paul, in the conclusion hereof, crieth out and saith: "O the deepness of the abundant wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who knoweth the mind of the Lord? Who was his counsellor? Who hath given unto him first, that he might be recompensed again?" And therefore he concludeth thus: *Quia in illo, ex illo, et per illum omnia, illi omnis honor et gloria:* "For of him, through him, and for him are all things: to him therefore be glory for ever." Thus doth St Paul conclude the first part, to know the covenant of their salvation, to know the greatness of God's mercy, whereunto they are called, and to give the praise and thanks to him alone.

Rom. xi. 33.

Rom. xi. 36.

In the second part, which I now handle, he instructeth them of a virtuous life, of honest conversation, and upright living among all men. For it is not enough to change our religion, it is not sufficient to alter our faith; but we must also change our old life, we must walk in newness of life, we must walk in holiness, we must walk as becometh the professors of a new religion, as becometh them that are of a right faith, as becometh all such as confess God and his gospel. And therefore St Paul, writing unto the Hebrews, saith: "Seeing that we, by the means of the blood of Jesus, have liberty to enter into the holy place, ... let us draw nigh with a true heart, in a sure faith, ... let us provoke unto love and to good works." So in another place he saith: "You were sometimes darkness, but now ye are light in the Lord; walk therefore as becometh the children of light." So God himself, when he had chosen the Jews to be his people, and them alone amongst all other nations to worship him, said: "O Israel, what is it that I require or seek for at thy hands, but that thou love me, and keep my commandments?" This is the only thing that I would have you to do, that you keep my law and walk in my precepts.

Heb. x. 19.

Eph. v. 8.

Deut. x.

Therefore St Paul himself also, after he had declared and set forth at large the great goodness and mercy of God, he said: "I beseech you, that ye make your bodies a quick and lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God; which is your reasonable serving of God." Renew your spirits, make yourselves new hearts, that it may shew and appear in you that you are reconciled unto God, that you are the children of adoption and professors of God's holy name.

Therefore "be not high-minded, be not wise in your own opinions: recompense no man evil for evil: provide aforehand things honest in the sight of all men; and, if it be possible, have peace with all men." Mark well, my brethren, these words by the way: "If it be possible, have peace with all men." Christ, though he was the author of peace, and the true peace itself, yet could he not have peace with all men. *Non veni pacem mittere in terras, sed bellum, sed discordiam:* "I am not come," saith Christ, "to send peace into the world, but war and dissension; for from henceforth there shall be five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three; the father against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother." The peace of the world is no peace with God; the love of this world is no love before God.

Luke xii.

So the patriarchs and the prophets, though they were men of peace, yet could they have no peace in this world. And therefore St Paul here saith: "If it be possible, as much as in you shall lie, have peace with all men:" be in unity and love with all manner of men. This thing, my brethren, I have put you in remembrance of by the way.

But that St Paul should thus do, that he should exhort the Romans, as he here doth, that they become "not high-minded, nor wise in their own opinions, nor recompense no man evil for evil, and that they should, if it were possible, have peace with all men," good cause there was: there was,

I say, good cause why he should thus do. For there were at the same time in Rome a great number both of Jews and gentiles; and amongst them there was great strife and division. The Jews on the one side esteemed not the gentiles: the gentiles on the other side despised the Jews. Thus between them the people were divided, and rent into dissension: thus between them the whole people oftentimes were ready to fall together by the ears; and thus through them were they at such great contention and strife, that they that were brethren would not vouchsafe to commune and talk together; they, that before were linked in such love and united together that one would die for the other, could not then one abide another; and such as were friends became open enemies. And this came to pass only through pride. Pride was the cause that such as were brethren fell out one with another: pride was the cause that such as should have died one for another could not one abide another: pride was the cause that such as beforetime were friends became then
Rom. ix. open enemies. The Jews on the one part were proud, for that they were the children of Abraham, for that they were under the law and promise, for that they had knowledge of God's will by oracles, for that God had oftentimes both sent his angels unto them and spoken by his own mouth unto them. And the gentiles had none of all these: they were not of the seed of Abraham: they were not under the promise: they never had knowledge of God's will, neither by oracle nor vision: God never spake unto them, nor never sent his angels unto them. The gentiles on the other side were as proud as the Jews: they said that they had wise men amongst them, men of great learning and knowledge; they had philosophers, they had astronomers, they had geometricians, and great orators. And so had not the Jews amongst them: they had no men of great wisdom, they had no men of any high learning, they had no philosophers, no astronomers, no geometricians, no orators; they were men ignorant, and without any great knowledge at all. St Paul therefore, to set an unity between these two, which were thus far at discord, exhorteth them, that "they all think one thing; that they be of like affection one towards another; that they be not high-minded, nor wise in their own opinions." For pride it is that breaketh all love, and pride it is that breedeth all dissension. There was never yet division, there was never any discord or dissension, but pride was the first cause and author thereof.

Lucifer, that sometime was an angel of God, set himself against God, and
[Isai. xiv.] said: *Exaltabo me super aquilonem, et ero similis Altissimo:* "I will get me up above the north pole, I will sit above the clouds, and I will be like unto the Most High." And this did he, for that he swelled with pride: and therefore was he thrown down; only for this great pride of his was he cast into utter darkness and deep dungeon of hell.

Num. xvi. Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, being puffed up with pride, conspired against Moses and Aaron; but God caused the earth to open, and swallowed up both them and all such as then were in the tents with them.

The Jews themselves, which had professed the gospel of Christ in St Paul's
1 Cor. i. time, were divided; and some of them said, "I stand with Paul," some other said, "I hold with Apollo," and so were drawn on either side.

And this did they only through pride. But, alas! saith St Paul, "Is Christ divided?" Both Paul and Apollo preach one and the same Christ unto you, they teach you all one gospel; is Christ then divided amongst you? So likewise some of them which professed Christ's gospel (because all meats and drinks were indifferent unto them, because they could with safe conscience indifferently eat of all meats, and drink of all kinds of drink) were proud, and thought themselves more
Rom. xvi. perfect[1] than other men. On the other side, such as had a conscience therein, such as could not for conscience sake indifferently use all kinds of meats and drinks, were likewise proud, and thought themselves more holy than other men.

And thus pride, even amongst such as professed Christ and his gospel, brake the love and unity which should have been amongst them that lived under the gospel. Pride it was that caused the Jews to hate the gentiles, and the gentiles

[1 Perfit, 1609.]

to despise the Jews. Pride it was that caused Lucifer so much to exalt himself, and make himself equal with God. Pride it was that caused Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, to conspire against Moses and Aaron. Pride it was that caused such as could indifferently eat all meats, to think themselves more perfect[1] than such as could not so do. Pride it was again that caused the other, which could not indifferently use all meats, to think themselves more holy than the rest. Therefore in this place St Paul willeth the Romans, for avoiding of all dissension, first to put away all pride, which is the very root and mother of all discord: "Be not high-minded," said he, for so shall you abate this rancour and malice among you; but humble yourselves, humble your courage; be not proud of your wit, of your great learning, of your eloquence; but make yourselves equal to them of the lower sort.

This is the golden chain of humility. For, like as pride is the mother of all wickedness, so is humility the mother of all virtue: like as pride maketh us like unto Lucifer, so humility maketh us like unto Christ. Therefore Christ himself, when he first gave his disciples charge for to preach, when he first gave them in commandment upon the mount to publish abroad his gospel, *Beati pauperes,* said he. And why so? *Quoniam ipsorum est regnum cœlorum:* "Blessed are the poor; for theirs is the kingdom of God." And again: *Beati mites.* And why so? *Quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram:* "Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth." So again to his disciples he said: *Discite ex me; quia ego mitis sum:* "Learn ye of me; for I am meek:" I am gentle: learn this of me, said Christ. So Paul: *Hic sensus sit in vobis, qui fuit in Christo:* "Let the same mind be in you that was also in Christ Jesus; which, when he was equal with God, yet nevertheless made himself of no reputation, and humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross." So David, notwithstanding he was a king, a prophet, and a man chosen even according to the heart of God, yet he humbled himself, and said: *Non ambulavi in magnis, neque in mirabilibus super me:* "I am not high-minded, I have no proud looks, I do not exercise myself in great matters, which are too high for me." So Paul: "God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, that by them he may be able to confound the wise: he hath chosen the weak things, that through them he may subdue the strong." Thus God useth humble and lowly things, saith St Paul. *Ex ore infantium et lactantium perfecisti laudem tuam:* "Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast thou made perfit thy praise;" even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes thou hast ordained strength, and spread abroad the glory of thy name. So Paul, notwithstanding he was a great learned man, and skilful in the laws among the Jews, yet he bragged not nor boasted of his great knowledge he had, but he humbled himself, and said: *Ego me arbitror nihil scire nisi Christum, et eum quidem crucifixum:* "I think thus of myself, that I know nothing, save Jesus Christ, even the same that was crucified:" other knowledge have I none to advance myself of, said St Paul.

Luke vi. Matt. v. Matt. xi. Phil. ii. Psal. cxxxi. 1 Cor. i. Psal. viii. 1 Cor. ii.

And upon this foundation of humility it pleased almighty God at the first to erect and build his holy church: upon his apostles, I say, who were the very patterns of meekness, it seemed good unto God to build his holy church. And, after them, such as were of the congregation of Christ, such as professed the name of Christ, were not proud men, were not men of haughty courage, nor high-minded. And therefore, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, *erat illis cor unum et anima una:* "they were all of one heart and one mind together." So at the beginning the disciples of Christ were poor in spirit, and therefore were they meet to inherit the kingdom of heaven: they were meek in heart, and humble of mind, and therefore were they meet to possess the earth: they learned at Christ to be meek and lowly: they had the same sense in them that was in Christ, and therefore they humbled themselves unto death: they were counted the foolish things of the earth, therefore were they meet instruments to confound the wisdom of the world: they were counted the weak things, and therefore were they meet to overcome the mighty. The babes were meek and lowly, and therefore were they meet to spread abroad the glory of God. St Paul, of all his learning, thought that he knew nothing, so much he humbled himself; and therefore was he meet to be an apostle of Christ and preacher of his gospel. There is a

Acts iv.

story, or rather a fable, written of St Anthony—whether you take it as a story or a fable I much reckon not, but it serveth well for this purpose—it is thus: St Anthony on a time lay in a trance, and as he so lay he looked down from heaven (as he thought), and saw all the whole earth so thick covered with snares, that possible it was not for any man to tread upon the earth and not be entangled therewithal; and this when he beheld, suddenly he cried out and said: "O Lord, and who can then walk on the earth and not be entrapped?" With that he heard a voice that answered him and said: *Sola humilitas:* "Only humility" it is, said that voice, that may go, and not be entangled; only "humility," and nothing else[1]. Whoso is "humble," he may walk without danger, he may go and not be taken. This is written that St Anthony should see and hear in his trance.

[Psal. li.] But David, the prophet of God, saith indeed: *Sacrificium Deo spiritus contritus:* "The contrite and humble heart is a sacrifice unto God:" the meek and lowly heart is a sweet and acceptable sacrifice unto God, saith the prophet David. So

Psal. cxxxviii. again in another place he saith: *Deus humilia respicit, et alta a longe prospicit:* "God hath regard to the humble and lowly, and as for the proud, he beholdeth

Isai. lxvi. them afar off." Esay also, or rather God by his prophet Esay, saith: *Super quem requiescet Spiritus meus, nisi super humilem?* "Upon whom shall my Spirit rest,"

1 Tim. iii. saith God, "but upon the humble and meek?" for otherwise, saith St Paul, *Qui inflatur cadit:* "he that is puffed up with pride falleth into the hands of the devil."

Thus, good brethren, humility preserveth the church of God: humility upholdeth all good commonweals. Pride it is that scattereth the church of God: pride overthroweth all good commonweals. There was yet never pride in any city without dissension, nor dissension that continued without destruction of the whole commonweal. Ye shall never read in any record, either of city, kingdom, or commonweal, but that, if pride reigned therein, there consequently followed dissension, and of dissension ensued the overthrow of the same. In the city of Rome, which was called the lady of the whole world, there were two that took upon them the governance of the empire, Julius Cæsar and Pompey. Julius Cæsar was a man of so haughty courage that he could abide no peer: Pompey was of such an high mind that he could suffer no man to be his equal. And thus for dominion strove these two together; and thus through their dissension was not only the whole city, but the kingdom itself brought to destruction. The state of the Grecians, which then chiefly above other flourished, because it was divided came to utter confusion. But what speak I of these? what speak I of Rome, and the state of the Grecians? Who is there that hath not heard of Jerusalem? Jerusalem, I say, that great city, that same town that God had chosen to himself, even that same town wherein God would have his temple erected, and his holy name honoured, after that the rulers thereof began to be divided, after that the magistrates fell to discord, and each man would be a captain, and no man would be ruled; then came the enemies in, then was it besieged, then was the mother for very famine constrained to eat her own child, then was it utterly destroyed, and no one stone left upon another; and, which was most miserable, there were slain in that city eleven hundred thousand people, and the very channels in the streets ran all with blood. Thus miserably was it overthrown, and in such wretched estate were the whole people thereof; and this only came to pass through pride and dissension. And this was it that Esay long time before pro-

Isai. iii. xxiv. phesied of, and said: "Then shall the whole country be scattered, when the people once conspire against their princes." And therefore also an old writer, Petrus Lilius, saith: "Discord is the only cause of the overthrow of kingdoms: division is the only cause that great empires cannot stand: dissension maketh two kingdoms of one: dissension maketh of two cities one; and at length it maketh of two kingdoms no kingdom, of two cities no city." This writeth Petrus Lilius of dissension: this is the end of discord, saith he; and, indeed, experience hath taught that this is most true.

But wherefore speak I of these things? wherefore do I here repeat unto you these old and ancient histories? why recount I unto you the overthrow of Rome,

[1] This story may be read in Vit. Patr. Westm. 1495. Sec. Pars, fol. 291.]

the destruction of the Grecians, the desolation of Jerusalem? which all happened through division. I would to God I saw nothing even now before mine eyes, that causeth me thus to say: I would to God, I say, that I saw now nothing present before mine eyes, that causeth me thus to say. But these examples, my brethren, God hath placed before our eyes, that we might take heed by them, that we might the better look to ourselves, and beware of our own destruction. Christ hath said, Christ, that is the author of truth and truth itself, hath said: *Civitas divisa desolabitur:* "The city that is divided," be it never so rich, never so strong, never of so great force, yet "shall it be destroyed," it shall be brought to utter desolation. Rome, that sometime was the wealthiest city in the world, and called therefore the lady of the whole world, fell to division; and therefore was she overthrown and utterly destroyed. The Grecians, which were a people of greatest force, fell to dissension; and therefore was their whole estate pulled down, and cast flat to the ground. Jerusalem, that holy city, that city that was so strong, fell asunder, fell at discord within itself; and therefore was she spoiled of her enemies, and brought to desolation. Luke xi.

Remember, good brethren, remember with yourselves, how can that ship which saileth in the sea be safe in the midst of the waves, if the people within the same bore holes through it, or rent up the ribs of the same? How can that city be preserved, where no man will hear counsel, where no man careth for the public state, where no man passeth for other, where God is not in the midst? *Deus caritas est,* saith St John, *et qui in caritate est in Deo manet:* "God is charity; and he that dwelleth in charity dwelleth in God." O, saith Salomon, *Turris fortissima nomen Domini:* "The name of the Lord is a strong tower:" the name of God saveth the city. David also, the prophet of God, saith: *Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem, in vanum laborant qui custodiunt eam:* "Except the Lord keep the city," except the Lord defend it, saith he, "they labour in vain, they watch in vain, that are set to defend it." 1 John iv. Psal. cxxvii.

These things, good brethren, appertain both to our office that are ministers, and appointed by God to instruct the people, and they appertain also unto all magistrates, yea, and unto the whole people. As for us that are God's ministers and messengers sent unto you, we do stand upon the tower, to cry and give you warning that the enemies are coming, to shew you beforehand that your foes are approaching: our part is to declare unto you, that your fight is not against king, nor Cæsar, is not against any prince or power of this world; but against spiritual enemies, against the devil and his adherents: our part is to dissuade you from dissension, to dissuade you from discord and division. This must we do, as well to the magistrate as to the rest of the people; as well to him that beareth office as to him that beareth none. "For we are debtors unto all men;" as well to the rich as to the poor, to the wise as to the foolish, to the good as to the bad. This is also the magistrate's office; this is likewise his duty. Therefore hath God set him up; therefore hath God exalted him above the rest of the people, that he should guide them in peace, and lead them in love and unity together. Rom. i.

Thus did David, that good king: he found the whole kingdom left by Saul, his predecessor, in dissension and division within itself: he found, I say, the whole country at variance and great debate; but, by his great wisdom and good governance together, he reduced the same into good order again, and such as before were enemies he made faithful friends; and the whole country he brought to quietness, peace, and mutual unity. And therefore, when he had this brought to pass, for joy that he had thus of mortal foes made loving friends, he sung: *O quam bonum et quam jocundum habitare fratres in unum!* "O how joyful a thing is it for brethren to dwell together in unity!" So much it comforted him, so glad was he when he saw his people agree together. Therefore in the scriptures the magistrates are called shepherds; for that they ought so to guide the people committed to their charge as the shepherd doth his flock. Therefore they are called also captains; for that they ought to have such respect to God's people as the good captain hath regard to his soldiers. Therefore likewise are they called the heads; for that, like as the head governeth the whole body, so should they rule and govern the people, as members of their body. Therefore in like are they Psal. cxxxiii. Psal. lxxviii. Josh. i. 1 Pet. ii.

called fathers; for that the people are so in subjection unto them as the child is in obedience under his father.

But chiefly it is required in them, it is chiefly, and above all other things, required in such as are magistrates, that they themselves know God; that they themselves, I say, above all other men, have perfect knowledge of God and his laws; so that the people by that mean may follow him, and they all together may follow God. Therefore, in the book of Deuteronomy, God himself gave [Deut. xvii.] in charge to all such as should become magistrates, saying: "He that is called to bear office, whatever he be that is appointed to be a ruler, shall first write Josh. i. out all this book of my law with his own hand." And again he said: *Non recedet liber iste ab ore tuo:* "This book of mine shall not depart from thy[1] mouth:" this book of mine shall not be out of thy hand. This is God's charge to all them that bear office: this is his charge and commandment given unto them. Therefore that good king David, when God had appointed him to be Psal. cxxxii. king and chief ruler of his people, he said: *Si dedero oculis meis somnum, aut palpebris meis requiem, antequam invenero domum Domino meo, et tabernaculum Deo Jacob:* "If I shall give myself unto sleep, or mine eyelids any rest, before that I find out a house for my God, and a tabernacle for the God of Jacob," &c. As who would say, I will never study mine own matters, I will never go about mine own business, before I have established the matters of my God, 2 Chron. xxix. and the business of the God of Jacob. Therefore in like manner Ezechias, that virtuous king, when he was called by God to bear office, would not go home to his own affairs before he had purged the church of God. Justinian also, that good and godly emperor, was wont to say, that he as much cared for the preservation of God's church, as he did for the safeguard of his own soul. And thus look what care David, the prophet of God, had over God's people; look what care that virtuous king Ezechias had; look what care that good and godly emperor Justinian had; the same and the like ought every good magistrate to have: as David, Ezechias, and Justinian did, so should every good and godly officer do; he must not give himself unto sleep, nor his eyelids unto rest, before he hath provided a temple for the God of Jacob; he must not go home unto his own house before that he hath purged God's church; he must have as great respect to the salvation of God's flock as he hath regard to the safeguard of his own soul; he must remember that his chair is God's chair, that his sword is God's sword. Now, good brethren, it behoveth you of your part to put away all hatred, to abolish from him all pride, dissension, all discord, and to honour the magistrate, to follow you your shepherd as the sheep do their shepherd, to joy in him your captain as the soldiers rejoice in their captain, to be governed by him your head as the members of the body are ruled by the head, and, lastly, so to be in subjection unto him as the child is in obedience and subjection to his father. And so shall there then be both a godly magistrate, so shall there be godly people, and so shall there be a godly realm.

Now let us here think that St Paul speaketh these words unto us, as indeed he speaketh them unto us, if we are, or will be, called Christians: unto us he saith, "Be not high-minded;" unto us he saith, "Be not wise in your own opinions;" unto us he saith, "Recompense no man evil for evil;" unto us he saith, "If it be possible, have peace with all men." O then, why are we of such proud hearts? Why are we high-minded? Why are we wise in our own opinions? Why recompense we evil for evil? Why seek we revengement? Why agree not we together? O by whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you brethren; but, alas! this heart of yours is not brotherly. I would I might call you Christians; but, alas! you are no Christians. I know not by what name I shall call you: for, if you were brethren, you would love as brethren; if you were Christians, you would agree as Christians. Christ said unto his disciples, and so by them to all such as profess his name: John xiii. *Mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis mutuo, sicut et ego dilexi vos:* "I give you a new commandment," said Christ, "that you love together, even as I have loved you." By this token, by this cognisance of mine, shall men know you

[1] My, 1609.]

to be my disciples, if you love together as I have loved you. Let us look well upon ourselves: let us behold ourselves well; alas! this badge, this cognisance is gone; this peace that Christ left unto us is not to be found amongst us. O ye that sometimes were brethren, but now mortal enemies; ye that sometimes ware this badge, this cognisance of Christ's peace, which now ye have cast from you, O how long will you follow vanity, how long will ye dwell in dissension? I have done my part; I have called you to peace, I have called you to love, I have called you to unity: do you now your parts; do you ensue after peace, love you each other, continue ye in unity together. I have not the keys of your hearts, I am not able to loose and open those stony hearts of yours: God make you all one, God mollify your hearts, God make you friends, God grant you to love as brethren together!

Let us lay aside this pride of our heart, let us not be wise in our own opinions, let us not requite evil with evil; let us, as much as may be, have peace with all men. Alas! it is no great thing that I require of you: I require only your love, I require your friendship one towards another; I ask no more, but that your hearts be joined in mutual love and unity together. Alas! it is a thing that soon may be granted of such as pray together, of such as have one heavenly Father, of such as are partakers of Christ's holy sacraments, of such as profess Christ, and will be called Christians.

O how can we pray our heavenly Father to forgive us, if we will not forgive our brother wherein he trespasseth against us? How can we with clear conscience come unto the holy communion, and be partakers of Christ's most holy body and blood, if we are not in charity with our own neighbour? Let us therefore lay aside all discord without hypocrisy; let us lay apart all malice without dissimulation; let us all join together in brotherly love, let us all be of like affection one towards another: but let us not be high-minded, let us make ourselves equal to them of the lower sort. So shall we make our bodies a quick and lively sacrifice; so shall we make them holy and acceptable unto God; so shall we be reconciled unto God, and God reconciled unto us; and, finally, so shall we which are called Christians be known to be God's servants, and such as profess the name of Christ, if we shall be found to have this peace and brotherly love, which is the badge and cognisance of Christ. And so shall God be ours, and remain with us for ever. Amen.

A TREATISE

OF

THE SACRAMENTS.

A TREATISE OF THE SACRAMENTS,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN SERMONS WHICH THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, BISHOP JEWEL, PREACHED AT SALISBURY[1].

I HAVE opened unto you the contents of the Lord's prayer, and shewed you upon whom we ought to call, and what to ask; and the articles of our christian faith, in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of the church, of remission of sins, of the resurrection, and of life everlasting, &c. And I have opened unto you the ten commandments, and in them what our duty is towards God, towards our prince and magistrates, towards our parents, towards our neighbour, and towards ourselves[2]. All this have I done simply and plainly, without all shew of learning, that it might the better sink into our hearts.

Now I think good to speak of the sacraments of the church, that all you may know what they are, because you are all partakers of the holy sacraments. Christ hath ordained them, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts. As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters; so do the sacraments witness unto our conscience that God's promises are true, and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known his secret purpose to his church: first, he declareth his mercy by his word; then he sealeth it and assureth it by his sacraments. In the word we have his promises: in the sacraments we see them.

It would require a long time, if I should utter that might be said in this matter; especially in laying open such errors and abuses as have crept into the church. But I will have regard to this place, and so frame my speech, that the meanest and simplest may reap profit thereby. That you may the better remember it, I will keep this order. I will shew you what a sacrament is; secondly, who hath ordained them; thirdly, wherefore they were ordained, and what they work in us; fourthly, how many there are; and then I will briefly speak of every one[3] of them.

A sacrament is an outward and visible sign, whereby God sealeth up his grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our faith. St Augustine saith: *Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum*[4]: "A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible." And, that we may the better understand him, he telleth us what thing we should call a sign. "A sign is a thing that, besides the sight itself which it offereth to the senses, causeth of itself some other certain thing to come to knowledge[5]." In baptism the water is the sign; and the thing signified is the grace of God. We see the water; but the grace of God is invisible: we cannot see it. Moreover he saith: *[Signa], cum ad*

August. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. i.

Ad Marcell. Epist. 5.

[1] In the edition of 1583 the following copy of verses is prefixed to this treatise:

Ornatissimo viro Thomæ Randolpho armigero serenissimo ad Scotos Legato integerrimo.

Quis te junxit amor docto, Randolphe, Juello,
Oxonia, exilium, musa, laborque notant.
Et, quod ad exequias defuncti ducere plectrum
Triste, Buchananos Patritiosque facis:
(Quis tibi gratus erit pro tali munere?) certe
Auctior hoc studio gratia facta tua est.
Nec nihil ex illo referes. Sacra signa Redemptor,
Essent ut fidei tessera fida, dedit.
Hæc tuus exposuit sancte, tibi dedico: ne sit
Tam raræ et fidei tessera nulla piæ.

Tuæ dignitatis studiosus Johan. Garbrandus.]

[2] These works have never been printed.]

[3] 1583, 1609 omit *one*.]

[4] August. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 32. col. 1926. See before, page 515.]

[5] Id. in eod. ibid. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. II. cap. i. 1. Tom. III. Pars I. col. 19. See before, page 458, note 3.]

res divinas adhibentur, sacramenta vocantur[1]: "Signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments." The signification and the[2] substance of the sacrament is to shew us, how we are washed with the passion of Christ, and how we are fed with the body of Christ. And again: "If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments. And, because of this likeness which they have with the things they represent, they be oftentimes[3] termed by the names of the things themselves. Therefore after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise) the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith[4]."

August. Epist. 23. ad Bonifac.

Who hath ordained the sacraments? Not any prelate, not any prince, not any angel or archangel, but only God himself: for he only hath authority to seal the charter, in whose authority only it is to grant it; and only he giveth the pledge, and confirmeth his grace to us, which giveth his grace into our hearts. Chrysostom saith: *Divinum et integrum non esset mysterium, si quicquam ex te adderes*[5]: "The mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it." In the days of Noah, when God determined to be merciful unto his people, and never to drown the whole world with water, he said: "I have set my bow in the cloud; and it shall be for a sign of the covenant between me and the earth; and when I shall cover the earth with a cloud, and the bow shall be seen in the cloud, then will I remember my covenant which is between me and you, and between every living thing in flesh; and there shall be no more waters of a flood to destroy all flesh."

Hom. 7. in 1 Cor.

Gen. ix.

In like manner, when God would witness and stablish to Abraham and his seed after him the promise of his mercy, he himself ordained a sacrament to confirm the same: "This is my covenant, which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee: let every man-child among you be circumcised." Thus God ordained the sacrament of circumcision. This sacrament was a seal of God's promise to Abraham, and a seal of Abraham's faith and obedience towards God. By this sacrament was man bound[6] to the Lord; and by the same sacrament God vouchsafed to bind himself to man. But how is the sacrament formed? of what parts is it made? Augustine saith: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[7]: "Join the word of Christ's institution with the sensible creature, and thereof is made a sacrament." Join the word to the creature of water, and thereof is made the sacrament of baptism: take away the word, then what is the water other than water? The word of God and the creature make a sacrament.

Gen. xvii.

Tract. 80. in xiii. Johan.

But why were sacraments ordained? He telleth you: *In nullum ... nomen religionis, ceu verum, &c.*[8]: "Men cannot be gathered together to the profession of any religion, whether it be true or false, unless they be bound in the fellowship of visible signs or[9] sacraments." The first cause why they were ordained is, that thereby one should acknowledge another, as fellows of one household, and members of one body. So was all Israel reckoned the children of Abraham, because of their circumcision; and all such as were uncircumcised were cut off from the people, and had no part in the commonwealth of Israel, because they were uncircumcised: even as we take them that are not baptized to be none of our brethren, to be no children of God, nor members of his church, because they will not take the sacrament of baptism.

Lib. xix. contr. Faust. cap. xi.

---

[1] Id. ad Marcellin. Epist. cxxxviii. 7. Tom. II. col. 412; where *pertinent* and *appellantur*.]

[2] 1583 omits *the*.]

[3] Ofttimes, 1583.]

[4] Id. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503, note 11; 518, note 6.]

[5] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51.]

[6] Man was bound, 1583, 1609.]

[7] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703; where *accedit*.]

[8] In &c. seu falsum, coagulari homines possunt, nisi aliquo signaculorum vel sacramentorum visibilium consortio colligentur.—Id. contr. Faust. Lib. XIX. cap. xi. Tom. VIII. col. 319.]

[9] Of, 1609, 1611.]

Another cause is, to move, instruct, and teach our dull and heavy hearts by sensible creatures; that so our negligence in not heeding or marking the word of God spoken unto us might be amended. For, if any man have the outward seal, and have not the faith thereof sealed within his heart, it availeth him not: he is but an hypocrite and dissembler. So the circumcision of the foreskin of the flesh taught them to mortify their fleshly affections, and to cut off the thoughts and devices of their wicked hearts. Therefore said Stephen to the Jews: "Ye stiff-necked and of uncircumcised hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Ghost." Acts vii.

So, when in baptism our bodies are washed with water, we are taught that our souls are washed in the blood of Christ. The outward washing or sprinkling doth represent the sprinkling and washing which is wrought within us: the water doth signify the blood of Christ. If we were nothing else but soul, he would give us his grace barely and alone, without joining it to any creature, as he doth to his angels: but, seeing our spirit is drowned in our body, and our flesh doth make our understanding dull, therefore we receive his grace by sensible things.

Chrysostom saith: *Aliter ego, et aliter incredulus disponitur. Ille cum, &c.*[10]: "I am otherwise affected than is he which believeth not.... When he heareth of the water of baptism, he thinketh it is nothing else but water; but I see" not the creature only, which mine eyes do see, but also "the cleansing of my soul by the Holy Ghost. He thinketh that my body only is washed: I believe that my soul is thereby made pure and holy; and withal I consider Christ's burial, his resurrection, our sanctification, righteousness, redemption, adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the Spirit. For I judge not of the things I see by my bodily eyes, but by the eyes of my mind." Hom. 7. in 1 Cor.

When one that is unlearned, and cannot read, looketh upon a book, be the book never so true, never so well written, yet, because he knoweth not the letters, and cannot read, he looketh upon it in vain. He may turn over all the leaves, and look upon all, and see nothing; but another that can read, and hath judgment to understand, considereth the whole story, the doughty deeds, grave counsels, discreet answers, examples, promises, threatenings, the very drift and meaning of him that wrote it. So do the faithful receive the fruit and comfort by the sacraments, which the wicked and ungodly neither consider nor receive. Thus do the sacraments lead us and instruct us to behold the secret and unknown mercies of God, and to carry ourselves to the obedience of his will. And this is the other cause why sacraments were ordained.

Thirdly, they are seals and confirmations of God's promise. St Paul saith: "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had when he was uncircumcised." By these we stop the mouth of heretics. For, if they deny that our Lord Jesus Christ was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification; we shew them our sacraments, that they were ordained to put us in remembrance of Christ, and that by the use of them we shew the Lord's death till he come. We tell them these are proofs and signs that Christ suffered death for us on the cross. As Chrysostom saith: "Laying out these mysteries, we stop their mouths[11]." Rom. iv. Chrysost. in Matt. Hom. 83.

What? Are they nothing else but bare and naked signs? God forbid. They are the seals of God, heavenly tokens, and signs of the grace, and righteousness, and mercy given and imputed to us. Circumcision was not a bare sign. "That is not circumcision which is outward in the flesh," saith Paul,... "but the circumcision of the heart." And again: "In Christ ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ." Even so is not baptism any bare sign. *Baptisma ejus*, saith Chrysostom, *etiam passio ejus est*[12]: "Christ's baptism is Christ's passion." They are not bare signs: it were blasphemy so to say. The grace of God doth always work with his sacraments; but we are taught not to seek that grace Rom. ii. Col. ii. Ad Hebr. Hom. 16.

[10 Chrysost. Op. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51. See before, page 466, note 2, and page 515.]

[11 ... μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοὺς ἐπιστομίζομεν.—Id. in Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[12 Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. ix. Hom. xvi. Tom. XII. p. 159. See before, page 518, note 4.]

in the sign, but to assure ourselves, by receiving the sign, that it is given us by the thing signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water, we are not fed to eternal life by the bread and wine, but by the precious blood of our Saviour Christ, that lieth hid in these sacraments.

Serm. de Cœn. Dom.

Bernard saith: *Datur annulus ad investiendum, &c.*[1]: "The fashion is to deliver a ring when seisin and possession of inheritance is given: the ring is a sign of the possession; so that he which hath taken it may say, The ring is nothing: I care not for it: it is the inheritance which I sought for. In like manner, when Christ our Lord drew nigh to his passion, he thought good to give seisin and possession of his grace to his disciples, and that they might receive his invisible grace by some visible sign."

Hom. 35. in Johan.

Chrysostom saith: *In nobis non simplex aqua operatur; sed, cum accepit gratiam Spiritus, abluit omnia peccata*[2]: "Plain or bare water worketh not in us, but when it hath received the grace of the Holy Ghost, it washeth away all our sins."

Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. i. cap. v.

So saith Ambrose also: *Spiritus sanctus descendit, et consecrat aquam:* "The Holy Ghost cometh down, and halloweth the water." And: *Præsentia Trinitatis adest*[3]: "There is the presence of the Trinity." So saith Cyril: *Quemadmodum viribus ignis aqua, &c.*[4]: "As water thoroughly heat with fire burneth as well as the fire; so the waters which wash the body of him that is baptized are changed into divine power by the working of the Holy Ghost."

Cyril. in Johan. Lib. ii. cap. xlii.

Leon. Serm. 5 de Nativ. Dom.

So said Leo, sometimes a bishop of Rome: *Dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri. Virtus enim Altissimi et obumbratio Spiritus sancti, quæ fecit ut Maria pareret Salvatorem, eadem fecit ut regeneret unda credentem*[5]: "Christ hath given like pre-eminence to the water of baptism as he gave to his mother. For that power of the Highest, and that overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which brought to pass that Mary should bring forth the Saviour of the world, hath also brought to pass that the water should bear anew or regenerate him that believeth."

Such opinion had the ancient learned fathers, and such reverend words they used, when they entreated of the sacraments. For it is not man, but God, which worketh by them; yet is it not the creature of bread or water, but the soul of man that receiveth the grace of God. These corruptible creatures need it not: we have need of God's grace. But this is a phrase of speaking. For the power of God, the grace of God, the presence of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the gift of God, are not in the water, but in us. And we were not made because of the sacraments; but the sacraments were ordained for our sake.

Now for the number of sacraments, how many there be; it may seem somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence. For men's judgments herein have swerved very much: some have said there are two; others three; others four; and others that there are seven sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in terms than in the matter. For a sacrament, in the manner of speaking which the church useth, and in the writings of the holy scripture and of ancient fathers, sometimes signifieth properly every such sacrament which Christ hath ordained in the new testament, for which he hath chosen some certain element, and spoken special words to make it a sacrament, and hath annexed thereto the promise of grace: sometimes it is used in a general kind of taking, and so every mystery set down to teach the people, and many things, that indeed and by special property be no sacraments, may nevertheless pass under the general name of a sacrament.

[1 ...datur ad investiendum de hæreditate aliqua, et signum est, ita ut jam dicere possit qui accipit: Annulus non valet quicquam, sed hæreditas est quam quærebam. In hunc itaque modum appropinquans passioni Dominus de gratia sua investire curavit suos, ut invisibilis gratia signo aliquo visibili præstaretur.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cœn. Dom. Serm. 2. Vol. I. Tom. III. col. 890.]

[2 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xxxvi. Tom. VIII. p. 207.]

[3 Non sanat aqua, nisi Spiritus descenderit, et aquam illam consecraverit &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. II. cap. v. 15, 8. Tom. II. col. 352, 3.* See before page 466, note 10.]

[4 ...ὕπερ γὰρ τρόπον τὸ ἐν τοῖς λέβησιν ἐκχεόμενον ὕδωρ ταῖς τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμιλῆσαν ἀκμαῖς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἀναμάττεται, οὕτω διὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐνεργείας τὸ αἰσθητὸν ὕδωρ πρὸς θείαν τινὰ καὶ ἄῤῥητον ἀναστοιχειοῦται δύναμιν.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Evang. Lib. II. cap. i. Tom. IV. p. 147.]

[5 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Nativ. Serm. v. cap. v. col. 52. See before, page 455.]

The sacraments instituted by Christ are only two, the sacrament of baptism, and of our Lord's supper, as the ancient learned fathers have made account of them. St Ambrose, having occasion of purpose to entreat of the sacraments, speaketh but of two. *De sacramentis*, saith he, *quæ accepistis, sermonem adorior*[6]: "I begin to speak of the sacraments which you have received." And yet in his whole treatise, divided into six books, he writeth but of two: his book is extant; if any man doubt this, he may see it. Lib. i. de Sacram. cap. i.

St Augustine reckoneth them to be but two: *Hæc sunt ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta*[7]: "These be the two sacraments of the church." Again he saith: *Quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima, &c.*[8]: "Our Lord and his apostles have delivered unto us a few sacraments instead of many; and the same in doing most easy, in signification most excellent, in observation most reverend; as is the sacrament of baptism and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord." Thus Augustine and Ambrose, unto whom I might also join other ancient fathers, reckon but two sacraments. Let no man then be offended with us for so doing: we do no new thing, but restore the ordinance of Christ, and keep the example of the holy fathers. De Symb. ad Catechum. Lib. iii. cap. ix. de Doct. Christ.

What then? Do we refuse confirmation, penance, orders, and matrimony? Is there no use of these among us? do we not allow them? Yes. For we do confirm, and teach repentance, and minister holy orders, and account matrimony, and so use it, as an honourable state of life. We visit the sick among us, and anoint them with the precious oil of the mercy of God. But we call not these sacraments, because they have not the like institution. Confirmation was not ordained by Christ: penance hath not any outward element joined to the word: the same may be said of orders. And matrimony was not first instituted by Christ; for God ordained it in paradise long before. But in these two we have both the element and the institution. In baptism the element is water; in the Lord's supper bread and wine. Baptism hath the word of institution: "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Matt. xxviii. The Lord's supper in like manner hath the word of institution: "Do this in remembrance of me." Luke xxii. Therefore these two are properly and truly called the sacraments of the church; because in them the element is joined to the word, and they take their ordinance of Christ, and be visible signs of invisible grace.

Now, whatsoever lacketh either of these, it is no sacrament. Therefore are not the other five, which are so reckoned, and make up the number of seven, in due signification and right meaning taken for sacraments. For in such sort as these are called sacraments, that is, because they signify some holy thing, we shall find a great number of things which the godly-learned fathers have called sacraments; and yet, I trow, we must not hold them as sacraments ordained to be kept and continued in the church; for then should there be not seven, but seventeen sacraments.

St Bernard calleth the washing of the apostles' feet a sacrament: *Ablutio pedum sacramentum est quotidianorum peccatorum*[9]: "The washing of feet is the sacrament of daily sins." Serm. de Cœn. Dom. So Leo calleth the cross of Christ a sacrament: *Crux ... Christi, quæ salvandis est impensa fidelibus, et sacramentum est, [et] exemplum*[10]: "The cross of Christ, which was given to save the faithful, is both a sacrament, and also an example." Serm. 2. de Resur. Dom. Tertullian calleth the whole state of christian faith *religionis christianæ sacramentum*[11], "the sacrament of christian religion." Lib. iv. contr. Marcion. St Hilary in divers places saith: *Sacramentum orationis, sacramentum esuritionis,*

[6 Ambros. Op. De Sacram. Lib. i. cap. i. 1. Tom. II. col. 349.]

[7 ...statim manavit sanguis et aqua, quæ sunt ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta. — August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Symb. Serm. ad Catechum. cap. vi. 15. Tom. VI. col. 562. The Benedictine editors doubt whether this discourse be really Augustine's.]

[8 ...quædam, &c. et intellectu augustissima, et observatione castissima, ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina: sicuti est baptismi sacramentum, et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini.—Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. ix. 13. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 49.]

[9 Nam et de remissione quotidianorum minime dubitemus, habemus &c.—Bernard. Op. In Cœn. Dom. Serm. 4. Vol. I. Tom. iii. col. 891. See before, page 225, note 6.]

[10 Leon. Magni Op. De Resur. Dom. Serm. ii. 1. col. 199; where *impensa mortalibus*.]

[11 Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 2. p. 503.]

sacramentum sitis, sacramentum fletus, sacramentum scripturarum[1]; "The sacrament of prayer, the sacrament of fasting, the sacrament of thirst, the sacrament of weeping, the sacrament of the scriptures."

Thus much for the number, that by the institution of Christ there are but two sacraments; as cardinal Bessarion confesseth: *Hæc duo sola sacramenta in evangeliis manifeste tradita legimus*[2]: "We read that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the gospel."

Bessar. de Sacram. Eucnar.

I will now speak briefly of the sacraments in several, and leave all idle and vain questions, and only lay open so much as is needful and profitable for you to know. Baptism, therefore, is our regeneration or new birth, whereby we are born anew in Christ, and are made the sons of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven: it is the[3] sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ. We are all born the children of wrath, and have our part in the offence of Adam. St Paul saith: "By one man sin entered into the world." Augustine saith: *Non dixit, veniet super eum, sed, manet super eum. Respexit originem, &c.*[4]: "Christ said not, it shall come upon him; but, 'it abideth on him:' he had regard to our offspring when he saith, 'The wrath of God abideth on him.' Upon which when the apostle also looked, he said, 'And we ourselves also were sometimes the children of wrath.' That which in Adam was imputed to his offence, and not to be of nature, is now in us, which are come of Adam, become natural." Therefore saith the prophet: "Behold, I was born in iniquity; and in sin hath my mother conceived me." So that we all have cause to cry out and moan with St Paul: "I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Hereof speaketh our Saviour: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." And for this cause, saith he, "except a man be born of the water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

Rom. v.

De Verb. Apost. Serm. 14.

Psal. li.

Rom. vii.

John iii.

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water and the Spirit. They are the heirs of the promise: the covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said to Abraham: "I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God unto thee and to thy seed after thee." Therefore saith the apostle: "If the root be holy, so are the branches." And again: "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife; and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were your children unclean; but now are they holy." When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ that he might touch them, he said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God." And again: "Their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

Gen. xvii.

Rom. xi.

1 Cor. vii.

Mark x.

Matt. xviii.

The kingdom of heaven is of such, saith Christ; not only then of those, but of other like infants which shall be in all times.

As God took the seed of Abraham to be partakers of the covenant which he gave to Abraham; so he appointed that every man-child of eight days old should be circumcised. And "Abraham circumcised his son Isaac when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him." May we think that the promise of God hath an end, so that it reacheth not to our children? Or might the children of the Jews receive the sign of the covenant; and may not the children of the Christians? Whatsoever was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed unto us. We enjoy the same blessings and free privilege of God's favour. St Paul to the Galatians saith: "Know ye that they which are of faith are the children

Gen. xxi.

Gal. iii.

[1] Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. Comm. in Matt. capp. v. 1; xii. 2; xiii. 6; De Trin. Lib. x. 24. cols. 630, 68, 76, 1052. See before, page 225, note 7. See also Comm. in Matt. cap. xxiii. 4. col. 722.]

[2] Bessar. De Sacram. Euchar. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 481.]

[3] A, 1583, 1609.]

[4] Non dixit, &c., cum ait, Ira Dei manet super eum. Quam respiciens et apostolus dixit, Fuimus et nos aliquando natura filii iræ...Ideo quod fuit in Adam culpæ, non naturæ, nobis propagatis factum est jam naturæ.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. Parv. Serm. ccxciv. 14. Tom. V. col. 1190.]

of Abraham." Again: "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs by promise."

Now is the sign of the covenant also changed, and baptism is instead of circumcision; as St Paul declareth, and calleth them circumcised which are baptized. "In whom," meaning Christ, "also ye are circumcised with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ, in that you are buried with him through baptism." Our Saviour giveth charge to his apostles to "baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The apostles baptized not only such as professed their belief, but whole households. "The keeper of the prison was baptized, with all that belonged unto him." So was Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and his household, and the household of Stephanas. Infants are a part of the church of God: they are the sheep of Christ, and belong to his flock: why should they not bear the mark of Christ? They have the promise of salvation: why should they not receive the seal whereby it is confirmed unto them? They are of the fellowship of the faithful: Augustine saith: *Ubi ponis parvulos non baptizatos? profecto in numero credentium*[5]: "Where place you young children which are not yet baptized? Verily in the number of them that believe." Why then should not they be partakers of the sacrament together with the faithful?

Col. ii. Acts xvi. De Verb. Apost. Serm. 1.

And, as the children of the faithful by right ought to be baptized, so such others also as were born of unbelieving parents, and were aliens[6] from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers from the covenant of promise, and had no hope, if they acknowledge the error in which they lived, and seek the forgiveness of their former sins, may well receive this sacrament of their regeneration. So, when they which heard Peter "were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter and the other apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Peter said unto them, Amend your lives, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins." They were buried with Christ by baptism into his death, and made partakers of his blood, and continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship.

Acts ii.

Christ, saith the apostle, "loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word." Again: "According to his mercy he saved us by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." For this cause is baptism called salvation, life, regeneration, the forgiveness of sins, the power of God to resurrection, the image and pledge of resurrection, and the weed of immortality[7]. And yet are not these things wrought by the water; for then what need had we of Christ? what good did his passion? what doth the Holy Ghost work in our hearts? what power or force is left to the word of God?

Eph. v. Tit. iii.

Augustine saith: *Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, ... nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua*[8]*?* "Why doth not Christ say, Now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean? take away the word; and what is water more than water?" It is the covenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. His word declareth his love towards us; and that word is sealed and made good by baptism. Our faith, which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establisheth in us this grace which we receive. As it is said: *Verus baptismus constat non tam, &c.*[9]: "True baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body, as in the faith of the heart: as the doctrine of the apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By faith purifying their hearts;'

Tractat. 80. in Johan.

De Consecr. Dist. 4. Verus.

Acts xv.

[5] Id. ibid. col. 1189; where *non* is omitted.]

[6] Aliants, 1583.]

[7] For the various names given to baptism, see Bingham, Orig. Eccles. Book xi. chap. i.]

[8] August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 703; where *et* for *etiam*.]

[9] Verus, &c. ablutione corporis, quam fide cordis: quemadmodum apostolica doctrina tradidit, dicens, Fide mundans corda eorum; et alibi, Salvos facit baptisma, non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum. — Id. in Lib. Sentent. Prosp. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. iv. can. 150. cols. 2033, 4.]

1 Pet. iii. and in another place: 'Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.'" Therefore Hierome saith: "They that receive not baptism with perfect faith receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not[1]."

In Ezek. cap. xvi.

1 John i. The water wherein we are baptized doth not cleanse the soul; but "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son doth cleanse us from all sin." Not the water, but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing. Hereof saith Cyprian: *Remissio peccatorum, sive per baptismum sive per alia sacramenta donetur, proprie Spiritus sancti est ... Verborum solennitas, &c.*[2]: "The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacraments, do properly appertain to the Holy Ghost. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest by the institution of the apostles, work the visible outward sacrament. But, touching the substance thereof, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it." St Ambrose also saith: *Vidisti fontem, vidisti ... sacerdotem, &c.*[3]: "Thou hast seen the water, thou hast seen the priest, thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with[4] such sight as man hath; but those things which work and do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen."

Cypr. de Bapt. Christ.

Lib. i. de Sacram. cap. iii.

Such a change is made in the sacrament of baptism. Through the power of God's working the water is turned into blood. They that be washed in it receive the remission of sins: their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing; but, by the working of God's Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ are thereby assured unto us.

A figure hereof was given at the Red Sea: the children of Israel passed through in safety; but Pharao and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was given in the ark: the whole world was drowned, but Noah and his family were saved alive. Even so in the fountain of baptism our spiritual Pharao the devil is choked: his army, that is, our sins, are drowned, and we saved. The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence and vanities; and we abide safe in the ark. God hath chosen us to be a peculiar people to himself: we walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit; therefore we are in Christ Jesus; and there is now no condemnation unto us.

Now, touching the minister of this sacrament, whether he be a good man or an evil man, godly or godless, an heretic or a catholic, an idolater or a true worshipper of God; the effect is all one, the value or worthiness of the sacrament dependeth not of man, but of God. Man pronounceth the word; but God settleth our hearts with grace: man toucheth or washeth us with water; but God maketh us clean by the cross of Christ. It is not the minister, but Christ himself, which is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."

Again, whether the infant be signed with the sign of the cross, or be put into the water once or thrice; whether one, or two, or three, or more be godfathers or witnesses of the baptism, it maketh nothing to the virtue of the sacrament: they are no part thereof; without these baptism is whole and perfect. Hereof Gregory saith: *In una fide nihil officit consuetudo ecclesiæ diversa*[5]: "The faith being one, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing." Christ left no order for the use of these things, neither did by his word or example require them. The church of God hath liberty to dispose herein as may be most fitting for decency and godliness.

Gregor. Lib. i. Epist. 41.

[1 ...qui non plena fide accipiunt baptismum salutare. De quibus dicendum est, quod acceperint aquam, sed non acceperint Spiritum.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. iv. in Ezek. Proph. cap. xvi. Tom. III. col. 784.]

[2 ...remissio, &c. et sacri invocatio nominis, et signa institutionibus apostolicis sacerdotum ministeriis attributa, visibile celebrant sacramentum: rem vero ipsam Spiritus sanctus format et efficit.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Bapt. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 30.]

[3 Vidisti, &c.... Vidisti quæ videre potuisti oculis tui corporis et humanis conspectibus: non vidisti illa quæ operantur; quia non videntur.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. i. cap. iii. 9, 10. Tom. II. col. 351.]

[4 By, 1583.]

[5 Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. i. Indict. ix. Ad Leandr. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 532; where *sanctæ ecclesiæ consuetudo.*]

Some make doubt of those infants, the children of the faithful, which depart before baptism, whether they be saved or not. What, shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the judgments of God: his mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret. He sheweth mercy unto those upon whom he will have mercy. Who can appoint him or set him an order what he shall do? It is not good, nor standeth with christian reverence, to be contentious and busy in searching out or reasoning of matters which the wisdom of God hath hid from our knowledge.

Yet, if any would fain be resolved, he may thus safely reason. It is true that children are born in sin, and that by the sin of one man death hath entered into the world, and that the reward of sin is death; but who knoweth if God hath[6] forgiven them their sin? Who is his counsellor, who knoweth his meaning? Our children are the children of God. He is our God, and the God of our seed. They be under the covenant with us. The soberest way is to speak least, and to leave them to the judgment and mercy of God.

Howbeit, if any should despise and of wilfulness refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would in no case be baptized, or suffer their children to be baptized, that were damnable. Otherwise the grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the sacrament, that, if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. For many have suffered death for God's cause, for their faith in Christ, who never were baptized; yet are they reckoned, and are indeed, blessed martyrs. So Valentinianus, a christian emperor, died without baptism; yet doth Ambrose commend him, and nothing doubteth but that he is saved. He saith: *Audivi vos dolere, quod non acceperit, &c.*[7]: "I have heard that you are grieved, because he took not the sacrament of baptism. Tell me, what other thing is there in us but our will and our desire?" Again: "He which was endued with thy Spirit, O God, how might it be that he should be void of thy grace? Or, if this move you, because the mysteries were not solemnly ministered; are not the martyrs crowned if they be only novices (that be not yet christened)? But, if they be washed in their blood, then is he also washed in his godliness and in his desire[8]." St Augustine saith: "He is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing that the sacrament signifieth[9]."

Orat. de Obit. Valentin.

In Serm. ad Infant.

Constantinus the great was the first christian emperor, yet was not baptized until the time of his death. *Qui, cum Nicomediæ ageret,* saith Theodoretus, *languore gravatus, nec ignorans vitæ hujus incertum, gratiam . . . baptismatis est adeptus*[10]: "Who, when he was at Nicomedia, being grievously sick, and knowing the uncertainty of this life, was baptized." The thief upon the cross was not baptized; yet Christ said unto him, "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." The prophet Jeremy and John Baptist were sanctified in their mothers' wombs. By these few it may appear that the sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seal and assurance unto all that receive it of the grace of God, unless they make themselves unworthy thereof; and that no man may despise this holy ordinance, and keep back his infants from baptism, for in so doing he procureth his own damnation. In time of ignorance many could see this, and acknowledge it, that the outward baptism by water was not necessary unto salvation, so that the children or others that died without[11] were for lack thereof damned. The church hath always received three sorts of baptism; the baptism of the Spirit, or of blood, or of water: if any were

Hist. Tripart. Lib. iii. cap. xii.

[6 Have, 1583, 1609.]

[7 Sed audio vos dolere, quod non acceperit sacramenta baptismatis. Dicite mihi, quid aliud in nobis est, nisi voluntas, nisi petitio?—Ambros. Op. Par. De Ob. Valent. Cons. 51. Tom. II. col. 1188.]

[8 Qui habuit Spiritum tuum, quomodo non accepit gratiam tuam? Aut si, quia solemniter non sunt celebrata mysteria, hoc movet: ergo nec martyres, si catechumeni fuerint, coronentur; non enim coronantur, si non initiantur. Quod si suo abluuntur sanguine, et hunc sua pietas abluit et voluntas.—Id. ibid. 52, 3. ibid.]

[9 Sacramenti quippe illius participatione ac beneficio non privatur, quando ipse hoc quod illud sacramentum significat, invenitur.—Fulgent. Op. Par. 1623. Serm. S. August. ad Infant. col. 587. See before, page 132, note 2.]

[10 Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. III. cap. xii. fol. F. 2; where *degeret.* Conf. Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. I. cap. xxxii. p. 65.]

[11 Without it, 1583, 1609.]

prevented by death, or hindered by cruelty or persecution, so that they could not receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of the minister, yet, having the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, or making their faith known by their suffering, they were born anew and baptized. God hath his purpose in us and our children. Before we be born, when we[1] had done neither good nor evil, he hath mercy and compassion on us. Judgment appertaineth unto God. He knoweth who are his. No man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God only.

And thus much of the sacrament of baptism, which is the badge and cognisance of every Christian. If any be not baptized, but lacketh the mark of God's fold, we cannot discern him to be one of the flock. If any take not the seal of regeneration, we cannot say he is born the child of God. This is the ordinary way: let us use it; let us not despise nor foreslow to receive the sacraments: they are the means by which God maketh sure his good-will towards us.

It shall not be amiss to speak a word or two of the naming of your children. Some are herein overseen: they refuse to call their children by the names of holy men and women, because they think it to savour somewhat too much of religion; and therefore either they name them at adventure, having no regard at all how they be named, or else they give them the names of heathen men, and call them Julius, Cæsar, Hercules, Lucretia, Scipio, or such-like. These, although they were notable in wisdom, learning, chastity, boldness, and in conquests; yet were they heathen men, and knew not God. The name is nothing, it commendeth us not to God: yet may a christian father be ashamed to call his child by the name of such who were enemies to the cross of Christ.

Hom. 21. in Gen.

Chrysostom, a godly father, saith: *Non solum hic parentum monstratur pietas, sed et magna erga pueros diligentia, &c.*[2]: "In this thing," that is, in the naming of their children, "both the godliness of the parents, and also their great care for their children, is declared; and how have they forthwith and from the beginning taught the children which were born unto them, giving them warning, by the names wherewith they call them, that they should practise virtue. They did not give names at adventure and without reason, as is used now-a-days. For now men say, Let the child be called after the name of his grandfather or great-grandfather; but our old fathers did not so. They took all heed to call their children by such names which should not only provoke them to virtue which carried the names, but should teach all others much wisdom, whosoever should remain many years after them." Again he saith: "See how great understanding they of old time had, that even the women named not their children rashly or by chance, but called them by names that foreshewed such things as might happen after[3]." And of Lea, Jacob's wife, he maketh a special commendation: *Vidisti quomodo non simpliciter neque temere nomina natis indiderit: vocavit eum Simeon, quoniam audivit (inquit) Dominus*[4]: "See how she nameth not her children simply, nor at adventure: she called him Simeon; because, saith she, the Lord hath heard." Therefore he saith: *Igitur nos ne vulgaria nomina pueris indamus, neque avorum, &c.*[5]: "Let not us therefore give names unto our children that are common

Hom. 51. in Gen.

Hom. 56. in Gen.

Hom. 21. in Gen.

[1 He, 1609, 1611.]

[2 Οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῶν γονέων ἐντεῦθεν δείκνυται τὸ φιλόθεον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλεια· καὶ ὅπως ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευον τὰ τικτόμενα παιδία διὰ τῆς προσηγορίας, ἣν αὐτοῖς ἐπετίθεσαν, τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, καὶ οὐ καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ἁπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, τὰς προσηγορίας ποιοῦνται. εἰς τὸ ὄνομά, φησι, τοῦ πάππου καὶ τοῦ ἐππάππου καλείσθω τὸ παιδίον. ἀλλ' οἱ παλαιοὶ οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο τοιαύτας προσηγορίας ἐπιτιθέναι τοῖς τικτομένοις, αἳ μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς τὴν προσηγορίαν δεχομένους εἰς ἀρετὴν ἐνῆγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεαῖς διδασκαλία φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης ἐγίνοντο.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. iv. Genes. Hom. xxi. Tom. IV. p. 185.]

[3 Σκόπει πόση τῶν παλαιῶν ἦν ἡ σύνεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ πόση τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σοφία, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας παρασκευάζειν μὴ ἁπλῶς μηδὲ ὡς ἔτυχε τὰς προσηγορίας τοῖς τεχθεῖσιν ἐπιτιθέναι, ἀλλ' ἐναποτίθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ παιδίου προσηγορίᾳ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι τὴν προαναφώνησιν.—Id. ibid. in cap. xxvi. Hom. li. p. 500.]

[4 Εἶδες πῶς οὐχ ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐδὲ τὰς ὀνομασίας τοῖς τικτομένοις ἐπετίθει. ἐκάλεσε γὰρ αὐτὸν Συμεών, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσε Κύριος.—Id. ibid. in cap. xxix. Hom. lvi. p. 544.]

[5 Μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ἡμεῖς τὰς τυχούσας προσηγορίας ἐπιτιθῶμεν τοῖς παισίν, μηδὲ τῶν πάππων, καὶ τῶν ἐππάππων, καὶ τῶν πρὸς γένος διαφερόντων τὰς ὀνομασίας αὐτοῖς χαριζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐν ἀρετῇ διαλαμψάντων, τῶν πολλὴν παῤῥησίαν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐσχηκότων.—Id. ibid. in cap. iv. Hom. xxi. p. 185.]

names, or because they were the names of our grandfathers, or great-grandfathers, or of such who have been famous for their parentage; but rather let us call them by the names of such as have excelled in virtue, and have been most faithful towards God." Let them carry the names of the apostles, of the prophets, of the martyrs, of such who have been constant in the faith, and have suffered death for Christ's sake; that so they may be taught by their name to remember whose name they bear, and that they neither speak nor do any thing unworthy of their name.

As, if any be called John, that he pray for grace, and desire to be filled with grace; that he give witness of Christ, that he is "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world;" that he rebuke vice boldly, as John did in Herod, though he were a mighty prince. Or, if he be called Paul, that he so become a follower of Paul, as Paul was of Christ; and say with Paul, "That I might live unto God, I am crucified with Christ. Thus I live; yet not I now, but Christ liveth in me;" and hear Christ speaking unto him as did Paul, and fall down and say, "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" So let him that is called Thomas touch the bosom of Christ, and handle his wounds, and make a good confession as Thomas did, and say, "My Lord and my God." Let Matthew forsake his custom, even the deceitful gains of the world, and follow Christ. Let Daniel remember Daniel, and, though he should be thrown into the den of lions, or be burnt in the fire, or suffer any cruel torments, yet let him not therefore forsake God, but put his whole trust in him.

Gal. ii.

Acts ix.

Thus should our names teach us, that, whether we write them, or utter them, or hear them spoken, they may put us in mind of christian duty and godliness.

The other sacrament of Christ's church is the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, which some have called the sacrament of the altar, some the sacrament of the holy table, some the sacrament of bread and wine; but we most properly may call it the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. And that we wander not at large, but may stand in certain ground, I will expound those words of our Saviour, "This is my body;" and, "This is my blood of the new testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins."

Matt. xxvi.

This matter, these two or three hundred years late past, hath been encumbered with many questions and much controversy. Some say, the words are plain: Christ himself spake them: he is almighty, and can do whatsoever he will: he hath not spoken otherwise than he meant: if we expound them by signs and figures, we take away the force of the holy mystery, and make nothing of it: the words must be taken even as they lie, they must not have any other construction. Therefore at this day many wise men, which yield from other points of superstition, and in many other things receive the truth, stand here, and stick at this, and cannot yield.

I will declare the whole matter simply and plainly, and submit myself to the understanding and capacity of all men. That which I will utter herein shall not be of myself, but of the fathers of the church; not of those which have been of later years, but of the most ancient; not of the heretics, but of the most catholic, which ever have been the enemies and confounders of heretics. I will shew the use, and order, and faith of the primitive church which was in the times of the apostles, and of Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Nazianzene, Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and other[6] catholic and godly-learned fathers. Let no man regard me or my speech: I am only a finger: these are clear and bright stars. I do but shew them unto you, and point them, that you may behold them. God give us grace that we may see them truly, and by them be able to guide and to direct our way! Let us lay aside all contention, and quietly hear that shall be spoken. Whatsoever shall be said, if it be true, if it be ancient, if it be catholic, if it be so clear as the sun-beams, let us humble our hearts and believe it. There is no truth but of God. Whosoever resisteth the truth resisteth God.

First, I will shew you, that we do truly and indeed eat the body of Christ,

[6 Others, 1583.]

and drink his blood. And this shall be the foundation and key of entrance into all the rest.

Secondly, I will open these words, "This is my body;" and there how, by what sort, in what sense and meaning, the bread is the body of Christ.

Thirdly, that the bread abideth still in former nature and substance as before; even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in baptism.

Fourthly, how the body of Christ is eaten; whether by faith or with the mouth of our body; and how the body of Christ is present in the sacrament.

Fifthly, what difference is between the body of Christ and the sacrament of the body of Christ.

Sixthly, how we ought to prepare our minds, and with what faith and devotion we must come to the receiving thereof.

We say and believe that we receive the body and blood of Christ truly, and not a figure or sign; but even that body which suffered death on the cross, and
John vi. that blood which was shed for the forgiveness of sins. So saith Christ: "My flesh is meat indeed; and my blood is drink indeed." And again: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And again: "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me." We say there is no other substantial food of our souls; and that he is divided among all the faithful; and that he is void of salvation and the grace of Christ, whosoever is not partaker of his body and blood. This we say, and may not flee from it hereafter.

Yet, lest happily any should be deceived, we say this meat is spiritual, and therefore it must be eaten by faith, and not with the mouth of our body.
Tractat. 25. in Johan. Augustine saith: *Ut quid paras dentes et ventrem? crede, et manducasti*[1]: "Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly?. believe, and thou hast eaten." And
Serm. 23. in Luc. again: *Nolite fauces parare, sed cor*[2]: "Prepare not your jaws, but your heart." As material bread nourisheth our body, so doth the body of Christ nourish our
Confess. Lib. i. soul, and is therefore called bread. *Deus panis intus est animæ meæ*[3], saith Augustine: "God is the inward bread of my soul." For we receive him, and eat him, and live by him. But hereof hereafter more at large.

Now, let us consider the words of Christ, "This is my body;" and, "This is my blood." These words, you say, are plain, open, easy, and manifest. So are they; yet, albeit they are plain, they must have a right construction. The plainest words that be, unless they be duly expounded, may breed error. St John saith:
John i. "The Word was made flesh." These words are plain; yet of these plain words
John xiv. Apollinaris did breed an heresy. Christ saith: "My Father is greater than I." His words are plain; yet did the Arians gather thereof an heresy, that Christ is
Matt. xi.[5] not equal with his Father. Christ saith of John Baptist[4]: "This is Elias, which was to come." He saith not, He doth signify Elias; but, He is Elias. The words are plain; yet were there some that stood in the maintenance of their error thereby, and said, that the soul of Elias did abide in John Baptist. Christ
Matt. xviii. saith: "If thine eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out, and cast[6] it from thee." And: "If thy hand or foot cause thee to offend, cut them off, and cast them from thee." The words are plain; yet he meaneth not that you should pick out your eyes out of your head, nor chop off your hands or feet from your body.
Matt. iii. John saith of Christ: "He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." These words are plain; yet hereof some raised this error, that children at the time of their baptism should be marked in the forehead with a hot burning iron.
2 Cor. v. St Paul saith: "He hath made him to be sin for us, which knew no sin." The words are plain; yet Christ never sinned: he is the Lamb of God, in whom there
Matt. xix. is no spot. He is hereby said to be the sacrifice for sin. Christ saith: "They two shall be one flesh." And: "They are no more two, but one flesh." These words are plain; yet, if you try the words by common sense, it is not so; they are
Matt. v. not one, but two of several flesh. Christ saith: "You are the salt of the earth:

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489.]

[2 Id. Serm. cxii. 5. Tom. V. col. 566; where *noli parare*.]

[3 Id. Confess. Lib. I. cap. xiii. 21. Tom. I. col. 77. See before, page 768, note 2.]

[4 John the Baptist, 1583.]

[5 1583 repeats this reference.]

[6 1611 repeats this word.]

you are the light of world[7]." The words are plain; yet, indeed, the apostles were neither material light nor material salt. Christ said of Judas: "One of you is a devil." The words are plain; yet Judas in nature and substance was not a devil. John vi.

St Paul saith of Melchisedech: "He was without father, and without mother, without kindred, and hath neither beginning of his days, neither end of his life." These words are plain; yet indeed he had father and mother, and was a man, and was born, and died as other men. So he saith: "The rock was Christ." So Moses saith: "The life of all flesh is his blood." And so is Christ called a lamb, a lion, a worm, a way, a bridegroom, a head, a door, a vine, the light, bread, water, a garment. These speeches, and infinite others the like, are plain, open, and evident; yet are they not true, as the words sound them, and literally. For Christ is not a lamb in substance and nature, but a spiritual lamb. So is he a spiritual garment, spiritual light, spiritual water, and spiritual bread. Heb. vii. 1 Cor. x. Lev. xvii.

Christ said to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." These words are plain; yet Nicodemus mistook them, and was deceived, and said: "How can a man be born that is old? can he enter into his mother's womb again, and be born?" Christ meant the spiritual birth of the soul and the spirit, not the natural and corporal birth of the body. John iii.

And, to come nearer to the matter in hand, when Christ said, "I am the bread which is come down from heaven;" and, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you;" and, "My flesh is meat indeed;" and, "My blood is drink indeed;" "He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever;" the Capernaites thought these words plain enough: therefore they say, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? This is an hard saying: who can hear it?" And they departed away from him. Then said Jesus: "The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life." Upon occasion hereof St Augustine writeth thus: *Spiritualiter intelligite quod loquutus sum [vobis]. Non hoc corpus, &c.*[8]: "Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken unto you. Ye shall not eat this body that ye see, neither shall ye drink that blood that they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament: being spiritually understood, it will give you life." Even so Chrysostom: "What is it that he saith, The flesh profiteth nothing? He speaketh it not of flesh indeed; God forbid; but of such which take the things carnally that are spoken. And what is it to understand carnally? Even to take things simply as they be spoken, and to seek no further meaning. For the things which are seen are not so to be judged of; but all mysteries should be considered with inward eyes, that is, spiritually[9]." John vi. In Psal. xcviii. In vi. Johan. Hom. 46.

Again upon these words, "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever;" he saith: *Panem vero sive doctrinam hoc in loco et salutem et fidem in se, sive corpus suum dicit: utrumque enim animam fortiorem reddit*[10]: "He calleth bread, in this place, either doctrine and salvation and faith in him, or else his body; for either of these maketh the soul stronger." St Paul saith: "He that eateth or drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation." Damnation is a spiritual thing, which is not received in by the mouth, or broken with the teeth. So Christ saith: "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." Yet now is not his blood shed any more; for he is risen, and dieth not. Ibid. 1 Cor. xi. Luke xxii.

And these words which are so plain, if they be examined, will not be so plain to yield the sense unto which they are forced. It is written: "He took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body." This bread is my body. The bread was still bread, and neither flesh nor his body. And, "This cup is the new testament." In due and right and Ibid.

---

[7] Of the world, 1583, 1609.]

[8] August. Op. In Psalm. xcviii. Enarr. 9. Tom. IV. col. 1066. See before, page 451, note 8.]

[9] Καὶ πῶς εἶπεν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν; οὐ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σαρκὸς λέγων· μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν σαρκικῶς ἐκλαμβανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα. τί δέ ἐστι τὸ σαρκικῶς νοῆσαι; τὸ ἁπλῶς εἰς τὰ προκείμενα ὁρᾶν, καὶ μὴ πλέον τι φαντάζεσθαι. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι σαρκικῶς. χρὴ δὲ μὴ οὕτω κρίνειν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μυστήρια τοῖς ἔνδον ὀφθαλμοῖς κατοπτεύειν· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι πνευματικῶς.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Joan. Hom. xlvii. Tom. VIII. p. 278.]

[10] Id. ibid. Hom. xlvi. p. 270.]

open meaning, the cup cannot be the new testament. Here we see how the words are not all so plain, but must have a reasonable construction. It is a rule in the law: *In fraudem [legis facit],... qui, verbis legis salvis, sententiam ejus circumvenit*[1]: "He doth wrong to the law, that, following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the law."

De LL. et Senatusc. et Lon. Con. contr.

Origen saith: *Est et in novo testamento litera, quæ occidit eum, &c.*[2]: "There is also in the new testament a letter which killeth him that doth not spiritually understand those things which are spoken. For if he follow this after the letter, where it is said, 'Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood,' this letter killeth." Mark, if ye take the word of Christ barely and nakedly, and as the letter soundeth, it killeth. St Augustine saith: *In allegoria omni hæc regula tenenda est, ut pro sententia præsentis loci consideretur, quod per similitudinem dicitur*[3]: "This rule is to be kept in every allegory, that what is spoken by similitude be weighed by the meaning of the present place." Hierome saith: *Non in verbis scripturarum est evangelium, sed in sensu:* "The gospel is not in the words of scriptures, but in the meaning." And: *Non in superficie, sed in medulla; non in sermonum foliis, sed in radice rationis*[4]: "It is not in the outward shew, but in the inner marrow; not in the leaves of words, but in the root of reason." When Christ said, "Destroy this temple; and in three days I will raise it up again;" the Jews, following the bare letter, did bear false witness against him, saying, "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands."

Hom. 7. in Lev.

August. in Psal. viii.

Hieron. in i. Gal.

John ii.

Mark xiv.

We may not take the letter in all places of the scripture as it lieth. The scriptures stand not in the reading, but in the understanding. By taking the bare letter, the Jews found matter to put Christ to death. Origen saith: "There is a letter in the new testament which killeth." Jerome saith: "The gospel is not in the words of the scripture, nor in the outward shew, nor in the leaves; but in the meaning, in the marrow, and in the root, which are hid, and not open and manifest." So that they may not be taken by the bare sound, but must have some other construction.

But what shall be the construction of these words, "This is my body?" Whose interpretation or judgment of them shall stand? The learned men which have been of late years, and which yet live, are suspected. Let us hear the elder ancient fathers, whom there is no cause that any should suspect: they were not sacramentaries, nor Zuinglians, nor Lutherans: they were not divided into any of these sects.

Tertullian, an ancient father, who lived more than 1300[5] years since, expoundeth them thus: *Acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, dicendo, Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non esset, nisi veritatis esset corpus. Ceterum vacua res, quæ est phantasma figuram capere non potest*[6]: "Christ, taking the bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body;' that is to say, this is a figure of my body. But a figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as is a fantasy, can receive no figure." Chrysostom saith: *Si mortuus Christus non est, cujus symbolum ac signum hoc sacramentum est*[7]? "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrament?" Again: "The very body of Christ itself is not in the holy vessels; but the mystery or sacrament thereof is there contained[8]."

Lib. iv. contr. Marcion.

Hom. 83. in Matt.

Hom. 11. in Matt.

Augustine, against the heretic Adimantus, writeth: *Non... dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum signum daret corporis sui*[9]: "Our Lord doubted

August. contr. Adim. cap. xii.

---

[1] Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. i. Tit. iii. 29. Tom. I. p. 78. See before, page 792.]

[2] Est &c. occidat eum, qui non spiritaliter quæ dicuntur adverterunt. Si &c.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Levit. Hom. vii. Tom. II. p 225. See before, page 456, note 3.]

[3] Et hæc regula in omni allegoria retinenda est, ut, &c.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. viii. Enarr. 13. Tom. IV. col. 45.]

[4] Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 230, 1; where *nec* and *esse*.] [5] 1500, 1611.]

[6] Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 40. p. 571. See before, page 258, note 5.]

[7] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. lxxxii. Tom. VII. p. 783.]

[8] Id. Op. Imperf. in Matt. Hom. xi. Tom. VI. p. lxiii. See before, page 539, note 7.]

[9] August. Op. Lib. contr. Adimant. cap. xii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 124. See before, page 592, note 6.]

not to say, This is my body, when he gave a token of his body." And in another place: "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave unto his disciples the figure of his body[10]." St Hierome saith: "Christ represented the verity of his body[11]." August. in Psal. iii. In Matt. cap. xxvi.

St Ambrose saith: "Before consecration it is called another kind; after consecration the body of Christ is signified[12]." And again: "In eating and drinking," that is, in receiving the holy communion, "we signify the body and blood of Christ that was offered for us[13]." So also Gelasius saith: *Imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis ... in actione mysteriorum celebratur*[14]: "The image and similitude of his body and blood is shewed in the action of the mysteries." De iis qui init. cap. ix. Ambros. 1 Cor. xi. Gelas. contr. Eutych

It would be over long to lay forth unto you what other reverend old fathers have written to like effect, and have expounded those words of Christ by such terms as you have heard, of sign, figure, token, image, and likeness. I trust no man be offended: these speeches are not mine own, but the speeches of most ancient fathers, and have been spoken or written, and continued in the church these 1200, 1300, and well-near 1400 years, and never condemned in them as false; though many of late times have sought otherwise to understand the words of Christ. The gloss upon the canons joineth herein with the fathers: *Dicitur corpus Christi, sed improprie: ... ut sit sensus, Vocatur corpus Christi, &c.*[15]: "It is called the body of Christ, but unproperly: the meaning thereof may be this, it is called Christ's body, that is to say, it signifieth Christ's body." De Consecr. Dist. 2.

Therefore doth St Augustine give us good and wholesome advertisements. Thus he writeth to Bonifacius: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things of which they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments. And of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves that are represented by the sacraments[16]." And again: "In sacraments we must consider, not what they be" in substance and nature, "but what they signify[17]." Again he saith: "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the sign instead of the thing that is signified[18]." And again: "If it be a speech that commandeth, either by forbidding an horrible wickedness or requiring that which is profitable, it is not figurative; but, if it seem to require horrible wickedness, and to forbid that is good and profitable, it is spoken figuratively. 'Except ye eat,' saith Christ, 'the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' He seemeth to require the doing of that which is horrible, or most wicked: it is a figure therefore, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us[19]." In another place he saith: "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh than to kill it, and to drink man's blood than it is to shed it[20]." Again he saith: "We must beware that we take not a figurative speech according to the letter; for thereto it pertaineth" that the apostle saith, "'The letter killeth'[21]." Besides that which hath been shewed you out of the godly-learned old fathers, how they have expounded these words, whosoever will advisedly consider these principal sentences, or rather rules, of St Augustine, shall be holpen much, and directed to the due and catholic construction and meaning of them. August. ad Bonif. Epist. 23. Lib. iii. contr. Maxim. Lib. iii. cap. v. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. de Doctr. Christ. Lib. ii. cap. ix. contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. Lib. iii. cap. v. de Doctr. Christ.

The next matter, and the third of the six, is, whether the bread and wine

---

[10] Id. Enarr. in Psalm. iii. 1. Tom. IV. col. 7. See before, page 447.]

[11] Hieron. Op. Comm. Lib. iv. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 128. See before, page 609, note 15.]

[12] Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Myst. cap. ix. 54. Tom. II. col. 339. See before, page 448.]

[13] Id. Comm. in Epist. ad Cor. i. cap. xi. v. 26. Tom. II. Append. col. 149. See before, page 570, note 3.]

[14] Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars iii. p. 671; where *celebrantur*.]

[15] Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. Gloss. in can. 48. col. 1937. See before, page 503, note 13.]

[16] August. Op. Ad Bonifac. Epist. xcviii. 9. Tom. II. col. 267. See before, page 503, note 11; page 1100, note 3.]

[17] Id. Contr. Max. Arian. Lib. ii. cap. xxii. 3. Tom. VIII. col. 725. See before, page 467, note 21.]

[18] Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 47. See before, page 448.]

[19] Id. ibid. Lib. iii. cap. xvi. 24. cols. 51, 2. See before, page 622, note 4; 624, note 4.]

[20] Id. Contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph. Lib. ii. cap. ix. 33. Tom. VIII. col. 599. See before, page 623, note 6.]

[21] Id. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. v. 9. Tom. III. Pars i. col. 47. See before, page 594, note 2.]

abide still in former nature and substance as before, even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the sacrament of baptism. There are some that say, by virtue of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, the bread is changed into the body of Christ; that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining but only accidents, that is, a shew, and appearance, and likeness of bread. They say, it seemeth to be the same it was, but it is changed: it seemeth to be bread, but it is not bread; and the wine by the taste and colour seemeth to be wine, but it is not wine. They say, we may not believe our eye-sight, nor stand to the judgment of our senses. They say, Christ is almighty: he spake the word; and all things were made: he hath said, *Hoc est corpus meum;* therefore it is now no more bread, but his body; and that this is the faith of the church in which we were born and christened.

Indeed, this hath lately been received as a matter of faith. But, if we examine it well, we shall find it to be an error, and no point of faith. I say, it hath been received of late; for our old fathers never believed it, as I will declare and prove, and let you see that it hath not been the catholic faith, nor the faith of primitive[1] church, nor of the apostles of Christ, therefore[2] no faith at all. The opening of this matter will be somewhat dark, and wherewith you have not been acquainted: but give me your attendance, lend me your senses; and I trust by the grace of God I shall make it plain.

They say, the bread is changed and done away utterly; and that it is no bread, though it seem to be bread; that in this case we may not trust our eyes, but lean to faith. Mark, I say, they tell us that the bread remaineth not; and, for trial hereof, they require us not to lean to any other thing than faith. We will then close and shut up our senses, and hearken what Christ, what St Paul, what the holy fathers of the church, who are best able to instruct our faith, have spoken.

1 Cor. xi. St Paul to the Corinthians, in one piece of a chapter, calleth it "bread" four times. Read the place, ye shall find it so, in the eleventh of the first epistle: "The Lord Jesus, in the night that he was betrayed, took bread." And: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come." Again: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And again: "Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup." They say it is not bread; but Paul saith, and so many times saith, it is bread. And of the wine Christ said, after he had given Matt. xxvi. thanks, and it was consecrate, and after his supper: "I will not drink of this fruit of the vine henceforth, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." The fruit of the vine is[3] wine; therefore the self-same fruit of the vine, the self-same wine, in substance did abide still after consecration as before.

De Fid. ad Pet. cap. xix. St Augustine calleth this holy mystery *sacramentum panis et vini*[4], "the sacrament of bread and wine." Justinus Martyr saith: *Diaconi distribuunt unicuique præsentium de pane in quo gratiæ actæ sunt; et de vino et aqua ad eos qui non sunt præsentes deferunt*[5]: "The deacons divide unto every one of them that are present part of that bread over which thanks were given; and they carry of In Coll. cum Tryph. the wine and water to such as are not present." Again he saith: *Alimento humido et sicco admonemur, quæ propter nos Deus Dei Filius perpessus sit*[6]: "By dry and moist food," whereby he meaneth the sacrament, "we are taught what things God the Son of God hath suffered for us." What meant he by dry food, but bread? or by moist food, but wine? It cannot be avoided, but that he thought that bread and wine remain after the consecration. He lived 1400 years Ignat. ad Philad. since. And before him Ignatius: *Unus panis omnibus fractus*[7]: "It is one bread which is broken for all." So Irenæus, who also lived 1400 years since,

[1 Of the primitive, 1583.]
[2 And therefore, 1583.]
[3 In, 1611.]
[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Fid. ad Petr. (Fulgent.) cap. xix. 62. Tom. VI. Append. col. 30; where *sacrificium*.]
[5 Just. Mart. Op. Par. 1742. Apol. i. p. 83. See before, page 17.]
[6 Id. Dial. cum Tryph. Jud. 117. p. 210.]
[7 Ignat. ad Philad. cap. iv. in Patr. Apostol. Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 378. Conf. Epist. Interp. in Coteler. Patr. Apostol. Amst. 1724. Tom. II. p. 77.]

saith: *Eum calicem, qui est creatura, &c.*[8]: "He made that cup, which is a creature, his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. Therefore, when the cup of mixture, and the bread which is broken, receiveth the word, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is increased and nourished." He saith, after consecration it is a creature, and such a creature as nourisheth the substance of our flesh. Adv. Hæres. Lib. v.

Origen, who lived well-nigh 1400 years since, saith: *Ille cibus qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei perque obsecrationem, juxta id quod habet materiale, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur*[9]: "The meat which is sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy." Certainly, unless bread in the substance and nature of bread, did remain in the sacrament, these words were too horrible to be spoken. In xv. Matt.

Dionysius saith: *Pontifex opertum panem aperit, et in frusta conscidit*[10]: "The bishop uncovereth the bread that was covered, and cutteth it in pieces." He noteth that the loaf of the communion was of some bigness, and that the minister after consecration divided it, and gave to every man a portion. Eccles. Hier. cap. iii.

St Cyprian writeth: *Dedit...Dominus noster in mensa, in qua ultimum cum apostolis participavit convivium, &c.*[11]: "Our Lord at the table, where as[12] he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave," not his very body and very blood really, but "bread and wine; but upon the cross he gave his own body by the hands of the soldiers to be wounded." He maketh a difference between that which Christ gave upon the cross and that which he gave at the table. At the table he gave bread and wine; upon the cross he gave his body and blood. De Unct. Chrism.

Again he calleth the bread after consecration, *panem ... ex multorum granorum adunatione congestum*[13]; "bread made," not of forms and accidents, but "of the substance and moulding of many corns." Id. in Orat. Dom.

Ambrose saith: *Quanto magis operatorius est [sermo Dei,] ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud commutentur*[14]! "How much more effectual is the word of God, that the bread and wine may be" in substance and nature "the same that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing!" They are changed into a sacrament, which they were not before, and remain bread and wine, which they were before. Lib. iv. cap. iv. de Sacram.

Chrysostom saith: *In similitudinem corporis et sanguinis Christi, panem et vinum secundum ordinem Melchisedech nobis ostendit in sacramento*[15]: "He shewed us in a sacrament bread and wine, after the order of Melchisedech, to be the likeness of the body and blood of Christ." What should I stand to trouble you with the rest? As these say, so say the other, that the things which are seen in the sacrament are bread and wine. In Psal. xxii.

But, say they, it is called bread because it was bread, or because it hath a likeness of bread. A pretty shift; but it will not help. For St Augustine saith: *Quod ... videtis, panis est, et calix; quod vobis etiam oculi ... renunciant*[16]: "The thing that you see is the bread and the cup; which thing your eyes do testify." August. ad Infant.

Gelasius saith: *Non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini. Et certe imago vel similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebratur*[17]: "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread, or the nature of wine. And indeed the image or representation and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is published in the ministration of the mysteries." He saith it leaveth not, it remaineth, it is still (not the form or appearance, but) the substance and nature. Contr. Eutych.

[8 ...τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον αἷμα ἴδιον ὡμολόγησε, ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἡμέτερον δεύει αἷμα, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἄρτον ἴδιον σῶμα διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὔξει σώματα. Ὁπόταν οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὔξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. v. cap. ii. 2, 3. p. 294.]

[9 Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xi. 14. Tom. III. p. 499.]

[10 Dionys. Areop. Op. Antv. 1634. De Eccles. Hierarch. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[11 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unct. Chrism. (Arnold.) p. 48. See before, page 718.]

[12 Whereat, 1583, 1609.]

[13 Id. Ad Magn. Epist. lxix. p. 182; where *de multorum.*]

[14 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. De Sacram. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 15. Tom. II. col. 369.]

[15 Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Expos. Psalm. xxii. Tom. V. col. 712. See before, page 580, note 3.]

[16 August. Op. Ad Infant. Serm. cclxxii. Tom. V. cols. 1103, 4.]

[17 Gelas. Episc. Rom. adv. Eutych. et Nestor. in Mag. Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Col. Agrip. 1618-22. Tom. V. Pars III. p. 671. See before, page 11, note 11; page 1113, note 14.]

Ad Cæsar. Dial. 2. Chrysostom saith: *Natura panis in sacramento remanet*[1]: "The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament." And Theodoretus: *Signa mystica post sanctificationem non recedunt a natura sua; manent enim in priori substantia, et figura, et forma*[2]: "The mystical tokens or sacraments after the consecration depart not from their own nature; for they remain still in their former substance and form and figure." Not only in form and figure, not only in shew, but it remaineth bread and wine in nature and substance. Likewise Cyrillus: *Christus fragmenta panis dedit discipulis*[3]: "Christ gave fragments or pieces of bread to his disciples." It was very bread divided into sundry pieces. And Rabanus saith: *Sacramentum ... ore percipitur, ... et in alimentum corporis redigitur*[4]: "The sacrament is received with the mouth, and is turned into the nourishment of the body."

In Johan. Lib. iv. cap. xiv.

Lib. i. cap. xxxi.

De Corp. et Sang. Dom. Bertramus saith: *Secundum creaturarum substantiam, quod fuerunt ante consecrationem, hoc et postea consistunt*[5]: "Touching the substance of the creatures (of bread and wine), they abide the same after as they were before the consecration."

In Pædag. Lib. ii. cap. ii. Even so saith Clemens: *Vinum esse illud quod benedictum est ostendit, rursus dicens, Non bibam amplius ex hoc germine vitis*[6]: "Christ shewed that that was wine which was blessed, by saying again, 'I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine'."

I will bring forth no more witnesses in this matter; you have enough, and so many as may satisfy any reasonable man. You see the consent of the old doctors: I know not how any thing may be more plainly set down and declared.

Why then, say you, how came transubstantiation into the church? How it came in, I cannot shew you. The husbandman, that findeth his field overgrown with cockle and ill weeds, knoweth not how they come: they grow of themselves: he soweth them not. But when or since what time it hath been received and allowed of I will tell you. It was first determined and enacted in the council of Lateran, under pope Innocentius the third, in the time of king John, king of England, and in the year of our Lord 1215[7]; that is, 350 years ago, and not before. Then was it first so named, and made a matter of faith, and never before. This I speak not of myself: they that maintain that error confess it, the most learned and wisest and sagest of them say it. And yet then was it no catholic faith, for it was only received in the church of Rome: the other churches over all the world received it not, as appeareth by a council holden at Florence[8]. Therefore, if transubstantiation be a matter of faith, it is a new late-found faith, and no old and catholic faith. In the time of our great-grandfathers it was not so taken.

Anno 1226. Anno 1265. Afterward pope Honorius III. commanded that it should be kept under a canopy, and that the people should worship the sacrament. And after him Urbanus IV. made a new holy-day in honour of it, which he called *Corpus Christi* day[9]. And all these things have been done within these few years: for before, in the times of Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, and the old fathers, they were never heard of.

But to return to that we have in hand, whether the bread and wine in the sacrament remain in their proper nature: yes, verily; for so is it avouched by our Saviour, by St Paul, by Ignatius, Justinus, Irenæus, Origen, Dionysius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoretus, Cyrillus, Bertramus, and Rabanus. By so many good and lawful witnesses it appeareth, that the bread and wine remain in the same nature and substance as before.

I seek not to astonish you by bringing in such a heap of authors, nor yet to seek mine own glory thereby; God is my witness, and his Christ. If I would seek mine own commodity, I should hold my peace, and not unfold these errors wherewith the church of God hath been disquieted these late years. As for glory, I have none in these things: shame come upon them that seek the glory and commendation of men: our glory is to discharge our conscience, and to speak the truth, that we may be blameless in the day of our Lord.

---

[1] Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Epist. ad Cæsar. Monach. Tom. III. p. 744. See before, page 545, note 12.]

[2] Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Inconfus. Dial. II. Tom. IV. p. 85.]

[3] Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. In Joan. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 360. See before, page 149, note 14.]

[4] Raban. Maur. Op. Col. Agrip. 1626. De Inst. Cler. Lib. I. cap. xxxi. Tom. VI. p. 11. See before, page 453, note 14.]

[5] Ratramn. Lib. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. Oxon. 1838, cap. liv. p. 27.]

[6] Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 186.]

[7] See before, page 549, note 8.]

[8] See before, page 534, note 1.]

[9] See before, page 10, notes 4, 5.]

And yet, in speaking thus of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and denying the strange and new learning of transubstantiation, and making it known that the bread and wine continue still that they were before, we do not conceive basely or unreverently of the sacrament: we do not make it a bare and naked token. Let no man be deceived. We do both think and speak soberly and with reverence of the holy mysteries. As we cannot call them more than they are; so may we not esteem them less than they are by the ordinance and institution of Christ.

We say they are changed, that they have a dignity and pre-eminence which they had not before; that they are not now common bread, or common wine, but the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, a holy mystery, a covenant between Christ and us, a testimony unto our conscience that Christ is the Lamb of God, a perfect[10] seal and sufficient warrant of God's promises, whereby God bindeth himself to us, and we stand likewise bounden unto God, so as God is our God, and we are his people.

In baptism the nature and substance of water doth remain still; and yet is not it bare water. It is changed, and made the sacrament of our regeneration. It is water, consecrated and made holy by the blood of Christ. They which are washed therein are not washed with water, but in the blood of the unspotted Lamb. One thing is seen, and another understood. We see the water, but we understand the blood of Christ. Even so we see the bread and wine, but with the eyes of our understanding we look beyond these creatures; we reach our spiritual senses into heaven, and behold the ransom and price of our salvation. We do behold in the sacrament, not what it is, but what it doth signify. When we receive it with due reverence and faith, we say, as said Gregorius Nyssenus: *Ego aliam escam agnosco, quæ, &c.*[11]: "I know another kind of meat, bearing the likeness and resemblance of our bodily meat; the pleasure and sweetness whereof passeth only into the soul." It goeth not into the mouth or belly, but only into the soul; and it feedeth the mind inwardly, as the other outwardly feedeth the body. De Creat. Hom. cap. xx.

We say as St Augustine: *Ipse est panis cordis nostri*[12]: "Christ is the bread of our heart." And as St Basil: *Est spirituale os interioris hominis, quo nutritur recipiens verbum vitæ, quod verbum est panis qui descendit de cœlo*[13]: "There is a spiritual mouth of the inner man, by which he is nourished by receiving (Christ) the word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven." In this mystery of the death of Christ his death and passion is renewed to our remembrance. We are so moved to sorrow for our sins, which have been cause of his death, and to be thankful for the great mercy of God, which by this means wrought our redemption, as if we did see him present before our faces hanging upon the cross. We know that Christ hath left his sacraments to his church, that they might be helps to lift us up into heaven. By them we are joined with Christ, and made partakers of his passion. In Psal. xlviii. Basil. in Psal. xxxiii.

Next, let us consider, how and after what sort we eat the body of Christ in the sacrament. And here, I beseech you, that you may take the comfort of the body and blood of Christ, to give good ear: for of mistaking this mystery grew the first error in the church. When the disciples of Christ heard Christ speak of this matter, and understood him not, they were offended, and shrunk back, and departed. If we take the words of Christ in such meaning as they did, we shall be deceived and offended, as they were.

This it is then which we have to consider, whether the body of Christ go into our mouth and our bodies, as other meats; or whether it be received spiritually, as a spiritual meat, and so pass into and nourish our soul. Hereof somewhat was said before by the way and shortly. But, for clearer understanding of the same, we have to weigh and declare, that the eating of the body of Christ is not gross or corporal, but ghostly and spiritual, as a peculiar work of the mind.

---

[10] Perfit, 1583.]

[11] ...ἀλλά τινα καὶ ἑτέραν οἵαν τροφήν, ἀναλογίαν τινὰ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔχουσαν, ἧς ἡ ἀπόλαυσις ἐπὶ μόνην τὴν ψυχὴν διαβαίνει.—Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. De Hom. Opific. cap. xix. Tom. I. p. 95.]

[12] August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Psalm. xlviii. Enarr. Serm. ii. 8. Tom. IV. col. 441.]

[13] Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Hom. in Psalm. xxxiii. Tom. I. p. 144.]

The truth hereof is founded in our creed, and is an article of our christian faith. We believe that Christ did rise again from the dead, and ascended into
Col. iii. heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God in glory. So saith St Paul: "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth
Phil. iii. at the right hand of God." And again: "Our conversation is in heaven; from whence we also look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ." Christ himself
John xvi. John xii. saith to his disciples: "It is expedient for you that I go away." And: "The poor always ye have with you, but me ye shall not have always." So St Peter saith:
Acts iii. "Whom the heaven must contain, until the time that all things be restored, which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began."

Which speeches have occasioned the old ancient learned fathers to teach the people after this sort touching the body of Christ. Vigilius, a godly bishop and
Contr. Eutych. Lib. ii. martyr, saith: [*Caro Christi*] *cum esset in terra, non erat in cœlo; et nunc, quia est in cœlo, non est utique in terra*[1]: "The flesh of Christ, when it was in earth, was not in heaven; and now, because it is in heaven, doubtless it is not in earth."
In Luc. Lib. x. cap. xxiv. Ambrose saith: "Seek the things that be above, and not the things that be upon earth. Therefore we must seek thee neither upon the earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we list to find thee[2]."

Tract. 50. in Johan. St Augustine saith: "According to the flesh that the word received, according to that he was born of the virgin, according to that he was taken of the Jews, according to that he was nailed to the cross, according to that he was taken down, and lapped in a shroud, and laid in the grave, and rose again, and shewed himself; in this respect it is true that he said, 'Ye shall not evermore have me with you'[3]."

De Consecr. Dist. 2. And again he said[4]: *Donec seculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, &c.*[5]: "Until the world be ended, the Lord is above; yet notwithstanding even here is the truth of the Lord. For the body wherein he rose again must needs be in one
Cyril. in Johan. Lib. xi. cap. iii. place." So Cyrillus said: *Christus non poterat in carne versari cum apostolis, postquam ascendisset ad Patrem*[6]: "Christ could not be conversant together with his disciples in his flesh after he had ascended unto his Father."

It would be tedious to allege all that might be said to like purpose. Thus Christ, and Paul, and Peter; thus Vigilius, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, and all the old catholic fathers say; and we are taught to believe that Christ is not corporally in the church, but is ascended into heaven, and that he hath given to his body immortality, but hath not taken from the same the nature of a body. Vigilius, having cause to prove this same article against Eutyches, shutteth up
Vigil. contr. Eutych. Lib. iv. the matter thus: *Hæc est fides et professio catholica, quam apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles hucusque custodiunt*[7]: "This is the catholic faith and profession; which the apostles have delivered, the martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful hitherto do continue."

The body then which we eat is in heaven, above all angels, and archangels, and powers, and principalities. Our meat is in heaven on high; and we are here below on the earth. How may it be that we may reach it, or taste, or eat it? Here let us imagine that there are two men in every man, and that every man is flesh and spirit, body and soul. This man thus doubled must be furnished with double senses; bodily, to serve the body; and spiritual, to serve the soul. He must have eyes of the body, and eyes of the soul; ears of the body, and ears of the soul. Spiritual senses are quick, sharp, and lively: they pierce any thing, be it never so thick: they reach any thing, be it never so far off. Christ
John viii. saith of Abraham: "Abraham rejoiced to see my day: he saw it, and was glad." He saw it, not with his bodily eyes, but with the inner eyes of the soul.

[1 Vigil. adv. Eutych. in Cassandr. Op. Par. 1616. Lib. IV. p. 546. See before, page 497, note 18.]

[2 Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Expos. Evang. sec. Luc. Lib. X. cap. xxiv. 159, 60. Tom. I. col. 1538. See before, page 490, note 4.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xii. Tractat. l. 13. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 634. See before, pages 505, 6, note 15.]

[4 Saith, 1583, 1609.]

[5 Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Tert. Pars, De Consecr. Dist. ii. can. 44. col. 1935. See before, page 494, note 6.]

[6 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Lib. XI. cap. ii. Tom. IV. p. 933. See page 495, note 7.]

[7 Vigil. adv. Eutych. in Cassandr. Op. Lib. iv. p. 547. See before, page 497, note 18.]

When we speak of the mystery of Christ, and of eating his body, we must shut up and abandon all our bodily senses. And, as we cannot say that we see him with our bodily eyes, or hear him with our bodily ears, or touch him with bodily feeling; so likewise can we not, and therefore may we not, say we taste him or eat him with our bodily mouth. In this work we must open all the inner and spiritual senses of our soul: so shall we not only see his body, but hear him, and feel him, and taste him, and eat him. This is the mouth and the feeling of faith. By the hand of faith we reach unto him, and by the mouth of faith we receive his body.

Touching the eating of Christ's body St Augustine taught the people on this wise: *Crede, et manducasti*[8]. *Credere in Christum, hoc est, manducare panem vivum*[9]: "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ." "For believing in Christ is the eating of the bread of life." Believe that he is that "Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Believe that there is no other name given unto men wherein we shall be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ. Believe that he hath paid the ransom for the sins of the whole world. Believe that he hath made peace between God and man. Believe that it is he which hath reconciled all things by his blood. Here is nothing to be done by the mouth of the body. Whosoever thus believeth, he eateth, he drinketh him. Tract. 26. in Johan.

Clemens saith: *Hoc est bibere sanguinem Jesu, participem esse incorruptionis ejus*[10]: "This is the drinking of the blood of Jesus, to be made partaker of his immortality." Tertullian saith: "He must be received in cause of life: he must be devoured by hearing: he must be chewed by understanding: he must be digested by faith[11]." Thus did Christ himself teach his disciples to understand him: "The words which I speak are spirit and life." St Hierome therefore saith: *Quando audimus sermonem Domini, ... caro Christi et sanguis ejus in aures nostras infunditur*[12]: "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ and his blood is poured into our ears." In Pædag. Lib. ii. cap. ii. John vi. In Psal. cxlvii.

The patriarchs and prophets and people of God, which lived before the birth of Christ, did by faith eat his flesh and drink his blood. St Paul saith: "They did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink." Whosoever believed in Christ, they were nourished by him then, as we are now. They did not see Christ: he was not yet born: he had not yet a natural body; yet did they eat his body: he had not yet any blood; yet did they drink his blood. They believed that it was he in whom the promises should be fulfilled, that he should be that blessed Seed in whom all nations should be blessed. Thus they believed, thus they received and did eat his body. 1 Cor. x.

But, say some, the fathers of the old law were in darkness, in a shadow and a figure: it was meet they should receive the sacrament spiritually, or the body of our Lord spiritually; but all otherwise with us, unto whose benefit the sacraments of the new testament work the thing itself that they signify; so that we receive Christ really, bodily, and with the mouth of our bodies.

St Paul telleth us the fathers of the old law did eat the same spiritual meat, that is to say, the same Christ, that we eat. So saith St Augustine: *Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa; in rebus quæ significabantur, paria*[13]: "These things were sacraments, in the outward tokens diverse, but in the things signified all one with ours." Likewise saith Leo: *Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata [sunt]; quum fides qua vivimus nulla fuerit ætate diversa*[14]: "The sacraments are altered according to the diversity of times; but the faith whereby we live was ever in all ages one." If they did eat the same meat, if the things, that is, the matter of their sacraments were all one with ours, if their faith was all one with our Tract. 26. in Johan. De Nativ. Dom. Serm. 3.

[8 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxv. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 489.]

[9 Id. ibid. Tractat. xxvi. 1. col. 494. See before, page 468.]

[10 Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Pædag. Lib. II. cap. ii. Tom. I. p. 177.]

[11 ...proinde in causam vitæ appetendus, et devorandus &c.—Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Resur. Carn. 37. p. 406. See before, page 452, note 2.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Brev. in Psalt. Psalm. cxlvii. Tom. II. Append. col. 504. See before, page 600, note 1; page 724, note 8.]

[13 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498; where *re*, and *significatur*.]

[14 Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. In Sol. Nativ. Serm. iii. 3. col. 43.]

faith; what difference is there between their and our eating? As they did eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of the body, so we eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of our body.

To make this somewhat more evident, let us take the judgment of the fathers. They teach us plainly, that the spiritual eating of Christ's body by faith is the true eating; and that we do not grossly, fleshly, really, or naturally eat him in the sacrament. St Cyprian saith, the body of Christ *est cibus mentis, non ventris*[1]: "it is meat for the mind, not for the belly;" not for the teeth to chew, but for the soul to believe. Cyrillus saith: *Sacramentum nostrum hominis manducationem non asserit, mentes credentium ad crassas cogitationes irreligiose inducens*[2]: "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithful in ungodly manner to gross" or fleshly "cogitations." Athanasius saith: *Quot hominibus suffecisset corpus ejus, &c.*[3]: "Unto how many men could Christ's body have sufficed, that he should be the food of all the world? Therefore he made mention of his ascension into heaven, that he might withdraw them from corporal and fleshly understanding." What thing may be spoken more plainly? It were unpossible his natural body, naturally received might suffice all the world: to let them see he had no such meaning, he speaketh of his going up into heaven. Spiritually then he is received of every one, and is digested, and becometh the nourishment of all the world.

Cypr. de Cœn. Dom.

Ad Object. Theod. Anath. 11.

In illud Evang. Quicunque dixerit verbum.

St Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread shall not die," saith thus: *Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris: qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente*[4]: "That pertaineth to the virtue and effect of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, and not he that eateth outwardly; that eateth with his heart, not that bruiseth" the sacrament "with his tooth." Thus is Christ's body received, as these holy fathers say, not to the filling our contentation of the body, not with mouth or tooth, but with spirit and faith, unto the holiness and sanctification of the mind. After this sort we eat his flesh and drink his blood.

Tract. 26. in Johan.

Therefore wicked men, and such as believe not, receive not the body of Christ: they have no portion in it. So saith Origen: *Est cibus verus, quem nemo malus potest edere, &c.*[5]: "The body of Christ is the true food, which no evil man can eat; for, if the evil man could eat the body of our Lord, it should not be written, 'He that eateth this bread shall live for ever'." Ambrose saith: *Hunc panem qui manducaverit, non esuriet: ... est esca sanctorum: ... non morietur morte peccatoris, quia ... remissio peccatorum est*[6]: "He that eateth this bread shall not hunger: it is the food of those that are holy. He shall not die the death of a sinner; because it is the remission of sins." St Augustine saith: *Qui discordat a Christo, nec panem ejus manducat, nec sanguinem bibit, &c.*[7]: "Whoso disagreeth from Christ neither eateth his bread nor drinketh his blood; although he daily receive the sacrament of so great a thing without difference, to the judgment of his presumption." And again: *Qui in me non manet, &c.*[8]:

Orig. in xv. Matt.

De Bened. Patriarch. cap. ix.

In Johan. Tract. 26.

August. de Civit. Dei, Lib. xxi. cap. v.

[1 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Cœn. Dom. (Arnold.) p. 44. See before, page 141, note 11.]

[2 Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Apolog. adv. Orient. Anath. xi. Def. Cyril. Tom. VI. p. 193.]

[3 Πόσοις γὰρ ἤρκει τὸ σῶμα πρὸς βρῶσιν, ἵνα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς τοῦτο τροφὴ γένηται; ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀναβάσεως ἐμνημόνευσε τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα τῆς σωματικῆς ἐννοίας αὐτοὺς ἀφελκύσῃ, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν εἰρημένην σάρκα βρῶσιν ἄνωθεν οὐράνιον, καὶ πνευματικὴν τροφὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ διδομένην μάθωσιν.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Epist. iv. ad Serapion. 19. Tom. I. Pars II. p. 710.]

[4 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 12. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 499.]

[5 ...ἀληθινὴ βρῶσις...οὐδενὸς δυναμένου φαύλου ἐσθίειν αὐτήν· εἰ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἔτι φαῦλον μένοντα ἐσθίειν τὸν γενόμενον σάρκα, Λόγον ὄντα, καὶ ἄρτον ζῶντα, οὐκ ἂν ἐγέγραπτο, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ φαγὼν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.—Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XI. 14. Tom. III. p. 500.]

[6 Et bene pinguis quem qui manducaverit, esurire non poterit &c. peccatoris morte &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Lib. de Bened. Patriarch. cap. ix. 38, 9. Tom. I. cols. 524, 5.]

[7 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 18. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 501. See before, page 519, note 13.]

[8 Qui non in me manet, et in quo ego non maneo, non se dicat aut existimet manducare corpus meum, aut bibere sanguinem meum.—Id. De Civ. Dei, Lib. XXI. cap. xxv. 4. Tom. VII. col. 647.]

"He that abideth not in me, and in whom I do not abide, let him not say or think that he either eateth my body or drinketh my blood." And again: *Cœcus interius panem Christum non videt. Et beatus est? Hoc non dicet, nisi pariter cœcus*[9]: "He that is blind in his heart within seeth not Christ, that is our bread. And is he blessed? No man will say so, unless it be one as blind as he." August. in Psal. lvii.

Chrysostom saith: "'Where[10] the carcase is, there are eagles:' the carcase is the body of Christ in respect of his death. But he nameth eagles to shew, that whoso will approach to this body must mount aloft, and have no dealing with the earth, nor be drawn and creep downward, but must evermore flee up and behold the Sun of justice, and have the eye of his mind quick and sharp. For this is a table of eagles," that fly on high; "not of jays[11]," that creep beneath. So saith St Hierome: "Let us go up with the Lord" into heaven, "into that great parlour, spread and clean; and let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament[12]." He saith, they that rise not up by faith receive not the cup of Christ. So saith Hilary: "The bread that came down from heaven is not received but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ[13]." Hom. 24. in 1 ad Cor. Hieron. ad Hedib. Quæst. 2. De Trinit. Lib. viii.

This is the undoubted meaning of the old fathers, that the wicked are not partakers of the passion of Christ, because they lack faith, whereby only Christ is received of us. As Augustine saith: "How shall I hold Christ, being absent? how shall I thrust my hand up into heaven, that I may hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou holdest him[14]." By this means we draw nigh to Christ, we hide ourselves in his wounds, we suck at his breast, we feed of his body, and comfortably lay up in our mind that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes. Tract. in Johan. 50.

Now let us examine what difference is between the body of Christ and the sacrament of the body. It behoveth us to take each part aright as it is, lest we be deceived, and take one for another. Origen saith: *Simpliciores ... nescientes distinguere, &c.*[15]: "Simple men, not being able to discern what things in the scriptures ought to be applied to the outward man, and what to the inner, being deceived by the likeness of words, have turned themselves to a sort of peevish fables and vain fantasies." Therefore saith Chrysostom: *Magnum, crede mihi, bonum est, scire quid sit creatura et quid sit Creator, &c.*[16]: "Believe me, it is a great matter to understand what is the creature, and what is God the Creator; what are the works, and what is the workman." The difference herein is this: a sacrament is a figure or token; the body of Christ is figured or tokened. The sacrament-bread is bread, it is not the body of Christ: the body of Christ is flesh, it is no bread. The bread is beneath: the body is above. The bread is on the table: the body is in heaven. The bread is in the mouth: the body in the heart. The bread feedeth the outward man: the body feedeth the inward man. The bread feedeth the body: the body feedeth the soul. The bread shall come to nothing: the body is immortal, and shall not perish. The bread is vile: the body of Christ glorious. Such a difference is there between the bread, which is a sacrament of the body, and the body of Christ itself. The sacrament is eaten as well of the wicked as of the faithful: the body is only eaten of the faithful. The sacrament may be eaten unto judgment; the body cannot be eaten but unto salvation. Without the sacrament we may be saved; but without the body of Christ we have no salvation, we cannot be saved. As St Augustine saith: *Qui non sumit carnem Christi non habet vitam; et qui eam sumit habet vitam,* In Prolog. in Cant. De Jejun. et Lect. Gen. Tract. 26. in Johan.

[9 Id. in Psalm. lvii. Enarr. 22. Tom. IV. col. 557; where *dicit.*]

[10 Where as, 1583.]

[11 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. i. ad Cor. Hom. xxiv. Tom. X. p. 216. See before, page 12; also page 539, and page 764, note 6.]

[12 Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Ad Hedib. Epist. Quæst. ii. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 172. See before, page 12, note 5.]

[13 See before, page 786, note 6.]

[14 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. xi. Tractat. l. 4. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 630. See before, page 448.]

[15 Orig. Op. In Cantic. Canticor. Prolog. Tom. III. p. 28. See before, page 452.]

[16 Μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰδέναι, τί μέν ἐστι κτίσμα, τί δὲ κτιστής· τί μὲν ἔργον, τί δὲ ποιητής.—Chrysost. Op. In Gen. Serm. i. Tom. IV. p. 645.]

et eam utique æternam[1]: "He that receiveth not the flesh of Christ hath not life; and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that for ever."

Epiph. in Ancor. Such a difference maketh Epiphanius: *Hoc est rotundæ figuræ et insensibile, quantum ad potentiam, &c.*[2]: "This thing," that is, the sacrament, "is of a round form," for it was a great thick round cake, "and, touching any power that is in it, utterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole moving." Again St Augustine saith for the difference of them: "The sacrament" of Christ's body "is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction; but the thing itself," that is, the flesh of Christ, "whereof this is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it[3]."

Tract. 26. in Johan.

Of the difference which is between a figure of any thing and the thing itself, Chrysostom saith: *Audisti fuisse figuram; ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo: neque enim typus esset, si omnia quæ veritati accidunt haberentur*[4]: "Ye have heard that it was a figure; therefore marvel not; and, being a figure, require not all things to agree; for otherwise it were no figure." These and such-like reasons no doubt moved the godly father to say, as we have learned to say: *Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti*[5]: "The sacrament is one thing; and the matter of the sacrament," which is Christ's very body, "is another thing." And therefore he saith: *Honorem tanquam religiosa habere possunt: stuporem, tanquam mira non possunt*[6]: "These things," speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body, "may have honour as things appointed to religion; but wonder, as things marvellous, they cannot have." Thus are we plainly[7] taught by the catholic learned fathers to put a difference between the sacrament and the body of Christ; and that the one of them is not really lapped up or shut within the other; that the one, as Epiphanius saith, is utterly void of sense, the other whole sense, and whole sensible; that the one is received to destruction unto some, as St Augustine saith, the other is received of all men unto life; that the one is a figure, as Chrysostom saith, the other a truth.

Hom. 35. in Gen.

Tract. 26. in Johan.

August. de Trin. Lib. iii. cap. x.

It remaineth that we consider how we ought to prepare our hearts, and with what faith and reverence we should resort to these holy mysteries. We may not come as we use to do to our usual meats. For here, in a mystery and sacrament of bread is set before us the body of Christ our Saviour, and his blood in the sacrament of wine. We see one thing, we must conceive another thing. Therefore we must in such manner be affected, as if we were present to behold his death upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood for our sins.

Let us set before our eyes that dreadful tragedy, and the causes and effects of his death; that so our hearts may be the rather moved to yield that allegiance, obedience, and reverence which is due. We were the children of wrath, the enemies of God, shut up under sin, and the heirs of everlasting damnation. In this case "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And, as St Paul saith: "God sent his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, and by sin condemned sin in the flesh." There was no other thing in heaven or earth which would be taken for our ransom. Therefore was the Son of God brought before the judge, and arraigned as a thief, and condemned, and scourged, and put to death: his side was opened with a spear; and the blood flowed out; and he said, "It is finished:" that is to say, the price for man is now paid. Thus, "being in the form of God, he thought it no robbery to be equal with God; but he made himself of no reputation, and

Rom. viii.

Phil. ii.

[1 Nam et qui eam non sumit, non &c. et hanc utique &c.—August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500.]

[2 Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Ancorat. 57. Tom. II. p. 60. See before, page 772.]

[3 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 15. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 500. See before, page 453.]

[4 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. xiv. Gen. Hom. xxxv. Tom. IV. p. 357.]

[5 August. Op. In Johan. Evang. cap. vi. Tractat. xxvi. 11. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 498. See before, page 516, note 1.]

[6 Id. De Trin. Lib. III. cap. x. 20. Tom. VIII. col. 803.]

[7 1583 omits *plainly*.]

took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto men, and was found in shape as a man. He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." He gave his body to be crucified, and his blood to be shed, for our sakes. There was no other sacrifice left for sin: wo worth the sin of man, that was the cause of the death of Christ!

What were the effects of his death? What followed? "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus should every knee bow; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father." God spake out of the heavens, and said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." He crowned him with glory and honour: he hath not only advanced Christ, but us also together with him; "and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus:" "he hath made us like to the image of his Son." Thus hath he made us an acceptable people, and hath renewed the face of the earth: so[8] that now he saith not, as he did to Adam, Thou art earth, and shalt return to earth; but he saith, Thou art heaven: an immortal and undefiled inheritance, that fadeth not away, is reserved in heaven for thee. This is the effect and value of the death of Christ.

Phil. ii.

Eph. ii.

All these things are laid before us in the holy table, if we have eyes to see and behold them. There may we see the crucifying of his body, and the shedding of his blood, as it were in a glass. Therefore Christ saith: "Do this in remembrance of me;" in remembrance of my benefit wrought for you; in remembrance of your salvation purchased by me. St Paul saith: "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come."

1 Cor. xi.

In this supper lieth a hidden mystery. There is the horror of sin, there is the death of our Lord for our sin represented, how he was wounded for our sins, and tormented for our iniquities, and led as a lamb to the slaughter. There may we see the shame of the cross, the darkness over the world, the earth to quake, the stones to cleave asunder, the graves to open, and the dead to rise. These things may we see in the supper: this is the meaning of these holy mysteries.

Therefore "let every one examine himself," and search and weigh his own heart, whether he be the child of God, and a member of the body of Christ; "and so let him eat of this bread and drink of this cup." The sacrament of the Lord's supper is a holy food, the seal of our faith, the assurance of God's promises, and a covenant between God and man. He, that doth unworthily thrust himself to this table, eateth and drinketh his own damnation. When a sick man, of a weak and feeble stomach, sitteth down to eat with them that are whole, whatsoever he eateth or drinketh, it doth increase his sickness. To them that perish the word of God is a savour of death unto death. "Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread nor drinketh his blood," as saith St Augustine[9].

If any of us come to the sacrament of the body of Christ, and yet make ourselves the members of the devil, we tread Christ under our feet, we regard not his body crucified nor his blood shed for us, we regard not the price of our salvation, we are guilty of his death, we betray the innocent blood, we are fallen from grace; and Christ hath died in vain for us.

Let us remember, Christ was forsaken, scorned, buffeted, crucified, and left upon the cross: he was "a worm, and no man, a reproach among men." Nature itself yearned and yielded at the sight hereof. The whole land grew dark, the earth did quake, the sun lost his light, the powers of heaven were moved, the rocks were cloven, the vail of the temple rent; the thief repented, and said, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom:" the centurion glorified God, and said, "Of a surety this man was just."

Where is the power of Christ's death now? Where is the force and power of his word? By these means he speaketh to thee, and calleth, saying: Behold, O man, thus have I sought thee: these things I suffer for thy sake, that thou shouldest eat my flesh, and drink my blood, and be made one with me, that thou mightest come into me, and I into thee. I have made thee a member of my body, bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh. Thou that wallowest in thy sins,

[8] See, 1611.

[9] See before, page 1120, note 7.

thou Sodom[1] and Gomorrah, thou child of destruction, which hast rejoiced in my shame, and art not moved with the pains which I have suffered, what might I do for thy sake, to save thee, that I have not done? What might I suffer, and have not endured it? O be a partner of my death, that thou mayest have part in my resurrection.

Let us die with Christ, let us be crucified unto the world. Let us be holy eagles, and soar above. Let us go up into the great parlour, and receive of our Lord the cup of the new testament. There let us behold the body that was crucified for us, and the blood which was shed for us. There let us say, This is the ransom of the world: this was once offered, and hath made perfect for ever all them that believe: this entered once into the holy place, and obtained everlasting redemption for us: this standeth always in the presence of God, and maketh intercession for us: this is "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world:" by this body I am now no more earth and ashes: by this I am now not a bondman, but made free. This body hath broken the gates of hell, and hath opened heaven. In this are all the treasures of God's mercy: by this the prince of darkness is cast forth: in this body shall he come again to judge the quick and the dead.

Let no unclean or filthy person, no adulterer, no usurer, no cruel extortioner, or devourer of God's people, offer himself to the receiving of this sacrament. If any be such a one, I require him by the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and by the Judge of the quick and the dead, that he come not to the Lord's table; that he betray not the Son of God. "It were better he had never been born, and that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he thrown into the sea." Let us not deceive ourselves: God will not be mocked. He receiveth damnation that receiveth unworthily.

Let us fall down before our Lord, and give thanks unto him: let us say, "What shall I give unto the Lord for all that he hath given unto me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord." Let us say, "O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world!" Let us say, "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name." Let us purpose and promise amendment of our life: let us go out with Peter, and weep: let us fall at Christ's feet with Mary Magdalene, and with our tears wash his feet: let us say with David, "I have sinned to thee, Lord:" let us say with the prodigal son, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, I am no more worthy to be called thy son:" let us say, "Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy." Thou art my God. I am thy servant. "O save me for thy mercies' sake." Let us offer up our bodies a living, pure, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God. So shall we be partakers of the death of Christ, and of his resurrection.

Thus have we briefly gone through the whole matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and followed the same order which was set down. First, that we do in the sacrament truly eat the body of Christ. Secondly, what is the meaning of the words, *Hoc est corpus meum.* Thirdly, whether the bread remain in nature and substance. Fourthly, whether it be eaten with the mouth of the body, or by faith only. Fifthly, what difference is between the body of Christ and the mystical signs. Sixthly, how we must be prepared, and with what devotion we ought to come to receive this sacrament.

Having thus treated of the sacraments of the new testament, and said so much as is needful for you to know of them both, as well of baptism, which is the sacrament of our regeneration, as of our Lord's supper, which is the sacrament of our refection or nourishment; I will now in few words speak something of Confirmation, of Matrimony, of ecclesiastical Ministry, which some call Holy Orders, of Repentance or penance, and of Extreme Unction; which some of late years have called sacraments, and, by joining these to the other, have made up the number of seven sacraments, and so have charged the church with five sacraments more than Christ did ever ordain.

[1 Sodoma, 1583.]

For these five want either the word, or the element, or both; and therefore may not be taken for true sacraments. Such as have with all their skill shewed themselves helpers and furtherers of our adversaries, yet have plainly confessed that they are no[2] sacraments of Christ's institution. Alexander of Hales saith of confirmation: "The sacrament of confirmation, as it is a sacrament, was not ordained either by Christ or by the apostles, but afterward in the council of Melda[3];" which council was kept many years after Christ. And Durandus saith of matrimony: "Matrimony, in due and proper kind of speech, is no sacrament[4]." And Bessarion, a cardinal, confesseth (as it was shewed before) that in due and right consideration none of these five may be called sacraments: "We read," saith he, "that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the gospel[5]."

First, of Confirmation, which is so called because that which was done on our behalf in baptism is ratified and confirmed. Many parents had not such due care as they ought in the godly bringing up of their children; so that many children knew not whether they were baptized or no: many were never taught what covenant was made between them and God in their baptism: many swerved away from christian profession, and carried themselves to the fellowship of the heathens, and, of the sons of God, became the sons of the devil. Upon this occasion the church of God layeth charge upon the parents and the witnesses of the baptizing of young children, that they teach them the ways of the Lord, and to know the holy mystery that they have received, and what they have promised and professed in baptism; that they put them in mind, how God hath called them out of the kingdom of darkness unto his wonderful light, and to the fellowship of the saints in light.

When the children of the Christians were thus brought up, and had learned the religion of Christ, and to walk in the ways of godliness, they were brought to the church, and by their parents presented unto the bishop, and yielded a reason of their faith openly, before the whole congregation: they professed they would so believe, that they would live and die in that faith. Then the bishop and all the people fell down on their knees and prayed unto God that he would continue the good thing he had begun; and the bishop, laying his hand upon them, commended them unto God. This was the ratifying of the profession which they made by others at their baptism, and for that cause called confirmation.

Now, whether it be a sacrament; and, when I say a sacrament, I mean a ceremony commanded by God in express words. For God only hath the authority to institute a sacrament. Sacraments are confirmations and seals of the promises of God, and are not of the earth, but from heaven. As Christ saith: "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven, or of men?" Chrysostom saith: "The mystery were not of God, nor perfit[6], if thou shouldest put any thing to it[7]." Mark and judge, and yourselves shall see whether this were a sacrament instituted by Christ. Augustine said: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum*[8]: "Join the word to the creature, and it is made a sacrament." This creature or element is visible, as are water, bread, and wine. The word which must be joined is the commandment and institution of Christ: without the word, and the commandment and institution, it is no sacrament. Matt. xxi.

I protest that the use and order of confirmation rightly used is profitable and necessary in the church, and no way to be broken. But all that is profitable

---

[2 Not, 1583, 1609.]

[3 ...Dominus neque hoc sacramentum, ut est sacramentum, instituit: neque dispensavit, neque apostoli...institutum fuit hoc sacramentum Spiritus sancti instinctu, in concilio Meldensi quantum ad formam verborum, et materiam elementarem.—Alex. Alens. Theol. Summ. Col. Agrip. 1622. Quæst. ix. Memb. i. Pars IV. p. 198.]

[4 The following is a somewhat similar passage: Sacramentum voluntatis tantum est matrimonium, et dicitur voluntatis, quia sine illo quis salvari potest. —Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. I. cap. ix. 7. fol. 41. 2.]

[5 Bessar. De Sacram. Euchar. in Biblioth. Patr. per M. De la Bigne, Par. 1624. Tom. VI. col. 481. See before, page 1104.]

[6 Perfect, 1583.]

[7 Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. I. ad Cor. Hom. vii. Tom. X. p. 51. See before, page 1100.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xv. Tractat. lxxx. 3. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 703. See before, page 1100, note 7.]

and necessary is not a sacrament. Christ did not command it: he spake no word of it. Look and read, if you doubt it. Christ's words are written, and may be seen. You shall never find that he commanded "confirmation," or that he ever made any special promise to it. Therefore may you conclude that it is no sacrament. Otherwise, being rightly used, it is a good ceremony, and well ordained of our ancient fathers.

The apostles laid their hands on them, and confirmed them which were baptized of John. But that proveth not this confirmation: that was extraordinary, it was a miracle. The Holy Ghost came down upon them, and lightened their hearts by this laying on of the apostles' hands. But it is not so now; the Holy Ghost doth not now descend in visible form upon those which are confirmed: there is no such miracle wrought. There is no need that it should so be. There was no commandment, either to appoint it to[1] the church, or to continue it until the coming of Christ and the end of the world. Therefore it is no sacrament by the institution of Christ. Hitherto of the use; now somewhat of the abuse.

Nothing so good and holy but it may be abused. The word of God hath been abused to heresies, to necromancy, to charms, and sorcery, and witchcraft. The supper of the Lord was abused in the time of St Paul. He telleth the Corinthians:
1 Cor. xi. "This is not to eat the Lord's supper." Less marvel, then, if this happen to a ceremony. Time rusteth and consumeth all things, and maketh many a thing to prove naught in the end, which was first devised for good. The brasen serpent at the first was made by Moses, and set it up for good purpose. But afterward it was abused: the children of Israel did burn incense unto it; and therefore Ezechias brake it in pieces.

The first abuse in confirmation was, that it was done in a strange tongue, that no man might understand what was meant: then, that they received to confirmation such children, and so young, as were not able to make profession of their faith; so that the infant promised he knew not what; and the bishop ratified and confirmed where there was nothing to be confirmed: he set to his seal where there was nothing to be sealed. These abuses were far unmeet for the church of God.

Besides these, there was great abuse in the manner of doing. For thus the bishop said: *Consigno te... signo crucis; et confirmo te chrismate salutis*[2]: "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the oil of salvation." Thus they used to do: these were their words, "with the oil of salvation." They took not this of Christ, nor of his apostles, nor of the holy ancient fathers. It agreeth not with our christian faith to give the power of salvation unto oil. He that seeketh salvation in oil loseth his salvation in Christ, and hath no part in the kingdom of God. Oil for the belly, and for necessary uses of life. It is no fit instrument, without commandment or promise by the word, to work salvation.

More, they said he was no perfect Christian, that was not anointed by the bishop with this holy oil. This was another abuse. For whosoever is baptized receiveth thereby the full name of a perfect Christian, and hath the full and perfect[3] covenant and assurance of salvation: he is perfitly buried with Christ, doth perfitly put on Christ, and is perfitly made partaker of his resurrection. Therefore they are deceived, that say no man is a perfit Christian that is not marked with this oil. Else the apostles and holy martyrs were but half Christians, because they[4] lacked this oil. Else what hope and comfort might the poor fathers have? In what state shall he think to find his child, if he die before confirmation, and pass without perfit christendom? Verily they write thus: *Sine oleo chrismatis nemo potest sisti ante tribunal Christi*[5]: "Without the oil of chrism no man can appear before the judgment-seat of Christ."

Again, they say confirmation is more honourable than baptism; because any priest may baptize; but confirmation is given only by a bishop or a suffragan. So do they give a greater pre-eminence to confirmation, which is devised by man,

[1] Unto, 1583.]

[2] Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. Conf. Puer. fol. 156. 2.]

[3] Perfite, 1583, 1609.]

[4] The, 1583.]

[5] Strong expressions as to the necessity of confirmation are frequent in Romish writers; but the editor has not met with the words in the text.]

than to the holy sacrament of baptism, which Christ himself ordained. I need not speak more hereof; the error is so gross, so thick, so sensible and palpable.

Again, when they blessed or hallowed their oil, they used these words: *Fiat, Domine, hoc oleum, te benedicente, unctio spiritualis ad purificationem mentis et corporis*[6]: "O Lord, let this oil, by thy blessing, be[7] made a spiritual ointment, to purify both soul and body." O Christ Jesu, where was thy cross, where was thy blood, and the price of thy death and passion, when a drop of oil was of power to work remission of sins[8], to save and defend against all the darts of the wicked spirits, and to refresh both body and soul? Yet so were we taught, so were we led. I feign not these things: the words may be seen. Neither do I speak this to bring you to a misliking or loathing of our late[9] fathers; but only that we may humble our hearts, and give thanks to God, that hath brought us out of that darkness, and given us better knowledge.

Now a word or two of the bringing up of children, and preparing them to confirmation. Wherein I would God the old order were duly observed, that they were instructed perfitly to know religion, and their duty to God; and so might be brought before the congregation, and make an open profession of their faith, with promise that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor fire, nor sword, nor life, nor death, shall ever make them deny their faith. Hereof might much be spoken; but I will be short.

The whole standeth in knowledge, and in the fear of God; that they may know God, and walk before him in reverence and in fear, and serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. The Jews are a miserable people, that[10] live in error, they die in their own blood: yet have they so much understanding that they bring up their children in the knowledge of God, and that knowledge they teach out of the word of God. They remember what charge God gave them: "Thou shalt teach them thy sons and thy sons' sons." Deut. iv.

Therefore a father must teach his child what God is; that he is our Father, that he hath made us, and doth feed us, and giveth us all things needful both for body and soul; that he is our Lord, and therefore we must serve him and obey him, and do nothing whereby he may be displeased; that he is our Judge, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and that all men shall come before him, to receive according as they have done in the flesh. He must put his child in mind of his baptism, and teach him that it is a covenant of God's mercy to us, and of our duty to God; that it is a mystery of our salvation, that our soul is so washed with the blood of Christ, as the water of baptism washeth our body. So must he also teach his child the mystery of the Lord's supper; what and how he receiveth there to his comfort; that, as the bread is broken, and the wine poured out, so the body of Christ was crucified, and his blood shed for the remission of sins; that, if we believe in Christ, we are, through the promise of God, so certainly nourished in our souls to everlasting life by the passion of Christ Jesus our Saviour, as our bodies are truly nourished with the creatures of bread and wine. Thus Paul was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and instructed according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers. Thus Timothy was brought up to know the holy scriptures of a child. How are we become so superstitious? Why have we been so delighted in darkness? Why is it so hard a matter to remove us from the errors wherein we have lived? Why had we rather fall down before dumb things, and worship them, and continue still in ignorance, rather than hearken unto the word of God? Why have we played the part of the Jews, and cried *Crucifige* upon our dear friends and kinsmen, upon those whom we could not justly accuse of any crime, who offended us no ways, but in that they did point us to Christ, and called us to seek salvation only in him? Hereof there cannot any better cause be yielded than this, that we were igno- Acts xxii. 2 Tim. iii.

[6 ... ut possit effici unctio spiritalis ad corroborandum templum Dei vivi; &c. ... ut tua sancta benedictione sit omni hoc unguento cœlestis medicinæ peruncto tutamen mentis et corporis, &c.—Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Offic. in Quint. Fer. Cœn. Dom. p. 412. Other similar expressions occur in this office.]

[7 He, 1611.]

[8 Of all sins, 1583, 1609.]

[9 Latter, 1583, 1609.]

[10 They, 1583, 1609.]

rantly bred up, without knowledge of God, without understanding of his word. The wise man saith: "Teach a child the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it." And again: "Whoso awaketh unto wisdom betimes, shall have no great travail; for he shall find her sitting at her[1] doors."

Prov. xxii.

Wisd. vi.

Therefore wicked rulers, as Julianus, Licinius, Maximinus, and such others, have forbidden that children should be brought up in the knowledge of God. They taught them to blaspheme Christ and holy men, and to speak ill of them before they knew them. But let us look upon our children as upon the great blessings of God. They are the Lord's vessels, ordained to honour; let us keep them clean: they are Christ's lambs and sheep of his flock; let us lead them forth into wholesome pasture. They are the seed-plot of heaven; let us water them, that God may give the increase: their angels behold the face of God; let us not offend them: they are the temples and tabernacles of the Holy Ghost; let us not suffer the foul spirit to possess them, and dwell within them.

God saith, Your children are my children. They are the sons of God. They are born anew, and are well shapen in beautiful proportion: make them not monsters. He is a monster, whosoever knoweth not God. By you they are born into the world; be careful also that by your means they may be begotten unto God: you are careful to train them in nurture and comely behaviour of the body; seek also to fashion their minds unto godliness. You have brought them to the fountain of baptism, to receive the mark of Christ; bring them up in knowledge, and watch over them that they be not lost. So shall they be confirmed, and will keep the promise they have made, and will grow unto perfect[2] age in Christ.

Of Marriage I shall need say the less; the matter is so known and common. This fellowship was first ordained by God himself in paradise. God himself said: "It is not good that man should be himself alone: I will make him an helper meet for him." God, which fashioned man, and breathed in him the breath of life, and knoweth his very heart and reins, said, "It is not good," it is not fit, "that man should be himself alone." Although man were in paradise, although he were in the perfection of virtue, yet saith God he hath need of a helper. Christ disdained not to be at a marriage; he honoured it both by his presence and by the working of a miracle. St Paul saith: "Marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled." In all men, saith he; in the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in martyrs, in bishops.

Gen. ii.

Heb. xiii.

That all the apostles, St John only excepted, were married, appeareth by Ignatius, Clemens, and Eusebius. Spiridion was a married bishop, and yet he was thereby nothing hindered, neither to discharge his duty nor to any other godly purpose. Tertullian was a priest, and married, as appeareth by his own book, written to his wife. Gregory, St Basil's brother, was bishop of Nyssa, yet married. Another Gregory was bishop of Nazianzum, yet married, and nevertheless a faithful servant and steward of the mysteries of God. Hilary was bishop of Poitiers, yet married[3]. All these were holy and godly, and chaste in body and in spirit, and yet were married. Gregory Nazianzene saith: "Marriage is worthy of praise, for the quietness and contentation that is in it[4]." And Clemens Alexandrinus saith: "As well marriage as also chastity have their peculiar offices pertaining to God[5]." And Chrysostom saith: "Marriage is void of fault, and is no hinderance to virtue." Again: "So precious a thing is matrimony, that with the same thou mayest be promoted even to a bishop's chair[6]."

In Funere Gorg.

Strom. Lib. iii.

Hom. 57. ad Heb.

Hom. 7. ad Heb.

What are they then that call marriage uncleanness, filthiness, a work of the

[1] His, 1583, 1609.]

[2] Perfite, 1583, 1609.]

[3] See before, pages 727, 8.]

[4] ...τοῦ δὲ ταπεινοτέρου τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστέρου ...ποιήσασα γάμον ἐπαινετὸν διὰ τῆς ἐν γάμῳ εὐαρεστήσεως, καὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐντεῦθεν καρποφορίας.—Gregor. Naz. Op. Par. 1778-1840. Orat. viii. 2. Tom. I. p. 222.]

[5] ...ἔχει γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ εὐνουχία, οὕτω καὶ ὁ γάμος, ἰδίας λειτουργείας καὶ διακονίας, τῷ Κυρίῳ διαφερούσας.—Clement. Alex. Op. Oxon. 1715. Stromat. Lib. III. 12. Tom. I. p. 546.]

[6] ...εἰ δέ τινες ἐνεποδίσθησαν ὑπὸ γάμου, ἰδέτωσαν ὅτι οὐχ ὁ γάμος ἐμπόδιον, ἀλλ' ἡ προαίρεσις ἡ κακῶς χρησαμένη τῷ γάμῳ.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Hebr. cap. iv. Hom. vii. Tom. XII. p. 80. Conf. ibid. cap. xiii. Hom. xxxiii. p. 305. Also In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Hom. ii. Tom. XI. p. 738. See before, page 728, notes 3, 4.]

flesh? that say it defileth a man; and therefore God's ministers may not be married? How can they thus speak that have any knowledge of that which God hath spoken? May we not worthily say unto such despisers of lawful matrimony that which St Bernard in like case said? *Fingunt se amore castitatis ista dicere, cum ea magis causa turpitudinis fovendæ et multiplicandæ adinvenerint*[7]: "They bear us in hand that they speak these things for love of chastity; whereas indeed they have devised the same to the end to nourish and to increase their filthiness." Or, as Augustine sometime said to the Manichees: *Non...concubitum, sed, ut ab apostolo longe ante dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis*[8]: "Ye forbid not copulation; but, as it was long ago forespoken by the apostle, indeed ye forbid very marriage." If you mark these few words which I delivered, it will easily appear how reverend an account is to be made of that state of life. For, if you regard the necessity thereof, God found it good to give man a wife; if the antiquity, it was ordained in the beginning of the world; if the place, in paradise; if the time, in the innocency of man. If you regard any thing the rather because of him that ordained it, God was the author of marriage; even God which made heaven and earth, and which is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If you seek the allowance, Christ approved it by his birth in marriage, and by his presence at marriage; if the dignity, it is honourable; if among whom, in all men of all estates, of all callings, in prince, in subject, in minister, in priest, and in people. It is honourable in prophets, honourable in apostles, in martyrs, in bishops.

Bernard. Serm. 66. in Cant.

August. de Mor. Manich. Lib. ii. cap. xviii.

"Marriage is honourable in all men;...but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." Their portion shall be with the infidels; they shall be cast into utter darkness, their worm shall never die, their fire shall never be quenched; they shall go down headlong into the fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels. "Be not deceived," saith St Paul: "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons[9], shall inherit the kingdom of God."

1 Cor.

Now are we to speak in the next place of the ministry of the church, which some have called Holy Orders. Shall we account it a sacrament? there is no reason so to do. It is a heavenly office, a holy ministry or service. By such as have this office God lighteneth our darkness, he declareth his mind to us, he gathereth together his scattered sheep, and publisheth unto the world the glad tidings of salvation. The patriarchs did bear this office. This was the office of the prophets. God saith: "I have sent unto you all my servants the prophets, rising up every day, and sending them." Again he saith: "I have put my words in thy mouth." Therefore, when they taught the people of God, the prophets signed their speech thus: "The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it:" "the Lord hath said:" "the voice and the word of the Lord:" "hear the word of the Lord."

Jer. vii.

Isai. li.

But, when the fulness of the time came, God sent his Son, and hath spoken unto us by him. He became our prophet, to shew us the will of his Father. He saith: "I have not spoken of myself; but the Father which sent me, he gave me a commandment, what I should say, and what I should speak." Hereof St John saith: "No man hath seen God at any time:" he is invisible, he is incomprehensible: no mind can conceive him: no eye can see him: but "the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him." Of him the Father said: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased: hear him." Hearken unto him, receive his word, credit him, believe him. No doubt the ministry of the gospel is highly to be esteemed, seeing our Saviour was not ashamed to publish the will of his Father in his own person; yet it appeareth not where ever he did ordain it to be a sacrament.

John xii.

John i.

Matt. iii.

He appointed that the comfort thereof should be carried into all nations, and gave that charge unto his apostles: "Go teach all nations." Again: "What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light; and, what you hear in the ear, that

Matt. xxviii. Matt. x.

[7 ...fingentes se amore id dicere castitatis, quod magis &c. adinvenerunt.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. lxvi. 3. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1495.]

[8 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Mor. Manich. Lib. ii. cap. xviii. 65. Tom. I. col. 739; where *ut longe ante ab.*]

[9 Two words are omitted.]

preach you on the houses." He saw the people, and had compassion on them; he saw they were dispersed and scattered abroad like sheep without a shepherd, and that they perished because they had no knowledge of the will of God. Therefore he
Matt. ix. saith: "Pray the Lord of the harvest, that he would send labourers into the
Matt. iv. harvest." Therefore he ordaineth them to this ministry: "I will make you fishers
John xx. of men;" and sendeth them forth: "As my Father sent me, so send I you." And,
Matt. x. "Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He willed them to call the people to repentance, and to preach the kingdom of God.

By this ministry God hath gathered to himself an acceptable people, and hath brought them to the obedience of the gospel of Christ, and hath turned the hearts of the fathers unto their children, and so made it to be the foundation of religion. They that exercise this ministry are the eyes of Christ, the pillars of the church, the interpreters of God's will, the watchmen of the Lord's tower, the leaders of Christ's sheep, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. Daniel
Dan. xii. saith: "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever." Not that there is any so great wisdom or eloquence in men: they
Isai. vi. are but weak, they are unfit to do this service. Esay saith of himself: "I am a
Jer. i. man of polluted lips." And Jeremy saith: "O Lord God! behold, I cannot
1 Cor. iii. speak; for I am a child." So saith St Paul: "I have planted, Apollo[1] watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase." So said St John, that he was not Christ, nor that prophet, but the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, and not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe that should come after him.

The power whereby they did conquer the world was not in them, but in
Rom. i. the word which they preached. "It is the power of God to salvation to every
Jer. xxiii. one that believeth." "It is like a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh a stone."
1 Thess. ii. "When ye received of us the word of the preaching of God," saith St Paul to the Thessalonians, "ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is indeed, the word of God; which also worketh in you that believe." The power of an earthly
Prov. xx. prince is great. The wise man saith: "The fear of a king is like the roaring of a lion." Yet is a prince but mortal; and the law of a prince is but mortal: it hath no power to force the conscience. But the word of[2] God doth break into the heart, it forceth a way into the conscience: it is "sharper than any two-edged sword: it entereth through, even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit," because it is the word of God.

Matt. x. For it is no[3] man, but God that speaketh; as Christ telleth the apostles: "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." So
Luke i. saith the prophet Zachary: "He spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which have been since the world began." The prophets and apostles and holy men of God were but instruments. It was God which gave his holy Spirit, which gave
Luke xxi. them tongues to speak, and words to utter. Therefore said Christ: "I will give you a mouth, and wisdom, where-against all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist." Though men be but simple, yet the word they deliver is mighty: though they be mortal, the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Where this word is received, it is fire, and burneth: it is a hammer, and breaketh the hardness of the heart: it is mighty in operation: it cleanseth the inner man: it openeth the conscience: it is a savour of life unto life: it is the means of salvation. He that receiveth this word, and believeth, shall be saved. This is the word of reconciliation. God hath committed it unto us.

Jer. xxiii. If any hide this word, he slayeth the people: he is a dumb dog. Of such
Luke xi. God saith: "Behold, I will come against the prophets, that steal my word every one from his neighbour." They are thieves and robbers. "Wo be unto you, interpreters of the law! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge," saith Christ:
Matt. xxiii. "ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbade." And again: "Wo be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; for ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that would enter to come in." Of these, and against them, God speaketh

[1] Apollos, 1583.] [2] 1611 omits *of*.] [3] Not, 1583.]

by the prophet Jeremy: "Wo be unto the pastors that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture." And by the prophet Zachary: "O idol shepherd, that leaveth the flock." Thou hast ears, and hearest not; thou hast eyes, and seest not; thou hast a tongue, and speakest not, and a heart, but understandest not: thou art an idol: Christ said to thee, "Feed my lambs," "feed my sheep;" but thou carest not for them. Thou hast the room of an evangelist, and pastor, and teacher; but thou gatherest not the saints together, thou doest not the work of the ministry, thou buildest not up the body of Christ. They shall perish in their wickedness; but their blood will I require at thy hands. Jer. xxiii. Zech. xi.

Here note, this ministry of the church was not ordained to offer sacrifice for forgiveness of sins. Whosoever taketh that office upon him, he doth[4] wrong and injury to the death and passion of Christ. He only "is called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedec." He only "by his own blood entered in once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us." He only "with one offering hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified." He only hath said, *Consummatum est:* "It is finished." The ransom or price for man's salvation, and for forgiveness of the sins of the world, is paid in me, in my death upon the cross. Of him alone, and only of him, hath it been spoken: "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And by Esay: "With his stripes only we are healed." It is he only "which hath made of both one." It is he only "which did put out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us: he even took it out of the way, and fastened it upon the cross." He alone is our High Priest, the Lamb of God, the Sacrifice for sins, the Altar, the Propitiation for sins[5], and Redeemer of the world. He only hath appeased the wrath of God. He only appeareth in the sight of God, to make intercession for our sins. All others whatsoever, apostles, prophets, teachers, and pastors, are not in office to offer any propitiatory sacrifice, but are called to the ministry of the saints, to the edification of the body of Christ, and to the repairing of the church of God. Heb. v. Heb. ix. Heb. x. Matt. iii. Isai. liii. Eph. ii. Col. ii.

Thus much of the holy ministry of the church, which standeth in the setting forth of the mystery of our salvation, both by the preaching of the word of God, and by the due and reverend ministration of the sacraments. The principalest part of this office is to preach repentance; that so we may amend our lives, and be converted unto God. So Joel the prophet followed his ministry, saying: "Rent your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God; for he is gracious and merciful." So St Paul teacheth, that "true circumcision is by putting off the sinful body of the flesh;" that it is in mortifying our members that be on the earth, "fornication, uncleanness, the inordinate affections, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry;" that it is in "putting away all these things, wrath, anger, maliciousness, cursed speaking, filthy speaking out of your mouth," in "putting off the old man with his works," and "putting on the new, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." So John Baptist said: "Repent; for the kingdom of God is at hand." "Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, and make his paths straight." So our Saviour Christ, when he began to preach, said: "Amend your lives; for the kingdom of God is at hand." Joel ii. Col. ii. Col. iii. Matt. iii. Matt. iv.

Therefore it will not be amiss now to speak of Repentance; which some of late years have changed into penance, and thereof have also made a sacrament. Here it behoveth to rip up the whole life of man. There is not any man that liveth and sinneth not. God saith: "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The prophet Jeremy saith: "The heart is deceitful and wicked above all things: who can know it?" St John therefore saith: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us." Of himself St Paul saith: "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing." Of himself the prophet David saith: "There is nothing sound in my flesh because of thine anger; neither is there rest in my bones because of my sins. For mine iniquities are gone over mine head, and as a weighty burden they are too heavy for me." He saith: "If thou, Gen. viii. Jer. xvii. 1 John i. Rom. vii. Psal. xxxviii. Psal. cxxx.

[4 Doeth, 1583.] [5 Sinners, 1583, 1609.]

O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall abide it?" So saith the
Prov. xxiv. wise man: "A just man falleth seven times."

God is a righteous God, and the avenger of all them that offend. St Paul
Rom. vi. saith: "The wages of sin is death." And the prophet Ezechiel: "The soul
Ezek. xviii. that sinneth shall die." For this cause then God ordained the ministry of his word, and appointed certain to this office, that they should warn his people of their sins, and fear them by the terror of God's assured displeasure and
Isai. lviii. heavy wrath. As is seen by that to Esay: "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thyself[1] like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house
2 Tim. iv. of Jacob their sins." So St Paul unto Timothy: "I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and in his kingdom, preach the word: be instant in season and out of season: improve, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine."

So would God have our filth laid open before our eyes, that we might weigh and judge our own hearts, that every man might make charge upon himself, and say, I am an unprofitable servant: my righteousness is as a foul and stained cloth. My soul hath sinned, and hath deserved to die the death.

In this case, some fall into desperation, and say, as sometimes did Cain:
Gen. iv. "My sin is greater than can be pardoned." God withdraweth his mercy from me: I am unworthy of it. I have offended against the Holy Spirit of God: mine own conscience accuseth me. I have no part in the kingdom of God and of Christ: there is no sacrifice left for my sins. Thus the wicked live in trembling and agony, as did Cain: thus they leave their life with horror and misery: so have they no grace to repent, no taste nor feeling of the mercy of God.

But the children of God, though they be wounded, yet they find relief in the certain hope of God's mercy. Though they say, I am a sinner: my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head: I have offended against heaven and earth; yet they know that Christ came to call sinners to repentance, and
Matt. xi. that he healeth those that are sick; that he said, "Come unto me, all ye that are weary and laden; and I will ease you." For what layeth he on his shoulders with joy? Is it not the lost sheep? Wherefore doth the woman light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it? Is it not for the piece of silver which she had lost? Over whom had the father compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him? Was not this done for him which was dead, but lived again? and for him which was lost, but was
Matt. xviii. found again? "The Son of man came to save that which was lost." And,
Luke xv. "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God for one sinner that converteth."

God is merciful; and his mercy endureth for ever. So saith the prophet
Psal. cxxx. Ezek. xviii. David: "Mercy is with the Lord." By the prophet Ezechiel: "I desire not the death of him that dieth," saith the Lord God. It is the will of God,
1 Tim. ii. "that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." By
Isai. i. Esay the prophet God saith: "If your sins were as crimson, they shall be
Isai. xliii. made as white as snow." "For I, even I am he that putteth away thine iniquities for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." The children of God hear this, and are glad. They lift themselves up in the faith of the mercy of God: they see the filthiness of their sin: they know, though the wrath of God be kindled against sin, yet he doth not utterly destroy those that have sinned, but such as continue in their sins without repentance: they know God will not despise an humble and contrite heart.

Psal. cxliii. Therefore they say: "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for no flesh is righteous in thy sight." Take away the iniquity of thy servant. They say: "Why art thou heavy, O my soul; and why art thou unquiet within me? Wait on God; for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his presence." They say: "There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus." "Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear
1 John iii. no evil, because thou art with me." They say: "If our heart condemn us, God

[1] Voice, 1583.]

is greater than our heart." Thus are we taught, by the office of the ministry, and by the word of God, to see ourselves, to know our weakness, to repent our sins, to believe the forgiveness of our sins, and to turn unto God.

We are taught to lay open and acknowledge our sins, not to hide them, but to make confession of them. This is done two ways; either in the secret thought of thy heart before God, or else in the hearing and presence of men.

David made confession of his sins before God. "I acknowledged my sin before thee, neither hid I mine iniquity. I said, I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the punishment of my sin." Psal. xxxii.
And again: "I know mine iniquities; and my sin is ever before me. Against thee, against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight." Such a confession made Daniel: "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly: yea, we have rebelled, and have departed from thy precepts, and from thy judgments. For we would not obey thy servants the prophets; which spake in thy name to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, and to all the people of the land." Even so the prophet Esay: "Behold, thou art angry; for we have sinned.... We have all been as an unclean thing; and all our righteousness is as[2] filthy clouts; and we all do fade like a leaf; and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away.... But now, O Lord, thou art our Father: we are the clay, and thou art our potter; and we all are the work of thy hands." This is true and christian confession. We are required after this sort to examine ourselves, and confess our sins before God: who doth not so, he shall not find mercy and forgiveness of his sins. Psal. li. Dan. ix. Isai. lxiv.

The other sort of confession, made unto men, I do not condemn. It may do much good, if it be well used. St James commendeth it among the faithful: "Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." He speaketh not of priest or minister, but of every one of the faithful. Every Christian may do this help unto another, to take knowledge of the secret and inner grief of the heart, to look upon the wound which sin and wickedness hath made, and, by godly advice and earnest prayer for him, to recover his brother. This is a private exhortation, and as it were a catechizing or instructing in the faith, and a means to lead us by familiar and special conference to examine our conscience, and to espy wherein we have offended God. The use and practice hereof is not only to be allowed, but most needful and requisite, if so the superstition, and necessity, and conscience, which many have fondly used and put therein, be taken away. James v.

That the priests should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings; that every man should be bound to their auricular confession, it is no commandment or ordinance of God. It is devised and established by men, and was lately confirmed by Innocentius the third[3]. The church of God in the time of our elder fathers was not tied to any such necessity.

Chrysostom saith: *Non dico, ut confitearis conservo tuo [peccata tua]:... dicito Deo, qui curet ea*[4]: "I will thee not to confess thy sins to thy fellow-servant," that is, to the priest: "confess them unto God, that may heal them." Again he saith: *Cogitatione tua fiat delictorum exquisitio: sine teste sit hoc judicium: solus Deus te confitentem videat*[5]: "Examine thy sins in thy heart within thee: let this judgment be without witness: let God only see thee making thy confession." And again: *Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuses; sed obedire te volo prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Apud Deum ergo, &c.*[6]: "I say not to thee, that thou openly shew forth thyself, nor that thou accuse thyself in the presence of others; but I will have thee obey God, which saith, Hom. 2. in Psal. l. Hom. de Pœn. et Conf. Hom. 31. ad Heb. vel Hom. 30. quære.

---

[2] As is, 1583.]

[3] In the Council of Lateran.]

[4] Chrysost. Op. Lat. Bas. 1547. In Psalm. l. Hom. ii. Tom. I. col. 745. See before, page 120, note 5. Conf. Op. Par. 1718-38. Tom. V. p. 580.]

[5] Id. Op. Par. 1718-38. De Pœnit. Hom. iv. Tom. II. p. 307. See before, page 120.]

[6] Οὐ λέγω σοι, ἐκπόμπευσον σαυτὸν, οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατηγόρησον, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι συμβουλεύω τῷ προφήτῃ λέγοντι, ἀποκάλυψον πρὸς Κύριον τὴν ὁδόν σου. ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ὁμολόγησον, ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ὁμολόγει τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, εὐχόμενος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῇ γλώττῃ, ἀλλὰ τῇ μνήμῃ.—Id. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xii. Hom. xxxi. Tom. XII. pp. 289, 90.]

Disclose thy ways unto the Lord. Confess thy sins therefore before God: declare thine offences, and make thy prayer for them before God, which is the true and righteous Judge. Make thy confession, not with the tongue, but in the record of thine own conscience."

Likewise St Augustine: *Quid mihi . . . est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad inquirendam vitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam*[1]: "What have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they could heal all my wounds or diseases? They be a curious sort in searching out the life of others, and slothful in correcting their own life." St Ambrose saith: *Lavat . . . lacryma delictum, quod voce pudor est confiteri*[2]: "The tear washeth away that offence which shame would not suffer to confess in speech." The church of God in Græcia never received it. And Erasmus witnesseth it was not used in the time of St Hierome. *Apparet tempore Hieronymi nondum institutam fuisse secretam admissorum confessionem*[3]: "It appeareth that in the time of St Hierome," which was four hundred years after Christ, "secret confession of sins was not yet ordained."

De Pœn. Pet. Serm. 46.

In Schol. in Epitaph. Fabiol.

And Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading, saith: *Tertullianus de clanculari ista confessione admissorum nihil loquitur; neque eam usquam olim præceptam legimus*[4]: "Tertullian speaketh nothing of this secret confession of sins; and we read not any where that it was commanded in times past."

By these testimonies of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, and by the observation of Erasmus and Rhenanus, it may appear that this secret confession in the ear of the priest hath not been taken to be necessary; and that it is not of God's determinate appointment, but an ordinance of man. As the gloss upon the decrees something plainly confesseth: *Melius dicitur confessionem institutam fuisse a quadam universalis ecclesiæ traditione, potius quam ex novi vel veteris testamenti auctoritate*[5]: "It is better said, that confession was appointed by some tradition of the universal church than by any authority or commandment of the new or old testament."

De Pœn. Dist. 5. in Pœn. in Gloss.

Now, in a word or two, I will somewhat speak of satisfaction or recompence for offences which we have done, whereby we satisfy and make amends to the full contentation of him that is offended. Such a recompence the law required: "An eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth; a hand for a hand; a foot for a foot." Such amends for such harm; so much for so much; and this was accounted due and lawful satisfaction.

Exod. xxi.

This is of two sorts; either that which is done unto God, or that which is done unto men. We are never able to satisfy and make amends unto God. We must always confess that we are unprofitable servants, and unworthy to stand in his presence, and by no means able of ourselves to make recompence for that we have offended him. Our only and full satisfaction for our trespasses done against him is the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The thief upon the cross called upon Jesus: "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." He knew he had offended God, but found not how he might make amends otherwise than by the righteousness of Christ. Jesus answered him: "Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise." To-day, that is, by and by. He refuseth him not, nor feareth him that God will refuse him, because he had done amiss, and made no recompence; but promiseth him, because he repented and believed, that he shall he saved. Paul was thrown down a persecutor, and raised up a preacher. What amends might he make in so short time?

[1 August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Confess. Lib. x. cap. iii. 3. Tom. I. col. 171; where *ad cognoscendam vitam.*]

[2 Maxim. Taur. Hom. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pœnit. Petr. Hom. iii. col. 617.]

[3 Hieron. Op. Basil. 1516. In Epitaph. Fabiol. Schol. Tom. I. fol. 89. 2; where *Hieronymi tempore.*]

[4 ... ne quis admiretur Tertullianum de clancularia ista admissorum confessione nihil locutum...Nec enim usquam præceptam olim legimus. — Tertull. Op. Franek. 1597. Beat. Rhenan. Annot. Arg. Lib. de Pœnit. p. 11.]

[5 Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. XXXIII. Quæst. iii. De Pœnit. Dist. v. Gloss. col. 1801; where *eam* for *confessionem.*]

St Cyprian saith: *Sanguis tuus, O Christe, non quærit vindictam*[6]: "Thy blood, O Christ, looketh not for any revenge." And St Ambrose: *Lacrymas Petri lego, satisfactionem non lego*[7]: "I read of Peter's tears; but I read nothing of any satisfaction he made." For our whole life cannot sufficiently acquit us from the guiltiness of one sin; much less is any man able to work or deserve the forgiveness of all his sins. Cypr. de Pass. Dom. De Pœn. Pet. Apost. Serm. 46.

The only things that God requireth of us when we have sinned are, that we sorrow for our sins, and amend our lives. So John the Baptist spake to the Pharisees: "Bring forth fruit worthy amendment of life." So St Paul calleth the Ephesians to make recompence for their former naughtiness: "Cast off lying, and speak every man the truth to his neighbour.... Let him that stole steal no more; but let him rather labour, and work with his hands the thing that is good." Other recompence God looketh not for at our hands. Matt. iii. Eph. iv.

But, when the godly have taken offence at any our doings that are evil, we must give all heed to content their minds, and reconcile ourselves again unto them. It hath been an ancient order in the church of God, that, if any had openly offended the congregation, he should come openly again before them to satisfy them by amends. There he fell down on his knees, confessed his fault, wept, and lamented for it, prayed the brethren that they would forgive him, and would also pray unto God to be merciful unto him. There the whole congregation fell down before God: their hearts melted[8]: their eyes gushed out in tears: they held up their hands, prayed together for him, and gave thanks to God, that their brother which had been lost was found again[9]. Such satisfaction was it which hath been made to the church of God.

The last of those which some have of late misused, and counted one of the sacraments of the church, is Extreme Unction. And this they have founded upon the words of St James: "Is any sick among you? Let him call the[10] elders of the church; and let them pray for him, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick; and the Lord shall raise him up; and, if he have committed sin, it shall be forgiven him." James v.

For the better understanding of which words, consider that God is merciful to the sons of men, and sheweth forth his mercy at sundry times by sundry ways. And, to leave the examples of the old testament, in the time of the gospel he hath given to some the gift of tongues, and hath made them able, being simple men, to speak the wonderful works of God in tongues which they never learned. To some he hath given the gift of power, and of the operation of great works. By this power many signs and wonders were wrought by the hands of the apostles. At the word of Peter, Ananias and Saphira his wife fell down dead. In this power Paul struck Elymas the sorcerer with blindness. Acts v. Acts xiii.

To some he gave the gift of healing. By this St Peter healed a man which was a cripple from his mother's womb, and said: "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk; and he took him by the right hand, and lift him up; and immediately his feet and ancle-bones received strength." They were able to make the blind see, the lame to walk, the lepers to be clean, the dead to receive life again. For, when he sent forth his apostles to preach, Christ "gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal every sickness and every disease." Acts iii. Matt. x.

These things they wrought, sometimes by their shadow, as many were healed by the shadow of Peter; sometimes with their word; sometimes with handkerchiefs; sometimes by laying on of hands, and by touching; sometimes with oil, as is in the sixth of St Mark: "They cast out many devils, and they anointed many that were sick with oil, and healed them:" even as Christ also by many sundry ways healed many. He healed sometimes, though he were absent; sometimes Mark vi.

[6 Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Pass. Christ. (Arnold.) p. 51; where *Domine non quærit ultionem.*]

[7 Maxim. Taur. Hom. ad calc. Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. De Pœnit. Petr. Hom. iii. col. 617; where *ejus* for *Petri.*]

[8 Moulted, 1583.]

[9 See Bingham. Orig. Eccles. Book XVII. chap. iii. 1.]

[10 Call for the, 1583.]

by his word; sometimes by mourning and sorrowing[1]; sometimes by touching; sometimes with spittle and dust; for at that time the church had the especial gift of working miracles.

Therefore St James putteth them in mind, that they despise not to use the means which God hath appointed; that whosoever falleth into sickness, he call for the elders, and that they use their gift of healing, and anoint him with oil; because it hath pleased God thereby to work health. This was the manner and order of those times. Even as Christ used dust and spittle; so St James willeth them to use oil for the restoring of health. As the Corinthians did abuse the gift of tongues, and were taught by St Paul how to use it better; so did many abuse the gift of healing, and were therefore warned by St James how they should use it better. As the gift of tongues was not to last for ever, but only for a time; so the gift of healing was not to continue ever, but for a time. Christ saith:

Matt. vi. "When thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face." He doth not in these words give an universal commandment, that must ever be kept in our fasting, that we use the ceremony of anointing; but meaneth thereby, that in our fast we be fresh and merry. Even so St James, in saying, "Anoint him with oil," doth not set down an order whereunto he would have the church of God tied for ever: it is not an universal commandment, that the after ages should do the like; but only a particular ordinance for the time, to use the gift of healing. This is the meaning of his words.

Let us mark what abuses have grown by mistaking them. St James speaketh of bare and simple oil: they understand it of their oil, which they consecrate and hallow in unadvised order. For these words the bishop useth when he consecrateth it: *Ave, sanctum oleum, chrisma, balsamum:* "Hail, O holy oil, and chrism, and balsam." Again: *Exorciso te, immunde spiritus,... in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, ut recedas ab hoc oleo, ut possit effici unctio spiritualis,...ut Spiritus sanctus possit in eo habitare*[2]*:* "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart from this oil, that it may be a spiritual ointment, and that the Holy Ghost may dwell in it." Again: *Emitte quæsumus, sancte Pater, Spiritum sanctum Paracletum tuum de cœlis in hanc pinguedinem olivæ,...ad refectionem corporum, et sanationem animarum*[3]*:* "O holy Father, we beseech thee send down thy Holy Spirit the Comforter from heaven into this fatness of the olive, to the refreshing of body and soul."

In like sort they are taught to pray over the sick: *Per hanc sanctam unctionem et suam piissimam misericordiam ignoscat tibi Deus, ut per hanc unctionem habeas remissionem omnium peccatorum*[4]*:* "By this holy anointing, and by his great mercy, God pardon thee, that by this anointing thou mayest have remission of all thy sins."

I devise not these things, I imagine them not of myself, nor report them untruly. The bishop in such words blesseth the oil; and with such words doth the priest anoint the sick with oil: in their books it is easy to be seen. Now judge you, if this were St James' doctrine, or if this order were kept in the church in the time of the apostles. Would you think that St James gave courtesy by bowing his body, and saying *Ave* to the oil? did he speak words of conjuration to drive away[5] the evil spirit? would he ever say that the oil doth heal both body and soul? or that remission of all sins is given by anointing? St James knew that remission of sins is not given by any creature; that there is no name in heaven or earth by which we are saved, but the name of Jesus only; that the Holy Ghost resteth not nor dwelleth in oil, but in the hearts of the faithful; that God giveth health, not in respect of the corruptible creature, but at the prayers of the church, which are offered up to him by his Son our Saviour. So great difference is there between the late meaning and the meaning of St James.

---

[1] 1583 here adds, *sometimes by his garment.*]

[2] Pontifical. Rom. Antv. 1627. De Offic. in Quint. Fer. Cœn. Dom. p. 412; where *immundissime,* and *ut in eo possit Spiritus sanctus.*]

[3] Id. ibid.; where *Domine* for *Sancte Pater, tuum paraclitum,* and *refectionem mentis et corporis.*]

[4] For the prayers used in extreme unction see Manual. ad Us. Eccles. Sarisb. Rothom. 1555. De Extr. Unct. foll. 94 &c.]

[5] Forth, 1583, 1609.]

Such use of the oil we have not, neither doth the church of God allow[6]. Yet hold we the rule of the apostle in visitation of the sick: when any is sick among us, the minister cometh unto him, and discreetly instructeth him in what sort he should prepare himself to depart this life, and so leadeth him to comfort, and laboureth to make him strong in the certain hope of everlasting life.

Thus he saith: Brother, you are entering the way of all flesh. All the sons of Adam are heirs of this sentence of God upon Adam: "Thou art dust, and to dust thou shalt return." "Man that is born of woman is of short continuance, and full of trouble. He shooteth forth as a flower, and is cut down: he vanisheth also as a shadow, and continueth not." Humble thyself under the mighty hand of God. He is our good Father, and doth correct those children whom he loveth. "Blessed is he whom the Lord doth chastise and instruct in his ways." Here is the proof and trial of your patience and faith: remember the patience of Job: in all his miseries he praised the name of the Lord. "Although," said[7] he, "he should kill me, yet will I put my trust in God." Although my bowels be consumed within me, and my members of my body be rent asunder, and the pangs be never so great, yet can I not but trust in him. "Love not the world, nor the things that be in the world." 1 John ii. "The world passeth away, and the lust thereof." The wise man saith: "I Eccles. i. have considered all the works that are done under the sun; and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit." Again: "Great travail is created for all men, Ecclus. xl. and an heavy yoke upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb till the day that they return to the mother of all things." Christ hath therefore willed us to wake and be ready, because we know not in what hour our Master will come. He saith: "Behold, I come as a thief: Rev. xvi. blessed is he which watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness." Examine yourself, consider how and in what things you have offended God, make a true and humble confession of your sins: say with David: "I have sinned against the Lord, and I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord." Call to mind how you have gotten your goods, how you have used them, and whether you have delighted in them, or put any confidence in them. Call to mind how you have taken care for your children and servants, if by your good means they have been nurtured in the fear of the Lord. In these and such other parts of your life lay open your sins, let them come forth before you, acknowledge them against yourself unto the Lord: say boldly, because you may say it truly, I am an unprofitable servant: I have not done that which I ought to have done: there is no good thing dwelling in me: the law in my members hath prevailed against the law of my mind. It cannot be but God will cast his eyes upon you, and will hear you, and will pardon the wickedness of your[8] sins. What wanteth in you to the fulness of righteousness is already satisfied in the righteousness of Christ. God hath said and sworn: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I Ezek. xxxiii. desire not the death of the wicked; but that the wicked turn from his way and live." And again: "If the wicked will return from all his sins that he Ezek. xviii. hath committed,... all his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him." The Lord is full of compassion and mercy. "For, as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us." Christ himself saith: "God so loved the world, that he John iii. hath given his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And St Paul: "God setteth out his Rom. v. love toward us, seeing that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us: much more then, being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." Thus in time of sickness are we put in mind to examine and view our sins, and to solace ourselves in that blood-shedding of Christ.

Farther, he that is sick is counselled to call to mind what any man hath

---

[6 Allow it, 1583, 1609.] [7 Saith, 1583.] [8 You, 1609.]

trespassed him, and to forgive them; because God is the God of love; and, if any man hate his brother, he abideth in death; and we are commanded to say, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us:" and if we do forgive men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive us; but, if we do not forgive men their trespasses, no more will our heavenly Father forgive us our trespasses: that so all we, which are redeemed with one price by the precious blood of the unspotted Lamb, may join together as partakers of one inheritance, and the children of one Father, and so go forward to one glory by one way, and become all one in Jesus Christ our Lord.

In this case the good father calleth his son unto him, and exhorteth him in this manner: My son, hearken unto me: these be the last words which I shall speak unto thee. Thou seest in me the weakness and decay of flesh: thou shalt be as I am now. One passeth before another: the world and the beauty thereof fade away and come to an end. Trust not the world; it will deceive thee: walk advisedly, know that thou shalt give an account of thy doings. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ; that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil." Deceive no man by wrongful dealing: increase not thy goods by extortion nor by usury: he that giveth his money unto usury shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Lord. He that taketh usury of his neighbour killeth him without a sword. The Lord will avenge it: he will not bless ill-gotten goods: they cannot prosper: they will never continue, nor remain unto the third heir. My son, in all thy doings fear the Lord. If thou fear the Lord, thou shalt prosper; and in the day of thine end thou shalt be blessed. Meddle not much with other men's business, lest thou be entangled with controversies: abhor the slanderer and double-tongued. Let my doings, which am thy father, be ever before thine eyes. Those few goods which I have were truly gotten. I have not gathered them of the tears, and heaviness, and undoing, or hindering of any. Be faithful to thy wife; and besides her know none other. Help thy neighbour according to thy power; and turn not thy face from the poor and needy. "Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously: if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little." Be not slow to visit the sick: whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss. As for me, I have passed the vanities and miseries of this world. "The Lord hath given, and the Lord taketh away: blessed be the name of the Lord." He is the Lord my God; let him do with me as it seemeth good unto him. I know that this shall hasten my salvation; and that Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. I have not so lived that I am ashamed to live: neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord. I know that, if my earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, I have a building given of God, that is, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. They that die in the Lord are blessed; they shall rest from their labours. "Christ is unto me both in life and in death advantage."

2 Cor. v.

In such sort do the godly prepare themselves to their journey out of this life.

Then the minister prayeth that he may be constant in this faith; he strengtheneth him, and confirmeth him in it. He exhorteth the sick to commend himself unto God: he prayeth unto God, that he will give his angels charge over him to keep him and defend him, that he fall not into temptation. He teacheth him to say: "O Lord, in thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded." Come, Lord Jesus, come, and take me unto thee: "Lord, *let* thy servant depart in peace:" "thy kingdom come." I am thy son: "thine *am* I, O save me:" "into thine hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth." In this state he dieth, and hath his eyes always fastened upon God, and so seeth how indeed "the dead are blessed which die in the Lord."

Thus doth the church of God instruct all men to live, and to die, and to

be in readiness. Thus are the sick among us anointed with the inner and invisible oil of the mercy of God. Thus are they put in mind to have the oil of faith, and of a good conscience, and that their lamps may ever be burning, that so they may enter in with the bridegroom; that the day-spring from an high may visit their hearts, and that it may be said unto them, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit ye the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world."

FINIS.

00111742

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 27 February, 2016